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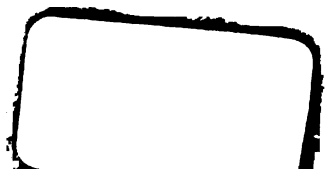

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THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Lord Chancellor of England.

CALIFORNIA

A NEW EDITION:

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

BASIL MONTAGU, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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OF

THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

The publishers of this, the first complete American edition of Lord Bacon's Works, would never have entered upon so considerable an undertaking without feeling that it was justified by the public sentiment, and, in fact, the demand of literary and scientific readers throughout the country.

This illustrious author is now distinctly pronounced by that undisputed standard of taste, the common sense of mankind, a classical writer of the first rank. In many respects Bacon resembles his immortal contemporary, Shakspeare. Like Shakspeare, he enjoyed the most splendid reputation for genius and ability, in his lifetime; like him, he was comparatively undervalued and neglected for ages after his death, and like him, in the present refined and severely scrutinizing era, he has been tried in the hottest furnaces of criticism, and has come forth pure gold, whose weight, solidity, and brilliancy can never hereafter be for a moment doubted. It is said of Shakspeare, that his fertile genius exhausted the whole world of nature. As a poet, he undoubtedly has done this; and Lord Bacon, as a philosopher, has done the same. Redeeming the human mind from the chains imposed upon it by Aristotle, and riveted by the schools, he placed in the hands of scientific inquiry that simple instrument, the inductive process of investigation, and the result is the existing system of natural science. All that this age of improvement claims as its own in astronomy, in chymistry, in mechanical philosophy, and in the improved arts of life, may be traced to the genius of Bacon, the acknowledged founder of modern philosophy.

As works of genius, as examples of calm, clearsighted, conclusive reasoning and authoritative eloquence, his writings can never be superseded, can never cease to be read and admired. They are models of matter and style, mines of thought, fountains of intellect to which "other suns repair, and in their urns draw golden light."

This edition has been reprinted from that of Basil Montagu, Esquire, of the Inner Temple, London, the most complete ever published in England. Those of his works which were originally written in Latin, have been translated in Mr. Montagu's edition; as the insertion of the original text would have unnecessarily increased the expense of this edition, it has been deemed expedient to give the translation only. Every attention has been bestowed to preserve the purity of the text.

It is believed that the works of Lord Bacon will be extensively popular in the United States. The increased demand for sound and imperishable literature, and the great attention paid by our literary and scientific men to the works of his celebrated contemporaries, warrant the conclusion that his writings will speedily find their way into every well-selected library in our country.

PREFACE.

ABOUT thirty years ago I read in the will of Lord Bacon—"For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans: there was my mother buried, and it is the parish church of my mansion-house of Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian church within the walls of Old Verulam. For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages."

This passage, not to be seen till he was at rest from his labours, impressed me with a feeling of his consciousness of ill-usage, and a conviction that the time would arrive when justice would be done to his memory. Sir Philip Sydney says, "I never read the old song of Percy and Douglas, without feeling my heart stirred as by the sound of a trumpet;" and assuredly this voice from the grave was not heard by me with less emotion.

The words were cautiously selected, with the knowledge which he, above all men, possessed of their force and pregnant meaning, and of their certain influence, sooner or later, upon the community.[1] They spoke to me as loudly of a sense of injury, and of a reliance upon the justice of future ages, as the opening of the Novum Organum speaks with the consciousness of power:[2]

FRANCISCUS DE VERULAMIO
SIC COGITAVIT.

There was also something to me truly affecting in the disclosure of tender natural feeling in the short sentence referring to his mother, which, spanning a whole life between the cradle and the grave, seemed to record nothing else worthy of a tribute of affection.

Thus impressed, I resolved to discover the real merits of the case

I found that the subject had always been involved in some mystery. Archbishop Tennison, the admirer of Lord Bacon, and the friend of Dr. Rawley, his domestic chaplain, thus mentions it in the Baconiana: "His lordship owned it under his hand,[3] that he was frail, and did partake of the abuses of the times; and

[1] In a former will (see Baconiana, p. 203) there is the same wish expressed, not in such polished terms. The sentence is, "For my name and memory, I leave it to foreign nations and to mine own countrymen, after some time be passed over."

[2] FRANCIS OF VERULAM THOUGHT THUS.

[3] In his letter to King James, March 25, 1620, in the Cabala.

surely he was a partaker of their severities also. The great cause of his suffering is, to some, a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James:[1] 'I wish, that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times:' and when, from private appetite, it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with."

Dr. Rawley[2] did not, as it seems, think it proper to be more explicit, because he judged "some papers touching matters of estate, to tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned."

Having read this intimation in the Baconiana, I procured, with some difficulty, a copy of the tract that contains the words to which Archbishop Tennison alludes. It is Bushel's Abridgment of the lord chancellor's philosophical theory. This work, written by Bushel more than forty years after his master's death, abounding with constant expressions of affection and respect, states that, during a recess of parliament, the king sent for the chancellor, and ordered him not to resist the charges, as resistance would be injurious to the king and to Buckingham.[3] Upon examining the journals of the House of Lords, I found that this interview between the king and the chancellor was recorded.

Having made this progress, I was informed that there were many of Lord Bacon's letters in the Lambeth Library. I immediately applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury for permission to read and take extracts from them. With this application, his grace, with his usual courtesy and kindness, most readily complied.

In one of the letters there is the following passage in Greek characters.

Οφ μγ οφφενς, φαρ βε ιτ φρομ με το σαγ, δατ νενιαμ κορυις; νεξατ κενσυρα κολυμβας: βυτ ι ωιλλ σαγ θατ ι ανε γοοδ ωαρραντ φορ: θεγ ωερε νοτ θε γρεατεστ οφφενδερς ιν Ισραελ υπον ωηομ θε ωαλλ φελλ.[4]

In another letter he says, "And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times."[5]

From this ambiguity by a man so capable of expressing himself clearly, and whose favourite maxim was, "Do not inflate plain things into marvels, but reduce marvels to plain things," I was confirmed in the opinion which I had formed. I, therefore, proceeded to collect the evidence.

After great deliberation I arranged all the materials; and, from the chance that I might not live to complete the work, I some years since prepared that part which relates to the charge against him, and intrusted it to a friend, that, in the event of my death, my researches might not be lost.

The li[illegible] now submitted to public consideration. I cannot conclude without

[1] See Mr. [illegible]s extract, p. 19.

[2] Baconi[illegible]age 81.

[3] See pag[illegible]ii.

[4] Decipher[illegible] is as follows: Of my offence, far be it from me to say, *dat veniam corvis; vexat censura Columbas:* [illegible] I will say that I have good warrant for: they were not the greatest offenders in Israel upon whom the wall fell.

[5] Letter to the king, May 25, 1620.

returning my grateful acknowledgments to the many friends to whom I am much indebted:—particularly to Archdeacon Wrangham, with the feeling of more than forty years' uninterrupted friendship;—to my intelligent friend, B. Heywood Bright, for his important co-operation and valuable communication from the Tanner Manuscripts;—to my dear friend, William Wood, for his encouragement during the progress of the work, and for his admirable translation of the Novum Organum. How impossible is it for me to express my obligations to the sweet taste of her to whom I am indebted for every blessing of my life!

I am well aware of the many faults with which the work abounds, and particularly of the occasional repetitions. I must trust to the lenient sentence of my reader, after he has been informed that it was not pursued in the undisturbed quiet of literary leisure, but in the few hours which could be rescued from arduous professional duties; not carefully composed by a student in his pensive citadel, but by a daily "delver in the laborious mine of the law," where the vexed printer frequently waited till the impatient client was despatched; and that, to publish it as it is, I have been compelled to forego many advantages; to relinquish many of the enjoyments of social life, and to sacrifice not only the society, but even the correspondence of friends very dear to me. I ask, and I am sure I shall not ask in vain, for their forgiveness. One friend the grave has closed over, who cheered me in my task when I was weary, and better able, from his rich and comprehensive mind, to detect errors, than any man, was always more happy to encourage and to commend. Wise as the serpent, gall-less as the dove, pious and pure of heart, tender, affectionate, and forgiving, this, and more than this, I can say, after the trial of forty years, was my friend and instructor, Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

I am now to quit forever a work upon which I have so long and so happily been engaged. I must separate from my companion, my familiar friend, with whom, for more than thirty years, I have taken sweet counsel. With a deep feeling of humility I think of the conclusion of my labours; but I think of it with that satisfaction ever attendant upon the hope of being an instrument of good. "Power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion, and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest; for, if man can be a partaker of God's theatre, he will be a partaker of God's rest."[1]

I please myself with the hope that I may induce some young man, who, at his entrance into life, is anxious to do justice to his powers, to enjoy that "*suavissima vita indies sentire se fieri meliorem*," to look into the works of our illustrious countryman. I venture also to hope that, in these times of inquiry, the works of this philosopher may, without interfering with academical studies, be deemed deserving the consideration of our universities, framed, as they so wisely are, for the diffusion of the knowledge of our predecessors. Perhaps some opulent member of the university, when considering how he may extend to future times the blessings which he has enjoyed in his pilgrimage, may think that, in the University of Cambridge, a Verulamian Professorship might be productive of

[1] Essay on Great Place.

good:—but these expectations may be the illusions of a lover; and it is not given to man to love and to be wise.—There are, however, pleasures of which nothing can bereave me; the consciousness that I have endeavoured to render some assistance to science and to the profession, the noble, intellectual profession of which I am a member. How deeply, how gratefully do I feel; with what a lofty spirit and sweet content do I think of the constant kindness of my many, many friends!

And now, for the last time, I use the words of Lord Bacon: "Being at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me, 'si nunquam fallit imago,' as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than the noise or sound which musicians make while they are tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards: so have I been content to tune the instruments of the muses, that they may play that have better hands."

To posterity and distant ages Bacon bequeathed his good name, and posterity and distant ages will do him ample justice. Wisdom herself has suffered in his disgrace, but year after year brings to light proof of the arts that worked Bacon's downfall, and covered his character with obloquy. He will find some future historian who, assisted by the patient labours of the present editor, with all his zeal and tenfold his ability; with power equal to the work, and leisure to pursue it, will dig the statue from the rubbish which may yet deface it; and, obliterating one by one the paltry libels scrawled upon its base, will place it, to the honour of true science, in a temple worthy of his greatness.

B. Montagu.

November 17, 1834.

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Nec tanto ceres labore, ut in fabulis est, liberam fertur quæsivisse filiam, quanto ego hanc τὸ καλὸ ἰδέαν, veluti pulcherrimam quandam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas et facies: (πολλαὶ γὰρ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων) dies noctesque indagare soleo, et quasi certis quibusdam vestigiis ducentem sector. Unde fit, ut qui, spretis quæ vulgus prava rerum æstimatione opinatur, id sentire et loqui et esse audet; quod summa per omne ævum sapientia optimum esse docuit, illi me protinus, sicubi reperiam, necessitate quadam adjungam. Quod si ego sive natura, sive meo fato ita sum comparatus, ut nulla contentione, et laboribus meis ad tale decus et fastigium laudis ipse valeam emergere; tamen quo minus qui eam gloriam assecuti sunt, aut eo feliciter aspirant, illos semper colam, et suspiciam, nec Dii puto, nec homines prohibuerint.

THIS LIFE OF FRANCIS BACON

IS

INSCRIBED TO

THE REVEREND AND LEARNED MARTIN DAVY, D. D.,

MASTER OF CAIUS COLLEGE,

HENRY BICKERSTETH, CLEMENT T. SWANSTON, GEORGE TUTHILL,

AND

TO THE MEMORY OF SAMUEL ROMILLY.

B. M.

LIFE OF BACON.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TILL THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

1560 to 1580.

Francis Bacon was born at York-House, in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1560. He was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and of Anne, a daughter of the learned and contemplative Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward the Sixth.

Of Sir Nicholas, it has been said, that he was a man full of wit and wisdom, a learned lawyer, and a true gentleman; of a mind the most comprehensive to surround the merits of a cause; of a memory to recollect its least circumstance;[1] of the deepest search into affairs of any man at the council table, and of a personal dignity so well suited to his other excellencies, that his royal mistress was wont to say, "My lord keeper's soul is well lodged."

He was still more fortunate in the rare qualities of his mother, for Sir Anthony Cooke, acting upon his favourite opinion then very prevalent, that women were as capable of learning as men, carefully instructed his daughters every evening, in the lessons which he had taught the king during the day; and amply were his labours rewarded; for he lived to see all his daughters happily married; and Lady Anne distinguished, not only for her conjugal and maternal virtues, but renowned[2] as an excellent scholar, and the translator, from the Italian, of various sermons of Ochinus, a learned divine; and, from the Latin, of Bishop Jewel's Apologia, recommended by Archbishop Parker for general use.[3]

It was his good fortune not only to be born of such parents, but also at that happy time "when learning[4] had made her third circuit; when the art of printing gave books with a liberal hand to men of all fortunes; when the nation had emerged from the dark superstitions of popery; when peace, throughout all Europe, permitted the enjoyment of foreign travel and free ingress to foreign scholars; and, above all, when a sovereign of the highest intellectual attainments, at the same time that she encouraged learning and learned men, gave an impulse to the arts, and a chivalric and refined tone to the manners of the people."

Bacon's health was always delicate, and his temperament was of such sensibility, as to be affected, even to fainting, by very slight alterations in the atmosphere; a constitutional infirmity which seems to have attended him through life.

While he was yet a child, the signs of genius, for which he was in after life distinguished, could not have escaped the notice of his intelligent parents. They must have been conscious of his extraordinary powers, and of their responsibility that, upon the right direction of his mind, his future eminence, whether as a statesman or as a philosopher, almost wholly depended.

He was cradled in politics; he was not only the son of the lord keeper, but the nephew of Lord Burleigh. He had lived from his infancy amidst the nobility of the reign of Elizabeth, who was herself delighted, even in his childhood, to converse with him, and to prove him with questions, which he answered with a maturity above his years, and with such gravity that the queen would often call him her young lord keeper. Upon the queen's asking him, when a child, how old he was, he answered, "two years younger than your majesty's happy reign."

But there were dawnings of genius of a much higher nature.[5] When a boy, while his companions were diverting themselves near to his father's house in St. James's Park, he stole to the brick conduit to discover the cause of a singular

[1] "He who cannot contract his sight as well as dilate it, wanteth a great faculty;" says Lord Bacon.

[2] She translated from the Italian fourteen sermons concerning the predestination and election of God, without date, 8vo. See Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, title, Ochinus and Anne Cooke.—N.B. There is a publication entitled, "Sermons to the number of twenty-five, concerning the predestination." London: Printed by J. Day, without date, 8vo.—Query, If by Lady Bacon?

[3] Ochinus Barnardin, an Italian monk of extraordinary merit, born at Sienna, 1487. Died 1594. Watts (S. A.) Jewel's Apologia translated by Anne Bacon, 1600, 1606, 1609, Fol. 1626, 12mo. 1665, 1719, 8vo. See Watts, tit. "Jewel."

[4] See Bacon's beautiful conclusion of Civil Knowledge, in the Advancement of Learning, p. 000.

[5] See Paradise Regained, b. i. "When I was yet a child," &c.—See Burns: "I saw thee seek the sounding shore," &c.—See Beattie's Minstrel: "Baubles he heeded not," &c.

echo;[1] and, in his twelfth year he was meditating upon the laws of the imagination.[2]

At the early age of thirteen, it was resolved to send him to Cambridge, of which university, he, with his brother Anthony, was matriculated as a member, on the 10th of June, 1573.[3] They were both admitted of Trinity College, under the care of Dr. John Whitgift,[4] a friend of the lord keeper's, then master of the college, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and distinguished through life, not only for his piety, but for his great learning, and unwearied exertions to promote the public good.

What must have passed in his youthful, thoughtful, ardent mind, at this eventful moment, when he first quitted his father's house to engage in active life? What must have been his feelings when he approached the university, and saw, in the distance, the lofty spires, and towers, and venerable walls, raised by intellect and piety, "and hollowed by the shrines where the works of the mighty dead are preserved and reposed,[5] and by the labours of the mighty living, with joint forces directing their strength against nature herself, to take her high towers, and dismantle her fortified holds, and thus enlarge the borders of man's dominion, so far as Almighty God of his goodness shall permit?"[6]

"As water," he says, "whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and lose itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself, and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed spring heads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity; so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed; as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same. All tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles; much like the stations which Virgil prescribeth for the hiving of bees:

> Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
> Quo neque sit ventis aditus, etc.

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[1] The laws of sound were always a subject of his thoughts. In the third century of the Sylva, he says, "we have laboured, as may appear, in this inquisition of sounds diligently; both because sound is one of the most hidden portions of nature, and because it is a virtue which may be called incorporeal and immateriate, whereof there be in nature but few."

As one of the facts, he says in his Sylva Sylvarum, (Art. 140.) "There is in St. James's fields a conduit of brick, unto which joineth a low vault; and at the end of that a round house of stone; and in the brick conduit there is a window; and in the round house a slit or rift of some little breadth: if you cry out in the rift, it will make a fearful roaring at the window. The cause is, for that all concaves, that proceed from more narrow to more broad, do amplify the sound at the coming out.

[2] In the tenth century of the Sylva, after having enumerated many of the idle imaginations by which the world then was, and, more or less, always will be, misled, he says, "With these vast and bottomless follies men have been in part entertained. But we, that hold firm to the works of God, and to the sense, which is God's lamp, lucerna Dei spiraculum hominis, will inquire with all sobriety and severity, whether there be to be found in the footsteps of nature, any such transmission and influx of immateriate virtues: and what the force of imagination is, either upon the body imaginant, or upon another body."

He then proceeds to state the different kinds of the power of imagination, saying it is in three kinds: the first, upon the body of the imaginant, including likewise the child in the mother's womb; the second is, the power of it upon dead bodies, as plants, wood, stone, metal, &c.; the third is, the power of it upon the spirits of men and living creatures; and with this last we will only meddle.

The problem therefore is, whether a man constantly and strongly believing that such a thing shall be; as that such a one will love him; or that such a one will grant him his request; or that such a one shall recover a sickness, or the like, it doth help any thing to the effecting of the thing itself.

In the solution of this problem he, according to his custom, enumerates a variety of instances, and, among others, the following fact, which occurred to him when a child, for he left his father's house when he was thirteen.

For example, he says, I related one time to a man, that was curious and vain enough in these things, that I saw a kind of juggler, that had a pair of cards, and would tell a man what card he thought. This pretended learned man told me, that it was a mistaking in me; for, said he, it was not the knowledge of man's thought, (for that is proper to God,) but it was the enforcing of a thought upon him, and binding his imagination by a stronger, that he could think no other card. And thereupon he asked me a question or two, which I thought he did but cunningly, knowing before what used to be the feats of the juggler. Sir, said he, do you remember whether he told the card the man thought himself, or bade another to tell it. I answered, (as was true,) that he bade another tell it. Whereunto he said, so I thought; for, said he, himself could not have put on so strong an imagination, but by telling the other the card, who believed that the juggler was some strange man, and could do strange things, that other man caught a strong imagination. I hearkened unto him, thinking for a vanity he spoke prettily. Then he asked me another question; saith he, do you remember whether he bade the man think the card first, and afterwards told the other man in his ear what he should think, or else that he did whisper first in the man's ear, that he should tell the card, telling that such a man should think such a card, and after bade the man think a card: I told him, as was true, that he did first whisper the man in the ear, that such a man should think such a card; upon this the learned man did much exult, and please himself, saying, lo, you may see that my opinion is right; for if the man had thought first, his thought had been fixed; but the other imagining first, bound his thought. Which, though it did somewhat sink with me, yet I made lighter than I thought, and said, I thought it was confederacy between the juggler and the two servants; though, indeed, I had no reason so to think; for they were both my father's servants, and he had never played in the house before.

[3] An. 1573, June 10. Antonius Bacon Coll. Trin. Convict. i. admissus in matriculam Acad. Cantabr.

Franciscus Bacon Coll. Trin. Convict. i. admissus in matriculam academiæ Cantabr. eodem die et anno. (*Regr. Acad.*)

[4] See the Biog. Brit. In 1565, Whitgift so distinguished himself in the pulpit, that the lord keeper recommended him to the queen.

[5] But the works touching *books* are chiefly two; first, *Libraries*, wherein, as in famous shrines, the relics of the ancient saints, full of virtue, are reposed. Secondly, *New Editions of Authors, with correct impressions; more faithful Translations, more profitable glosses, more diligent annotations;* with the like train furnished and adorned.

In a letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, he says, "and the second copy I have sent unto you, not only in good affection, but in a kind of congruity, in regard of your great and rare desert of learning. For books are the shrines where the saint is, or is believed to be. And you, having built an ark to save learning from deluge, deserve propriety in any new instrument or engine, whereby learning should be improved or advanced."—*Stephi.* 19.

[6] Nor doth our trumpet summon, and encourage men to tear and rend one another with contradictions; and in a civil rage to bear arms, and wage war against themselves; but rather, a peace concluded between them, they may with joint force direct their strength against Nature herself; and take her high towers, and dismantle her fortified holds; and thus enlarge the borders of man's dominion, so far as Almighty God in his goodness shall permit.—*Adv. Learn.*

Such were his imaginations of the tranquillity and occupations in our universities.

He could not long have resided in Cambridge before he must have discovered his erroneous notions of the mighty living, and of the pursuits in which they were engaged. Instead of students ready at all times to acquire any sort of knowledge, he found himself "amidst men of sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle their dictator, as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges; and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."[1]

Instead of the university being formed for the discovery of truths, he saw that its object was merely to preserve and diffuse the knowledge of our predecessors: instead of general inquiry, he found that all studies were confined to Aristotle, who was considered infallible in philosophy, a dictator to command, not a consul to advise;[2] the lectures both in private in the colleges, and in public in the schools, being but expositions of his text, and comments upon his opinions, held as authentic as if they had been given under the seal of the pope.[3] Their infallibility, however, he was not disposed to acknowledge. Whilst in the university he formed his dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, not for the worthlessness of the author, to whose gigantic intellect he ever ascribed all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of his method, being a philosophy, as he was wont to say, strong for disputations and contentions,[4] but barren for the production of works for the benefit and use of man; which, according to Bacon's opinion, is the only test of the purity of our motives for acquiring knowledge and of the value of knowledge when acquired; "Men," he says, "have entered into a desire of knowledge sometimes from a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction, and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, for the benefit and use of man:—as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down, with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit and sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

It was not likely that, with such sentiments, he would meet with much sympathy in the university. It was still less probable that the antipathy by which he was opposed would check the ardour of his powerful mind. He went right onward in his course, unmoved by the disapprobation of men who turned from inquiries which they neither encouraged nor understood: and, seeing through the mists, by a light refracted from below the horizon, that knowledge must be raised on other foundations, and built with other materials than had been used through a long tract of many centuries, he continued his inquiries into the laws of nature,[5] and planned his immortal work upon which he laboured during the greater part of his life, and ultimately published when he was chancellor, saying, "I have held up a light in the obscurity of philosophy; which will be seen centuries after I am dead."[6]

After two years residence he quitted the university with the conviction not only that these seminaries of learning were stagnant, but that they were opposed to the advancement of knowledge. "In the universities," he says, "they learn nothing but to believe: first to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, themselves know that which they know not. They are like a becalmed ship; they never move but by the wind of other men's breath, and have no oars of their own to steer withal:"[7] and in his Novum Organum, which he published when he was chancellor, he repeats what he had said when a boy. "In the universities, all things are found opposite to the advancement of the sciences; for the readings and exercises are here so managed that it cannot easily come into any one's mind to think of things out of the common road: or if, here and there, one should venture to use a liberty of judging, he can only impose the task upon himself without obtaining assistance from his fellows; and if he could dispense with this, he will still find his industry and resolution a great hinderance to his fortune. For the studies of men in such places are confined, and pinned down to

[1] See the Advancement of Learning, under Contentious Learning. See Gibbon's Memoirs. See vol. viii. London Magazine, page 509. Let him who is fond of indulging in a dream-like existence go to Oxford, and stay there; let him study this magnificent spectacle, the same under all aspects, with its mental twilight tempering the glare of noontide, or mellowing the shadowy moonlight; let him wander in her sylvan suburbs, or linger in her cloistered halls; but let him not catch the din of scholars or teachers, or dine or sup with them, or speak a word to any of the privileged inhabitants; for if he does, the spell will be broken, the poetry and the religion gone, and the place of enchantment will melt from his embrace into thin air.

[2] See Advancement of Learning, under Credulity, p. 000.

[3] Tennison. [4] Rawley—Tennison.

[5] I remember in Trinity College in Cambridge, there was an upper chamber, which being thought weak in the roof of it, was supported by a pillar of iron of the bigness of one's arm in the midst of the chamber; which if you had struck, it would make a little flat noise in the room where it was struck, but it would make a great bomb in the chamber beneath.—*Sylva*

[6] See the dedication of the Novum Organum to the king. "Mortuus fortasse id effecero, ut illa posteritati, novâ hac accensâ face in philosophiæ tenebris, perlucere possint.

[7] See the tract in Praise of Knowledge, p. 006.

the writings of certain authors; from which, if any man happens to differ, he is presently reprehended as a disturber and innovator."[1]

Whether the intellectual gladiatorship by which students in the universities of England are now stimulated, then prevailed, does not appear, but his dislike of this motive he early and always avowed. "It is," he says, "an unavoidable decree with us ever to retain our native candour and simplicity, and not attempt a passage to truth under the conduct of vanity; for, seeking real nature with all her fruits about her, we should think it a betraying of our trust to infect such a subject either with an ambitious, an ignorant, or any other faulty manner of treating it."[2]

Some years after Bacon had quitted Cambridge, he published his opinions upon the defects of universities; in which, after having warned the community that, as colleges are established for the communication of the knowledge of our predecessors, there should be a college appropriated to the discovery of new truths, a living spring to mix with the stagnant waters. "Let it," he says, "be remembered that there is not any collegiate education of statesmen, and that this has not only a malign influence upon the growth of sciences, but is prejudicial to states and governments, and is the reason why princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of state."[3]

[1] Ax. 90. lib. i.

[2] See the chapter on Vanity, in the admirable work, "Search's Light of Nature:" where the distinction between the love of excelling and the love of excellence, as a motive for acquiring knowledge, is fully explained.

[3] Bacon says, First, therefore, amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. And this I take to be a great cause, that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten, that this dedicating of foundations and dotations to professory learning, hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of state, because there is no education collegiate which is free, where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of state. This truth, confirmed by daily experience, was, fifty years after his death, repeated by Milton, who indignantly says, "when young men quit the university for the trade of law, they ground their purposes, not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees: and if they quit it for state affairs, they betake themselves to this trust with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom. After having prescribed the proper order of education, he adds, The next removal must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. After this they are to drive into the grounds of law and legal justice, delivered first, and with best warrant to Moses, and as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, &c. and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables with their Justin[illegible] and so to the Saxon laws of England. Milton, Educa[illegible] i. p. 270.

[4] "Such," says Milton, "are the errors, such [illegible] of mispending our prime youth at schools and un[illegible] as we do, either in learning mere words, or su[illegible] chiefly as were better unlearned." See his Tract o[illegible] tion

These warnings seem to have been disregarded, and the art of governing, not a ship, which would not be attempted without a knowledge of navigation, but the ship of the state, is intrusted, not to a knowledge of the principles of human nature, but to the knowledge of Latin and Greek and verbal criticisms upon the dead languages."[4]

And what has been the result? During the last two centuries one class of statesmen has resisted all improvement, and their opponents have been hurried into intemperate alterations: whilst philosophy, lamenting these contentions, has, instead of advancing the science of government, been occupied in counteracting laws founded upon erroneous principles; erroneous commercial laws; erroneous laws against civil and religious liberty; and erroneous criminal laws.

So deeply was Bacon impressed with the magnitude of this evil, that by his will he endowed two lectures in either of the universities, by "a lecturer, whether stranger or English, provided he is not professed in divinity, law, or physic."

The subject of universities, and the importance to the community and to the advancement of science, that the spring should not be poisoned or polluted, was ever present to his mind,—and, in the decline of his life, he prepared the plan of a college for the knowledge of the works and creations of God, "from the cedar of Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall;" but the plan was framed upon a model so vast, that, without the purse of a prince and the assistance of a people, all attempts to realize it must be vain and hopeless. Some conception of his gorgeous mind in the formation of this college, may appear even at the entrance.

"We have (he says) two very long and fair galleries: and in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies; also the inventor of ships; your monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder; the inventor of music; the inventor of letters; the inventor of printing; the inventor of observations of astronomy; the inventor of works in metal; the inventor of glass; the inventor of silk of the worm; the inventor of wine; the inventor of corn and bread; the inventor of sugars; and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Upon every invention of value, we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass; some of marble and [illegible]

stone; some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron; some of silver; some of gold."[1]

Such is the splendour of the portico, or anteroom. Passing beyond it, every thing is to be found which imagination can conceive or reason suggest.[2]

After having enumerated all the instruments of knowledge, "such," he says, "is a relation of the true state of Solomon's house, the end of which foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible."

In these glorious inventions of one rich mind, may be traced much of what has been effected in science and mechanics, since Bacon's death, and more that will be effected during the next two centuries.

After three years' residence in the university, his father sent him, at the age of sixteen, to Paris, under the care of Sir Amias Paulett, the English ambassador at that court: by whom, soon after his arrival, he was intrusted with a mission to the queen, requiring both secrecy and despatch: which he executed with such ability as to gain the approbation of the queen, and justify Sir Amias in the choice of his youthful messenger.

From the confidence thus reposed in him, and from the impression made upon all with whom he conversed; upon men of letters, with whom he contracted lasting friendships; upon grave statesmen and learned philosophers, it was manifest that the promise in his infancy of excellence, whether for active or for contemplative life, seemed beyond the most sanguine expectation to be realized.[3]

After the appointment of Sir Amias Paulett's successor, Bacon travelled into the French provinces, and spent some time at Poictiers. He prepared a work upon Ciphers,[4] which he after-

[1] This entrance to Bacon's college always forces itself on my mind when I visit the University Library of Cambridge; in which I see the portrait of Mr. Thomas Nicholson, known by the name of Maps, the proprietor of a circulating library, a laborious pioneer in literature. Under his feet are some relics from classic ground, more valuable, perhaps, for their antiquity than for their beauty. Delightful as is the love of antiquity, this artificial retrospective extension of our existence, (see Shakspeare's Sonnet, 123,) might it not be adorned, in the present times, by casts from the Elgin marbles, of which the cost does not exceed 200*l*. By one of the universities (I think it is of Dublin) these casts have been procured. Let any parent of the mind, who considers the various modes by which the heart of a nation is formed, (which is beautifully described in Ramsden's sermon on the Cessation of Hostilities,) look in Boydell's Shakspeare, at Barry's Cordelia, to be found, most probably, in the Fitzwilliam collection: and let him compare it with the magnificent affecting fainting female in the Elgin marbles, and he will see the benefit which would result from the university containing these valuable relics.

[2] We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathom, and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains: so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are (some of them) above three miles deep; these caves we call the lower region, and we use them for all congulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials.

We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill with the tower is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors, as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors.

We have great lakes, both salt and fresh; whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies: for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth; and things buried in water. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea; and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein is required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions: and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds, to set also on going divers motions.

We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths; as tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals.

We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors, as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings.

We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health. We have also fair and large baths of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases.

We have also large and various orchards and gardens; wherein we do not so much respect beauty, as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs: and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drink, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit trees, which produceth many effects.

We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats, fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But above all we have heats, in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies, heats that pass divers inequalities, and (as it were) orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we may produce admirable effects.

We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heaven, and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near, making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight, far above spectacles and glasses.

We have also parks and enclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man.

We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use, such as are with you your silk worms and bees.

We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty and unknown; crystals and glasses of divers kinds. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water and unquenchable; also fireworks of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air; we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas; also swimming girdles and supporters.

We have also sound houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds, and their generation. We have harmonies which you have not, of quarter sounds, and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music, likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet.

We have also a mathematical house, where are all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made. We have also houses of deceits of the senses, &c. &c.

[3] It is a fact not unworthy of notice, that an eminent artist, to whom, when in Paris, he sat for his portrait, was so conscious of his inability to do justice to his extraordinary intellectual endowments, that he has written on the side of his picture: Si tabula daretur digna animum mallem.

[4] In the Augmentis Scientiarum, lib. vi. speaking of ciphers, he says, Ut verò suspicio omnis absit, aliud inventum subjiciemus, quod certè cùm adolescentuli essemus Parisiis excogitavimus, nec etiam adhuc visa nobis res digna est quæ pereat. Watts's English translation of this part is as follows: But that jealousies may be taken away, we will annex another invention, which, in truth, we devised in our youth, when we were at Paris: and is a thing that yet seemeth to us not worthy to be lost. It containeth

wards published, with an outline of the state of Europe, but the laws of sound and of imagination continued to occupy his thoughts.[1]

Whilst he was engaged in these meditations his father died suddenly, on the 20th February, 1579. He instantly returned to England.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER TILL HE ENGAGED IN ACTIVE LIFE.

1580 to 1590.

Discovering, upon his arrival in England, that, by the sudden death of his father, he was left without a sufficient provision to justify him in devoting his life to contemplation,[2] it became necessary for him to select some pursuit for his support, "to think how to live, instead of living only to think."[3]

Law and politics were the two roads open before him; in both his family had attained opulence and honour. Law, the dry and thorny study of law, had but little attraction for his discursive and imaginative mind. With the hope, therefore, that, under the protection of his political friends, and the queen's remembrance of his father, and notice of him when a child, he might escape from the mental slavery of delving in this laborious profession, he made a great effort to secure some small competence, by applying to Lord Burleigh to recommend him to the queen, and interceding with Lady Burleigh to urge his suit with his uncle.[4]

But his application was unsuccessful; the queen and the lord treasurer, distinguished as they were for penetration into character, being little disposed

the highest degree of cipher, which is to signify omnia per omnia, yet so, as the writing infolding, may bear a quintuple proportion to the writing infolded; no other condition or restriction whatsoever is required.

[1] His meditations were both upon natural science and human sciences, as will appear from the following facts.

In his History of Life and Death, speaking of the differences between youth and old age, and having enumerated many of them, he proceeds thus: When I was a young man at Poictiers in France, I familiarly conversed with a young gentleman of that country, who was extremely ingenious, but somewhat talkative; he afterwards became a person of great eminence. This gentleman used to inveigh against the manners of old people, and would say, that if one could see their minds as well as their bodies, their minds would appear as deformed as their bodies; and indulging his own humour, he pretended, that the defects of old men's minds, in some measure corresponded to the defects of their bodies. Thus, dryness of the skin, he said, was answered by impudence; hardness of the viscera, by relentlessness; blear-eyes, by envy; and an evil eye, their down look, and incurvation of the body, by atheism, as no longer, says he, looking up to heaven; the trembling and shaking of the limbs, by unsteadiness and inconstancy; the bending of their fingers as to lay hold of something, by rapacity and avarice; the weakness of their knees, by fearfulness; their wrinkles, by indirect dealings and cunning, &c.

And again, for echoes upon echoes, there is a rare instance thereof in a place which I will now exactly describe. It is some three or four miles from Paris, near a town called Pont-Charenton; and some bird-bolt shot or more from the river of Sein. The room is a chapel or small church. The walls all standing, both at the sides and at the ends. Speaking at the one end, I did hear it return the voice thirteen several times. (Sylva, art. 249.)

There are certain letters that an echo will hardly express; as S for one, especially being principal in a word. I remember well, that when I went to the echo at Pont-Charenton, there was an old Parisian, that took it to be the work of spirits, and of good spirits. For, said he, call "Satan," and the echo will not deliver back the devil's name; but will say, "va t'en;" which is as much in French as "apage," or avoid. And thereby I did hap to find, that an echo would not return an S, being but a hissing and an interior sound. (Art. 750.)

So too the nature of imagination continued to interest him. In the Sylva, art. 986, he says, the relations touching the force of imagination and the secret instincts of nature are so uncertain, as they require a great deal of examination ere we conclude upon them. I would have it first thoroughly inquired, whether there be any secret passages of sympathy between persons of near blood; as parents, children, brothers, sisters, nurse-children, husbands, wives, &c. There be many reports in history, that upon the death of persons of such nearness, men have had an inward feeling of it. I myself remember, that being in Paris, and my father dying in London, two or three days before my father's death I had a dream, which I told to divers English gentlemen, that my father's house in the country was plastered all over with black mortar.

[2] Rawley Biog. Brit.

[3] This is an expression of his own, I forget where.

[4] My singular good lord,

My humble duty remembered, and my humble thanks presented for your lordship's favour and countenance, which it pleased your lordship, at my being with you, to vouchsafe me, above my degree and desert: my lettor hath no further errand but to commend unto your lordship the remembrance of my suit, which then I moved unto you; whereof it also pleased your lordship to give me good hearing, so far forth as to promise to tender it unto her majesty, and withal to add, in behalf of it, that which I may better deliver by letter than by speech; which is, that although it must be confessed that the request is rare and unaccustomed, yet if it be observed how few there be which fall in with the study of the common laws, either being well left or friended, or at their own free election, or forsaking likely success in other studies of more delight and no less preferment, or setting hand thereunto early, without waste of years; upon such survey made, it may be my case may not seem ordinary, no more than my suit, and so more beseeming unto it. As I forced myself to say this in excuse of my motion, lest it should appear unto your lordship altogether indiscreet and unadvised, so my hope to obtain it resteth only upon your lordship's good affection toward me, and grace with her majesty, who, methinks, needeth never to call for the experience of the thing, where she hath so great and so good of the person which recommendeth it. According to which trust of mine, if it may please your lordship both herein and elsewhere to be my patron, and to make account of me, as one in whose well-doing your lordship hath interest, albeit, indeed, your lordship hath had place to benefit many, and wisdom to make due choice of lighting places for your goodness, yet do I not fear any of your lordship's former experiences for staying my thankfulness borne in art, howsoever God's good pleasure shall enable me or disable me, outwardly, to make proof thereof; for I cannot account your lordship's service distinct from that which I to God and my prince; the performance whereof to best proof and purpose is the meeting point and rendezvous of all my thoughts. Thus I take my leave of your lordship, in humble manner, committing you, as daily in my prayers, so, likewise, at this present, to the merciful protection of the Almighty.

Your most dutiful and bounden nephew,
From Grey's Inn, B. Fra.
this 16th of September, 1580.

To Lady Burghley, to speak for him to her lord.

My singular good lady,

I was as ready to shew myself mindful of my duty, by waiting on your ladyship, at your being in town, as now by writing, had I not feared lest your ladyship's short stay, and quick return might well spare me, that came of no earnest errand. I am not yet greatly perfect in ceremonies of court, whereof, I know, your ladyship knoweth both the right use, and true value. My thankful and serviceable mind shall be always like itself, howsoever it vary from the common disguising. Your ladyship is wise, and of good nature to discern from what mind every action proceedeth, and to esteem of it accordingly. This is all the message which my letter hath at this time to deliver, unless it please your ladyship further to give me leave to make this request unto you, that it would please your good ladyship, in your letters, wherewith you visit my good lord, to vouchsafe the mention and recommendation of my suit; wherein your ladyship shall bind me more unto you than I can look ever to be able sufficiently to acknowledge. Thus, in humble manner, I take my leave of your ladyship, committing you, as daily in my prayers, so, likewise, at this present, to the merciful providence of the Almighty.

Your ladyship's most dutiful and bounden nephew,
From Grey's Inn, B. Fra.
this 16th of September, 1580.

to encourage him to rely upon others rather than upon himself, and to venture on the quicksands of politics, instead of the certain profession of the law, in which the queen had, when he was a child, predicted that he would one day be her "lord keeper."

To law, therefore, he was reluctantly obliged to devote himself, and as it seems, in the year 1580, he was admitted a student of Gray's Inn, of which society his father had for many years been an illustrious member.[1]

Having engaged in this profession, he, as was to be expected, encountered and subdued the difficulties and obscurities of the science in which he was doomed to labour, and in which he afterwards was eminently distinguished, not only by his professional exertions and honours, but by his valuable works upon different practical parts of the law, and upon the improvement of the science, by exploring the principles of universal justice—the laws of law.

Extensive as were his legal researches, and great as was his legal knowledge, law was, however, but an accessory, not a principal study.[2] It was not to be expected that his mind should confine its researches within the narrow and perplexed study of precedents and authorities. He contracted his sight, when necessary, to the study of the law, but he dilated it to the whole circle of science, and continued his meditations upon his immortal work, which he had projected when in the university.

This course of legal and philosophical research was accompanied with such sweetness and affability of deportment, that he gained the affections of the whole society, and the kindness he experienced was not lost upon him. He assisted in their festivities; he beautified their spacious garden, and raised an elegant structure, known for many years after his death, as "The Lord Bacon's Lodgings," in which at intervals he resided till his death.

When he was only twenty-six years of age, he was promoted to the bench; in his twenty-eighth year he was elected lent reader;[3] and the 42d of Elizabeth he was appointed double reader.

[1] The admission book at Gray's Inn begins in the year 1580; but the first four pages have been torn out. Bacon's name, however, appears in the list of members of the society, in the year 1581: the book abounds with Lord Bacon's autographs.

[2] Contemplation feels no hunger, nor is sensible of any thirst, but of that after knowledge. How fresh and exalted a pleasure did David find from his meditation in the divine law! all the day long it was the theme of his thoughts. The affairs of state, the government of his kingdom, might indeed employ, but it was this only that refreshed his mind. How short of this are the delights of the epicure! how vastly disproportionate are the pleasures of the eating and of the thinking man! indeed as different as the silence of an Archimedes in the study of a problem, and the stillness of a sow at her wash.—*South.*

Being returned from travel he applied himself to the study of the common law, which he took upon him to be his profession. Notwithstanding that he professed the law for his livelihood and subsistence, yet his heart and affection was more carried after the affairs and places of state; for which, if the majesty royal then had been pleased, he was most fit. The narrowness of his circumstances obliged him to think of some profession for a subsistence; and he applied himself, more through necessity than choice, to the study of the common law, in which he obtained to great excellence, though he made that (as himself said) but as an accessory, and not his principal study.—*Rawley.*

[3] Dugdale, in his account of Bacon, says, in 30th Elizabeth, (being then but twenty-eight years of age) the honourable society of Gray's Inn chose him for their lent reader. Orig. p. 295.

His agreeable occupations, and extensive views of science, during his residence in Gray's Inn, did not check his professional exertions. In the year 1586, he applied to the lord treasurer to be called within the bar;[4] and in his thirtieth year was sworn queen's counsel learned extraordinary,[5] an honour which, until that time, had never been conferred upon any member of the profession.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HIS ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE TILL HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AS SOLICITOR.

1590 to 1596.

He thus entered on public life, submitting, as a lawyer and a statesman, to worldly occupations

[4] In the time of Lord Bacon there was a distinction between outer and inner barristers. By the following letter in 1586, it will appear that he applied to the lord treasurer that he might be called within bars.

To the right honourable the lord treasurer.*

My very good lord,

I take it as an undoubted sign of your lordship's favour unto me that, being hardly informed of me, you took occasion rather of good advice than of evil opinion thereby. And if your lordship had grounded only upon the said information of theirs, I might and would truly have upholden that few of the matters were justly objected; as the very circumstances do induce, in that they were delivered by men that did misaffect me, and, besides, were to give colour to their own doings. But because your lordship did mingle therewith both a late motion of mine own, and somewhat which you had otherwise heard, I know it to be my duty (and so do I stand affected) rather to prove your lordship's admonition effectual in my doings hereafter, than causeless by excusing what is past. And yet (with your lordship's pardon humbly asked) it may please you to remember, that I did endeavour to set forth that said motion in such sort as it might breed no harder effect than a denial. And I protest simply before God, that I sought therein an ease in coming within bars, and not any extraordinary or singular note of favour. And for that your lordship may otherwise have heard of me it shall make me more wary and circumspect in carriage of myself; indeed I find in my simple observation, that they which live as it were in *umbra* and not in public or frequent action, how moderately and modestly soever they behave themselves, yet *laborant invidia*; I find also that such persons as are of nature bashful, (as myself is,) whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well, and I most humbly beseech your lordship to believe, that arrogancy and overweening is so far from my nature, as if I think well of myself in any thing it is in this, that I am free from that vice. And I hope upon this your lordship's speech, I have entered into those considerations, as my behaviour shall no more deliver me for other than I am. And so wishing unto your lordship all honour, and to myself continuance of your good opinion, with mind and means to deserve it, I humbly take my leave.

Your lordship's most bounden nephew,

Grey's Inn, this 6th of May, 1586. Fr. Bacon.

[5] Rawley, in his life, says, he was, after a while, sworn to the queen's counsel learned extraordinary; a grace, if I err not, scarce known before. "He was counsel learned extraordinary to his majesty, as he had been to Queen Elizabeth." Extract from Biographia Britannica, vol. i. page 373.—He distinguished himself no less in his practice, which was very considerable; and after discharging the office of reader at Gray's Inn, which he did, in 1588, when in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he was become so considerable, that the queen, who never over valued any man's abilities, thought fit to call him to her service in a way which did him very great honour, by appointing him her counsel learned in the law extraordinary: by which, though she contributed abundantly to his reputation, yet she added but very little to his fortune, as indeed in this respect he was never much indebted to her majesty, how much soever he might be in all others. He, in his apology respecting Lord Essex, says, "They sent for us of the learned council."

* Lands. MS. li. art. 5. Orig.

and the pursuit of worldly honours, that, sooner or later, he might escape into the calm regions of philosophy.

At this period the court was divided into two parties: at the head of the one were the two Cecils; of the other, the Earl of Leicester, and afterwards his son-in-law, the Earl of Essex.

To the Cecils Bacon was allied. He was the nephew of Lord Burleigh, and first cousin to Sir Robert Cecil, the principal secretary of state; but, connected as he was to the Cecils by blood, his affections were with Essex. Generous, ardent, and highly cultivated, with all the romantic enthusiasm of chivalry, and all the graces and accomplishments of a court, Essex was formed to gain partisans, and attach friends. Attracted by his mind and character, Bacon could have but little sympathy with Burleigh, who thought £100 an extravagant gratuity to the author of the Fairy Queen, which he was pleased to term "an old song," and, probably, deemed the listeners to such songs little better than idle dreamers. There was much grave learning and much pedantry at court, but literature of the lighter sort was regarded with coldness, and philosophy with suspicion: instead, therefore, of uniting himself to the party in power, he not only formed an early friendship himself with Essex, but attached to his service his brother Anthony, who had returned from abroad, with a great reputation for ability and a knowledge of foreign affairs.

This intimacy could not fail to excite the jealousy of Lord Burleigh; and, in after life, Bacon was himself sensible that he had acted unwisely, and that his noble kinsmen had some right to complain of the readiness with which he and his brother had embraced the views of their powerful rival. But, attached as he was to Essex, Bacon was not so imprudent as to neglect an application to them whenever opportunity offered to forward his interests. In a letter written in the year 1591 to Lord Burleigh, in which he says that "thirty-one years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass," he made another effort to extricate himself from the slavery of the law, by endeavouring to procure some appointment at court; that, "not being a man born under Sol that loveth honour, nor under Jupiter that loveth business, but wholly carried away by the contemplative planet," he might by that mean become a true pioneer in the deep mines of truth. To these applications, the Cecils were not entirely inattentive; for, although not influenced by any sympathy for genius, "for a speculative man indulging himself in philosophical reveries, and calculated more to perplex than to promote public business," as he was represented by his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil,[1] they procured for him the reversion of the Registership of the Star Chamber, worth about £1600 a year, for which, modestly ascribing his success to the remembrance of his father's virtues, he immediately acknowledged his obligation to the queen. This reversion, however, was not of any immediate value; for, not falling into possession till after the lapse of twenty years, he said that "it was like another man's ground buttailing upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barns."

In the parliament which met on February 19, 1592, and which was chiefly called for consultation and preparation against the ambitious designs of the King of Spain, Bacon sat as one of the knights for Middlesex. On the 25th of February, 1592, he, in his first speech, earnestly recommended the improvement of the law, an improvement which through life he availed himself of every opportunity to encourage, not only by his speeches, but by his works; in which he admonishes lawyers, that although they have a tendency to resist the progress of legal improvement, and are not the best improvers of law, it is their duty to visit and strengthen the roots and foundation of their science, productive of such blessings to themselves and to the community; and he submitted to the king that the most sacred trust to sovereign power consisted in the establishing good laws for the regulation of the kingdom, and as an example to the world.

To assist in the improvement which he recommended, he, in after life, prepared a plan for a digest and amendment of the whole law, and particularly of the penal law of England, and a tract upon Universal Justice; the one like a fruitful shower, profitable and good for the latitude of ground on which it falls, the other like the benefits of heaven, permanent and universal.

In another debate on the 7th of March, Bacon forcibly represented, as reasons for deferring for six years the payment of the subsidies to which the house had consented, the distresses of the people, the danger of raising public discontent, and the evil of making so bad a precedent against themselves and posterity. With this speech the queen was much displeased, and caused her displeasure to be communicated to Bacon both by the lord treasurer and by the lord keeper. He heard them with the calmness of a philosopher, saying, that "he spoke in discharge of his conscience and duty to God, to the queen, and to his country; that he well knew the common beaten road to favour, and the impossibility that he who selected a course of life 'estimate only by the few,' should be approved by the many." He said this, not in anger, but in the consciousness of the dignity of his pursuits, and with the full knowledge of the doctrine and consequences both of concealment and revelation of opinion: of the time to speak and the time to be silent.

If, after this admonition, he was more cautious in the expression of his sentiments, he did not

[1] There is a letter containing this expression, but I cannot find it.

relax in his parliamentary exertions, or sacrifice the interests of the public at the foot of the throne. He spoke often, and always with such force and eloquence as to insure the attention of the house; and, though he spoke generally on the side of the court, he was regarded as the advocate of the people: a powerful advocate, according to his friend, Ben Jonson, who thus speaks of his parliamentary eloquence: "There happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking: his language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered: no member of his speech but consisted of its own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss: he commanded when he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power: the fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."

It would have been fortunate for society if this check had impressed upon his mind the vanity of attempting to unite the scarcely reconcileable characters of the philosopher and the courtier. His high birth and elegant taste unfitted Bacon for the common walks of life, and by surrounding him with artificial wants, compelled him to exertions uncongenial to his nature: but the love of truth, of his country, and an undying spirit of improvement, ever in the train of knowledge, ill suited him for the trammels in which he was expected to move. Through the whole of his life he endeavoured to burst his bonds, and escape from law and politics, from mental slavery to intellectual liberty. Perhaps the charge of inconsistency, so often preferred against him, may be attributed to the varying impulse of such opposite motives.[1]

In the spring of 1594,[2] by the promotion of Sir Edward Coke to the office of Attorney General, the solicitorship became vacant. This had been foreseen by Bacon, and, from his near alliance to the lord treasurer; from the friendship of Lord Essex; from the honourable testimony of the bar and of the bench; from the protection he had a right to hope for from the queen, for his father's sake; from the consciousness of his own merits and of the weakness of his competitors, Bacon could scarcely doubt of his success. He did not, however, rest in an idle security; for though, to use his own expression, he was "voiced with great expectation, and the wishes of all men," yet he strenuously applied to the lord keeper, to Lord Burleigh, to Sir Robert Cecil, and to his noble friend Lord Essex, to further his suit.

To the Lord Keeper Puckering he applied as to a lawyer, having no sympathy with his pursuits or value for his attainments, in the hope of preventing his opposition, rather than from any expectation of his support; and he calculated rightly upon the lord keeper's disposition towards him, for, either hurt by Bacon's manner, of which he appeared to have complained, or from the usual antipathy of common minds to intellectual superiority, the lord keeper represented to the queen that two lawyers, of the names of Brograve and Brathwayte, were more meritorious candidates. Of the conduct of the lord keeper he felt and spoke indignantly. "If," he says, "it please your lordship but to call to mind from whom I am descended, and by whom, next to God, her majesty, and your own virtue, your lordship is ascended, I know you will have a compunction of mind to do me any wrong."

To Lord Burleigh he applied as to his relation and patron, and, as a motive to insure his protection, he intimated his intention to devote himself to legal pursuits, an intimation likely to be of more efficacy to this statesman than the assurance that the completion of the Novum Organum depended upon his success: and he formed a correct estimate of the lord treasurer, who strongly interceded with the queen, and kindly communicated to Bacon the motives by which she was influenced against him.

To Sir Robert Cecil he also applied, as to a kinsman; and, during the course of his solicitation, having suspected that he had been bribed by his opponent, openly accused him; but, having discovered his error, he immediately acknowledged that his suspicions were unfounded. He still, however, maintained that there had been treachery somewhere, and that a word the queen had used against him had been put into her mouth by Sir Robert's messenger.

Essex, with all the zeal of his noble and ardent nature, endeavoured to influence the queen on behalf of his friend, by every power which he possessed over her affections and her understanding; availing himself of the most happy moments to address her, refuting all the reasons which she could adduce against his promotion, and representing the rejection of his suit as an injustice to the public, and a great unkindness to himself. Not content with these earnest solicitations, Essex applied to every person by whom the queen was likely to be influenced.

That Bacon had a powerful enemy was evinced not only by the whole of Elizabeth's conduct during this protracted suit, but by the anger with which she met the earnest pleadings of Essex; by her perpetual refusals to come to any decision, and above all, by her remarkable expressions, that "Bacon had a great wit, and much learning, but that in law he could show to the uttermost of his knowledge, and was not deep." Essex was convinced that his enemy was the lord keeper, to whom he wrote, desiring "that the lord keeper

[1] During this year he published a tract, containing observations upon libel. See p. 900.
[2] 10 April, Dug. Orig.

would no longer consider him a suitor for Bacon, but for himself; that upon him would light the disgrace as well of the protraction as of the refusal of the suit; and complained with much bitterness of those who ought to be Bacon's friends.[1]

To the queen, Bacon applied by a letter worthy of them both. He addressed her respectfully, but with a full consciousness that he deserved the appointment, and that he had not deserved the reprimand he had received from her majesty, for the honest exercise of his duty in parliament. Apologizing for his boldness and plainness, he told the queen, "that his mind turned upon other wheels than those of profit; that he sought no great matter, but a place in his profession, often given to younger men; that he had never sought her but by her own desire, and that he would not wrong himself by doing it at that time, when it might be thought he did it for profit; and that if her majesty found other and abler men, he should be glad there was such choice of them." This letter, according to the custom of the times, he accompanied by a present of a jewel. When the queen, with the usual property of royalty, not to forget, mentioned his speech in parliament which yet rankled in her mind, and with an antipathy, unworthy of her love of letters, said, "he was rather a man of study, than of practice and experience;" he reminded her of his father, who was made solicitor of the Augmentation Office when he was only twenty-seven years old, and had never practised, and that Mr. Brograve, who had been recommended by the lord keeper, was without practice.

This contest lasted from April, 1594, till November, 1595; and what at first was merely doubt and hesitation in the queen's mind, became a struggle against the ascendency which she was conscious Essex had obtained over her, as she more than once urged that "if either party were to give way, it ought to be Essex; that his affection for Bacon should yield to her mislike." Of this latent cause Essex became sensible, and said to Bacon, "I never found the queen passionate against you till I was passionate for you."

Such was the nature of this contest, which was so long protracted, that success could not compensate for the trouble of the pursuit; of this, and the difficulties of his situation, he bitterly complained. "To be," he said, "like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again. I am weary of it, as also of wearying my good friends."

On the 5th of November, 1596,[2] Mr. Sergeant Fleming was appointed solicitor-general, to the surprise of the public, and the deep-felt mortification of Bacon, and of his patron and friend, Lord Essex. The mortification of Essex partook strongly of the extremes of his character; of the generous regard of wounded affection, and the bitter vexation of wounded pride; he complained that a man every way worthy had "fared ill, because he had made him a mean and dependence;" but he did not rest here: he generously undertook the care of Bacon's future fortunes, and, by the gift of an estate, worth about £1800, at the beautiful village of Twickenham, endeavoured to remunerate him for his great loss of time and grievous disappointment.

How bitterly Bacon felt the disgrace of the queen's rejection, is apparent by his own letter, where he says, that "rejected with such circumstances, he could no longer look upon his friends, and that he should travel, and hoped that her majesty would not be offended that, no longer able to endure the sun, he had fled into the shade."

His greatest annoyance during this contest had arisen from the interruption of thoughts generally devoted to higher things. After a short retirement, "where he once again enjoyed the blessings of contemplation in that sweet solitariness which collecteth the mind, as shutting the eyes does the sight," during which he seems to have invented an instrument resembling a barometer, he resumed his usual habits of study, consoled by the consciousness of worth, which, though it may at first imbitter defeat from a sense of injustice, never fails ultimately to mitigate disappointment, by insuring the sympathy of the wise and the good.

This cloud soon passed away; for, though Bacon had stooped to politics, his mind, when he resumed his natural position, was far above the agitation of disappointed ambition. During his retirement he wrote to the queen, expressing his submission to the providence of God, which he says findeth it expedient for me "*tolerare jugum in juventute mea;*" and assuring her majesty that her service should not be injured by any want of his exertions. His forbearance was not lost upon the queen, who, satisfied with her victory, soon afterwards, with an expression of kindness, employed him in her service: and some effort was made to create a new vacancy by the advancement of Fleming.

During the contest, the University of Cambridge had conferred upon him the degree of master of arts, and he had in the first throes of vexation declared his intention of retiring there, a resolution, which, unfortunately for philosophy, he did not put into practice.

[1] *To the right honourable the lord keeper, &c.*—My very good lord, The want of assistance from them which should be Mr. Fr. Bacon's friends, makes [me] the more industrious myself, and the more earnest in soliciting mine own friends. Upon me the labour must lie of his establishment, and upon me the disgrace will light of his being refused. Therefore I pray your lordship, now account me not as a solicitor only of my friend's cause, but as a party interested in this; and employ all your lordship's favour to me, or strength for me, in procuring a short and speedy end. For though I know it will never be carried any other way, yet I hold both my friend and myself disgraced by this protraction. More I would write, but that I know to so honourable and kind a friend, this which I have said is enough. And so I commend your lordship to God's best protection, resting, at your lordship's commandment,—Essex.

[2] See Dug. Orig. Jud.

In the year 1596 Bacon completed a valuable tract upon the elements and use of the common law. It consists in the first part of twenty-five legal maxims, as specimens selected from three hundred, in which he was desirous to establish in the science of law, as he was to establish in all science, general truths for the diminution of individual labour, and the foundation of future discoveries: and, his opinion being that general truths could be discovered only by an extensive collection of particulars, he proceeded in this work upon the plan suggested in his Novum Organum.

In the second part he explains the use of the law for the security of persons, reputation, and property; which, with the greatest anxiety to advance freedom of thought and liberty of action, he well knew and always inculcated, was to be obtained only by the strength of the law restraining and directing individual strength.[1] In Orpheus's Theatre, he says, "all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, and some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men: who are are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge, which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence, and persuasion of books, of sermons, and harangues; so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."

His preface contains his favourite doctrine, that "there is a debt of obligation from every member of a profession to assist in improving the science in which he has successfully practised," and he dedicated his work to the queen, as a sheaf and cluster of fruit of the good and favourable season enjoyed by the nation, from the influence of her happy government, by which the people were taught that part of the study of a good prince was to adorn and honour times of peace by the improvement of the laws. Although this tract was written in the year 1596, and although he was always a great admirer of Elizabeth, it was not published till after his death.

The exertions which had been made by Essex to obtain the solicitorship for his friend, and his generous anxiety to mitigate his disappointment, had united them by the strongest bonds of affection.

In the summer of 1596, Essex was appointed to the command of an expedition against Spain; and though he was much troubled during the embarkation of his troops, by the want of discipline in the soldiery, chiefly volunteers, and by the contentions of their officers, too equal to be easily commanded, yet he did not forget the interests of Bacon, but wrote from Plymouth to the new-placed lord keeper, and all his friends in power, strongly recommending him to their protection.

In the early part of the year 1597 his first publication appeared. It is a small 12mo. volume of Essays, Religious Meditations, and a table of the Colours of Good and Evil. In his dedication to his loving and beloved brother, he states that he published to check the circulation of spurious copies, "like some owners of orchards, who gathered the fruit before it was ripe, to prevent stealing;" and he expresses his conviction that there was nothing in the volume contrary, but rather medicinable to religion and manners, and his hope that the Essays would, to use his own words, "be like the late new halfpence, which, though the pieces were small, the silver was good."

The Essays, which are ten[2] in number, abound with condensed thought and practical wisdom, neatly, pressly, and weightily stated,[3] and, like all his early works, are simple, without imagery. They are written in his favourite style of aphorisms, although each essay is apparently a continued work;[4] and without that love of antithesis and false glitter to which truth and justness of thought is frequently sacrificed by the writers of maxims.

Another edition, with a translation of the Meditationes Sacræ, was published in the next year; and a third in 1612, when he was solicitor-general; and a fourth in 1625, the year before his death.

The essays in the subsequent editions are much augmented, according to his own words; "I always alter when I add, so that nothing is finished till all his finished," and they are adorned by happy and familiar illustration, as in the essay of "Wisdom for a Man's self," which concludes in the edition of 1625 with the following extract, not to be found in the previous edition:—"Wisdom for a man's self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it

[1] *In societati civili, aut lex aut vis valet.—Justitia Universalis.*

[2] 1. Of Study.
2. Of Discourse.
3. Of Ceremonies and Respect.
4. Of Followers and Friends.
5. Suitors.
6. Of Expense.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Honour and Reputation.
9. Of Faction.
10. Of Negociating.

[3] See Ben Jonson's description of his speaking in parliament, ante. 25.

[4] The following is selected as a specimen from his first essay "*Of Study*:"

¶ Reade not to contradict, nor to believe, but to waigh and consider.

¶ Some bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read but cursorily, and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention.

¶ Histories make men wise, poets wittie, the mathematicks subtile, natural philosophie deepe, moral, grave; logicke, and rhetoricke able to contend.

fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, who shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which, as Cicero says of Pompey, are *sui amantes sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned."

So in the essay upon Adversity, on which he had deeply reflected, before the edition of 1625, when it first appeared, he says: "The virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasures of the heart by the pleasures of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."

The essays were immediately translated into French and Italian, and into Latin by some of his friends, amongst whom were Hacket, Bishop of Litchfield, and his constant, affectionate friend, Ben Jonson.[1]

His own estimate of the value of this work is thus stated in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester: "As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that manner purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that these kind of writings would, with less pains and assiduity, perhaps yield more lustre and reputation to my name than the others I have in hand."

Although it was not likely that such lustre and reputation would dazzle him, the admirer of Phocion,[2] who, when applauded, turned to one of his friends, and asked, "what have I said amiss?" although popular judgment was not likely to mislead him who concludes his observations upon the objections to learning and the advantages of knowledge, by saying, "Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment either of Æsop's cock, that preferred the barleycorn before the gem; or of Midas, that, being chosen judge between Apollo, president of the muses, and Pan, god of the flocks, judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power. For these things continue as they have been; but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not. 'Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis:'"[3] yet he seems to have undervalued this little work, which, for two centuries, has been favourably received by every lover of knowledge and of beauty, and is now so well appreciated, that a celebrated professor of our own times truly says: "The small volume to which he has given the title of 'Essays,' the best known and the most popular of all his works, is one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties."[4]

During his life, six or more editions, which seem to have been pirated, were published; and, after his death, two spurious essays "Of Death,"[5] and "Of a King," the only authentic posthumous essay being the fragment of an essay on Fame, which was published by his friend and chaplain, Dr. Rawley.

The sacred meditations, which are twelve in number,[6] are in the first edition in Latin, and have been partly incorporated into subsequent editions of the Essays, and into the Advancement of Learning.

The Colours of Good and Evil, are ten in number, and were afterwards inserted in the Advancement of Learning,[7] in his tract on Rhetoric.

Such was the nature of his first work, which was gratefully received by his learned contemporaries, as the little cloud seen by the prophet, and welcomed as the harbinger of showers that would fertilize the whole country.

[1] Tennison. See note (a), p. 226.
[2] Apothegm 30.
[3] See p. 184
[4] Dugald Stewart.
[5] Of the Works of God and Man.
Of the Miracles of our Saviour.
Of the Innocency of the Dove, and the Wisdom of the Serpent.
Of the Exaltation of Charity.
Of the Moderation of Cares.
Of Earthly Hope.
Of Hypocrites.
Of Impostors.
Of the several kinds of Imposture.
Of Atheism.
Of Heresies.
Of the Church and the Scripture.
[6] See p. 216.

While, in this year, the Earl of Essex was preparing for his voyage, Bacon communicated to him his intention of making a proposal of marriage to the Lady Hatton, the wealthy widow of Sir William Hatton, and daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, and desired his lordship's interest in support of his pretensions, trusting, he said, "that the beams of his lordship's pen might dissolve the coldness of his fortune." Essex, with his wonted zeal, warmly advocated the cause of his friend; he wrote in the strongest terms to the father and mother of the lady, assuring them "that if Bacon's suit had been to his own sister or daughter, he would as confidently further it, as he now endeavoured to persuade them." Neither Bacon's merit, or the generous warmth of his noble patron touched the heart of the lady, who, fortunately for Bacon, afterwards became the wife of his great rival, Sir Edward Coke.

In this year he seems to have been in great pecuniary difficulties, which, however they may have interrupted, did not prevent his studies; for, amidst his professional and political labours, he published a new edition of his essays,[1] and composed a law tract, not published until some years after his death, entitled the History of the Alienation Office.

In the year 1599, the celebrated case of Perpetuities, which had been argued many times at the bar of the King's Bench, was, on account of its difficulty and great importance, ordered to be argued in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges of England;[2] and after a first argument by Coke, Solicitor-General, a second argument was directed, and Bacon was selected to discharge this arduous duty, to which he seems to have given his whole mind; and although Sir Edward Coke, in his report, states that he did not hear the arguments, the case is reported at great length, and the reasoning has not been lost, for the manuscript exists, and seems to have been incorporated in his reading on the statute of uses to the society of Gray's Inn.

He thus commences his address to the students: "I have chosen to read upon the Statute of Uses, a law whereupon the inheritances of this realm are tossed at this day, like a ship upon the sea, in such sort, that it is hard to say which bark will sink, and which will get to the haven; that is to say, what assurances will stand good, and what will not. Neither is this any lack or default in the pilots, the grave and learned judges; but the tides and currents of received error, and unwarranted and abusive experience have been so strong, as they were not able to keep a right course according to the law. Herein, though I could not be ignorant either of the difficulty of the matter, which he that taketh in hand shall soon find, or much less of my own unableness, which I had continual sense and feeling of; yet, because I had more means of absolution than the younger sort, and more leisure than the greater sort, I did think it not impossible to work some profitable effect; the rather because where an inferior wit is bent and constant upon one subject, he shall many times, with patience and meditation, dissolve and undo many of the knots, which a greater wit, distracted with many matters, would rather cut in two than unknit: and, at the least, if my invention or judgment be too barren or too weak, yet by the benefit of other arts, I did hope to dispose or digest the authorities and opinions which are in cases of uses in such order and method, as they should take light one from another, though they took no light from me."

He then proceeds in a luminous exposition of the statute, of which a celebrated lawyer of our times,[3] says: "Lord Bacon's reading on the Statute of Uses is a very profound treatise on the subject, so far as it goes, and shows that he had the clearest conception of one of the most abstruse parts of our law. What might we not have expected from the hands of such a master, if his vast mind had not so embraced within its compass the whole field of science, as very much to detach him from his professional studies?"

There is an observation of the same nature by a celebrated professor in another department of science, Sir John Hawkins, who, in his History of Music, says, "Lord Bacon, in his Natural History, has given a great variety of experiments touching music, that show him to have not been barely a philosopher, an inquirer into the phenomena of sound, but a master of the science of harmony, and very intimately acquainted with the precepts of musical composition." And, in coincidence with his lordship's sentiments of harmony, he quotes the following passage: "The sweetest and best harmony is when every part or instrument is not heard by itself, but a conflation of them all, which requireth to stand some distance off, even as it is in the mixtures of perfumes, or the taking of the smells of several flowers in the air."

With these legal and literary occupations he continued without intermission his parliamentary exertions, there not having been during the latter part of the queen's reign any debate in which he was not a distinguished speaker, or any important committee of which he was not an active member.

Early in the year 1599, a large body of the Irish, denied the protection of the laws, and hunted like wild beasts by an insolent soldiery, fled the neighbourhood of cities, sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests, and grew every day more intractable and dangerous; it became no

[1] It differs from the edition of 1597 only in having the Meditationes Sacræ in English instead of Latin.
[2] 1 Coke, 121, p. 267
[3] Mr. Hargrave.

cessary, therefore, that some vigorous measures should be adopted to restrain their excesses.

A powerful army was raised, of which the command was intended by the queen to be conferred upon Lord Mountjoy; but Essex solicited an employment, which at once gratified his ambition and suited the ardour of his character, and which his enemies sought for him more zealously than his friends, foreseeing the loss of the queen's favour, from the certainty of his absence from court, and the probable failure of his expedition.

From the year 1596 till this period there had been some interruption of the intimacy between Bacon and Essex, arising from the honest expression of his opinion of the unwise and unworthy use which Essex made of his power over the queen. Notwithstanding the temporary estrangement which this difference of opinion occasioned, Essex was unwilling to accept this important command without consulting his intelligent friend.

Bacon's narrative gives a striking picture of both parties. He says, "Sure I am (though I can arrogate nothing to myself but that I was a faithful remembrance to his lordship) that while I had most credit with him his fortune went on best. And yet in two main points we always directly and contradictorily differed, which I will mention to your lordship, because it giveth light to all that followed. The one was, I ever set this down, that the only course to be held with the queen was by obsequiousness and observance; and I remember I would usually engage confidently, that if he would take that course constantly, and with choice of good particulars to express it, the queen would be brought in time to Assuerus' question, to ask, what should be done to the man that the king would honour? meaning, that her goodness was without limit, where there was a true concurrence, which I knew in her nature to be true. My lord, on the other side, had a settled opinion, that the queen could be brought to nothing but by a kind of necessity and authority; and I well remember, when by violent courses at any time he had got his will, he would ask me: Now, sir, whose principles be true? And I would again say to him: My lord, these courses be like to hot waters, they will help at a pang; but if you use them, you shall spoil the stomach, and you shall be fain still to make them stronger and stronger, and yet in the end they will lese their operation: with much other variety, wherewith I used to touch that string. Another point was, that I always vehemently dissuaded him from seeking greatness by a military dependence, or by a popular dependence, as that which would breed in the queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the state perturbation; and I did usually compare them to Icarus' two wings, which were joined on with wax, and would make him venture to soar too high, and then fail him at the height. And I would further say unto him: My lord, stand upon two feet, and fly not upon two wings. The two feet are the two kinds of justice, commutative and distributive: use your greatness for advancing of merit and virtue, and relieving wrongs and burdens; you shall need no other art or fineness: but he would tell me, that opinion came not from my mind, but from my robe. But this difference in two points so main and material, bred in process of time a discontinuance of privateness (as it is the manner of men seldom to communicate where they think their courses not approved) between his lordship and myself; so as I was not called nor advised with for some year and a half before his lordship's going into Ireland, as in former time: yet nevertheless, touching his going into Ireland, it pleased him expressly and in a set manner to desire mine opinion and counsel."[1]

Thus consulted, Bacon, with prophetic wisdom, warned him of the ruin that would inevitably result from his acceptance of an appointment, attended not only with peculiar difficulties, which from habit and temper he was unfit to encounter, but also with the certain loss of the queen's favour, from his absence, and the constant plotting of his enemies. Essex heard this advice, urged as it was, with an anxiety almost parental, as advice is generally heard when opposed to strong passion. It was totally disregarded. It is but justice to Bacon to hear his own words. He says: "I did not only dissuade, but protest against his going, telling him with as much vehemency and asseveration as I could, that absence in that kind would exulcerate the queen's mind, whereby it would not be possible for him to carry himself so as to give her sufficient contentment; nor for her to carry herself so as to give him sufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the state. And because I would omit no argument, I remember I stood also upon the difficulty of the action: many other reasons I used, so as I am sure I never in any thing in my lifetime dealt with him in like earnestness by speech, by writing, and by all the means I could devise. For I did as plainly see his overthrow chained, as it were by destiny, to that journey, as it is possible for a man to ground a judgment upon future contingents. But my lord, howsoever his ear was open, yet his heart and resolution was shut against that advice, whereby his ruin might have been prevented."[1]

It did not require Bacon's sagacity to foresee these sad consequences. Elizabeth had given an unwilling assent to the appointment, and, though accustomed to yield to the vehement demands of her favourite, was neither blind to his faults, or slow in remembering them, when his absence gave her time for reflection; but she shared with all monarchs the common wish to obtain the dis-

interested affection of those whom she distinguished with her favour.

By the loss of Leicester, and the recent death of Burleigh, she was left in the decline of her life "in a solitude of friends," when Essex, of a character more congenial to the queen than either of those noblemen, became, between twenty and thirty years of age, a candidate for court favour. Well read, highly born, accomplished, and imbued with the romantic chivalry of the times, he amused her by his gayety, and flattered her by his gallantry; the rash ingenuousness of his temper gave an air of sincerity to all his words and actions, while strength of will, and a daring and lofty spirit like her own, lessened the distance between them, and completed the ascendency which he gained over her affections; an ascendency which, even if the queen had not been surrounded by his rivals and enemies, could not but be diminished by his absence.

In March, 1599, he was appointed lord lieutenant, and, attended with the flower of the nobility and the acclamations of the people, he quitted London, and in the latter end of the month arrived at Dublin. From this time until his return, the whole of his actions were marked by a strong determination that his will should be paramount to that of the queen.

The first indication of his struggle for power was the appointment, against the express wish of the queen, of his friend, Lord Southampton, to be general of the horse, which he was ordered to rescind. Essex, who had much personal courage, and who would have distinguished himself at a tournament, or a passage at arms, being totally unfit to manage an expedition requiring all the skill, experience, and patient endurance of a veteran soldier, the whole campaign was a series of rash enterprise, neglected opportunity, and relaxed discipline, involving himself and his country in defeat and disgrace. By this ill-advised conduct he so completely aliened the minds of his soldiers, that they were put to flight by an inferior number of the enemy; at which Essex was so much enraged, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the men.

Bacon, seeing how truly he had prophesied, and observing the pain felt by the queen, availed himself of every opportunity to prevent his ruin in her affections. "After my lord's going," he says, "I saw then how true a prophet I was, in regard of the evident alteration which naturally succeeded in the queen's mind; and thereupon I was still in watch to find the best occasion that in the weakness of my power I could either take or minister, to pull him out of the fire if it had been possible; and not long after, methought I saw some overture thereof, which I apprehended readily, a particularity I think be known to very few, and the which I do the rather relate unto your lordship, because I hear it should be talked, that while my lord was in Ireland I revealed some matters against him, or I cannot tell what; which, if it were not a mere slander as the rest is, but had any, though never so little colour, was surely upon this occasion. The queen one day at Nonsuch, a little (as I remember) before Cuffes coming over, I attending on her, showed a passionate distaste of my lord's proceedings in Ireland, as if they were unfortunate, without judgment, contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, and all that might be, and was pleased, as she spake of it to many that she trusted least, so to fall into the like speech with me; whereupon I, who was still awake, and true to my grounds which I thought surest for my lord's good, said to this effect: Madam, I know not the particulars of estate, and I know this, that princes' actions must have no abrupt periods or conclusions, but otherwise I would think, that if you had my Lord of Essex here with a white staff in his hand, as my Lord of Leicester had, and continued him still about you for society to yourself, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and court in the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of foreign ambassadors, then were he in his right element; for, to discontent him as you do, and yet to put arms and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly. And therefore if you would *imponere bonam clausulam*, and send for him, and satisfy him with honour near you, if your affairs, which (as I have said) I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think were the best way."[1]

These kind exertions for his friend were, however, wholly defeated by the haughtiness and imprudence of Essex, who, to the just remonstrances of the queen, gave no other answers than peevish complaints of his enemies; and, to the astonishment of all persons, he, without her permission, returned to England, arrived before any person could be apprized of his intention, and, the queen not being in London, he, without stopping to change his dress, or to take any refreshment, proceeded to Nonsuch, where the court was held. Travel-stained as he was, he sought the queen in her chamber, and found her newly risen, with her hair about her face. He kneeled to her, and kissed her hands. Elizabeth, taken by surprise, gave way to all her partiality for him, and to the pleasure she always had in his company. He left her presence well pleased with his reception, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storm abroad, that he found a sweet calm at home. He had another conference for an hour with the queen before midday, from which he returned well contented with his future prospects receiving the visits of the whole court, Cecil and his party excepted.[2]

[1] Bacon's Apology.

[2] See Sydney Papers, 117—127. Camden and Birch.

During the day the queen saw her ministers.[1] After dinner he found her much changed: she received him coldly, and appointed the lords to hear him in council that very afternoon. After sitting an hour, they adjourned the court to a full council on the next day; but, between eleven and twelve at night, an order came from the queen that Essex should keep his chamber.[2]

On the next day the lords met in council, and presented a favourable report to the queen, who said she would pause and consider it, Essex still continuing captive in his chamber,[3] from whence the queen ordered him to be committed into custody, lest, having his liberty, he might be far withdrawn from his duty through the corrupt counsels of turbulent men, not however to any prison, lest she might seem to destroy all hope of her ancient favour, but to the lord keeper's, at York House, to which in the afternoon he was taken from Nonsuch.[4]

Bacon's steady friendship again manifested itself. He wrote to Essex the moment he heard of his arrival, and in an interview between them, he urged the advice which he had communicated in his letter. This letter and advice are fortunately preserved. In his letter he says: My lord, conceiving that your lordship came now up in the person of a good servant to see your sovereign mistress, which kind of compliments are many times "instar magnorum meritorum;" and therefore that it would be hard for me to find you, I have committed to this poor paper the humble salutations of him that is more yours than any man's, and more yours than any man. To these salutations, I add a due and joyful gratulation, confessing that your lordship, in your last conference with me before your journey, spake not in vain, God making it good, that you trusted we should say, "quis putasset?" Which, as it is found true in a happy sense, so I wish you do not find another "quis putasset," in the manner of taking this so great a service; but I hope it is as he said, "nubecula est citò transibit;" and that your lordship's wisdom and obsequious circumspection and patience will turn all to the best. So referring all to sometime that I may attend you, I commit you to God's best preservation.

And his advice is thus stated by Bacon: "Well, the next news that I heard, was that my lord was come over, and that he was committed to his chamber for leaving Ireland without the queen's license: this was at Nonsuch, where (as my duty was) I came to his lordship, and talked with him privately about a quarter of an hour, and he asked mine opinion of the course that was taken with him; I told him: My lord, *nubecula est, cito transibit:* it is but a mist; but shall I tell your lordship it is as mists are, if it go upwards, it may perhaps cause a shower, if downwards it will clear up. And therefore, good my lord, carry it so, as you take away by all means all umbrages and distastes from the queen, and especially if I were worthy to advise you, (as I have been by yourself thought, and now your question imports the continuance of that opinion,) observe three points: first, make not this cessation or peace, which is concluded with Tyrone, as a service wherein you glory, but as a shuffling up of a prosecution which was not very fortunate. Next, represent not to the queen any necessity of estate, whereby, as by a coercion or wrench, she should think herself enforced to send you back into Ireland; but leave it to her. Thirdly, seek access, importune, opportune, seriously, sportingly, every way. I remember my lord was willing to hear me, but spake very few words, and shaked his head sometimes, as if he thought I was in the wrong; but sure I am, he did just contrary in every one of these three points."[5]

After his committal to the lord keeper's, there was great fluctuation of opinion with respect to his probable fate. On one day the hope of his restoration to favour prevailed; on the next, as the queen, by brooding over the misconduct of Essex, by additional accounts of the consequences of his errors in Ireland, by turbulent speeches and seditious pamphlets, was much exasperated, his ruin was predicted. Pamphlets were circulated and suppressed; there were various conferences at York House between the different statesmen and Essex; and it was ultimately determined that the matter should be investigated, not by public accusation, but by a declaration in the Star Chamber, in the absence of Essex, of the nature of his misconduct. Such was the result of the queen's conflict between public opinion and her affection for Essex.[6]

In this perplexity she consulted Bacon, who from this, and from any proceeding, earnestly dissuaded the queen, and warned her that, from the popularity of Essex and this unusual mode of accusation, it would be said that justice had her balance taken from her; and that, instead of promoting, it would interrupt the public tranquillity. She heard and was offended with his advice, and acted in direct opposition to it. At an assembly of privy councillors, of judges, and of statesmen, held on the 30th of November, they declared, without his being heard in his defence, the nature of Essex's misconduct; a proceeding which, as Bacon foretold, and which the queen too late acknowledged, aggravated the public discontent. At this assembly Bacon was not present, which, when his absence was mentioned by the queen, he excused by indisposition.[7]

[1] See Sydney Papers. Michaelmas day at noon, (vol. ii. p. 128,) containing the account of the different persons who hastened to court on that day.
[2] Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 129.
[3] Sydney Papers, 130—133. [4] Sydney Papers, 131—139.
[5] Bacon's Apology, vol. ii. p. 336.
[6] Sydney Papers, 131—139.
[7] Bacon's Apology, vol. ii. p. 340.

Bacon's account of this proceeding is as follows: "Immediately after the queen had thought of a course (which was also executed) to have somewhat published in the Star Chamber, for the satisfaction of the world, touching my lord of Essex his restraint, and my lord of Essex not to be called to it, but occasion to be taken by reason of some libels then dispersed; which when her majesty propounded unto me, I was utterly against it, and told her plainly that the people would say, that my lord was wounded upon his back, and that justice had her balance taken from her, which ever consisted of an accusation and defence, with many other quick and significant terms to that purpose; insomuch that I remember I said, that my lord *in foro famæ* was too hard for her; and therefore wished her, as I had done before, to wrap it up privately: and certainly I offended her at that time, which was rare with me; for I call to mind that both the Christmas, Lent, and Easter Term following, though I came divers times to her upon law business, yet methought her face and manner was not so clear and open to me, as it was at the first. But towards the end of Easter term, her majesty brake with me, and told me that she had found my words true, for that the proceeding in the Star Chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits, as she termed them, than quenched them."[1]

If the partisans of Essex had acted with the cautious wisdom of Bacon, the queen's affections undisturbed would have run kindly into their old channel, but his followers, by new seditious discourses and offensive placards, never gave her indignation time to cool. About Christmas, Essex, from agitation of mind, and protracted confinement, fell into a dangerous illness, and the queen sent to him some kind messages by her own physician, but his enemies persuaded her that his illness was partly feigned; and when at last his near approach to death softened the queen in his favour, the injudicious expressions of those divines who publicly prayed for him, amounting to sedition, entirely hardened her heart against him. Upon the earl's recovery, and after some months' patient endurance on his part, the queen desired to restore him to favour; and on the 19th of March Essex was removed to his own house, in the custody of Sir Richard Barkley.[2]

About three years previous to his accepting the command in Ireland, Essex published a tract, entitled "An Apologie of the Earl of Essex against those which jealously and maliciously tax him to be the hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country." This tract originated, as it seems, in an admonition of Bacon's, which he thus states: "I remember, upon his voyage to the islands, I saw every spring put forth such actions of charge and provocation, that I said to him, My lord, when I came first unto you I took you for a physician that desired to cure the diseases of the state; but now I doubt you will be like those physicians which can be content to keep their patients low, because they would always be in request: which plainness he nevertheless took very well, as he had an excellent ear, and was *patientissimus veri*, and assured me the case of the realm required it; and I think this speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked him to write that apology which is in many men's hands."[3]

Essex had scarcely been liberated, when the Apology was reprinted by some injudicious partisan. The queen, greatly exasperated, ordered two of the printers to be imprisoned, and meditated proceedings against Essex; but he having written to the Archbishop of Canterbury and various of his friends, and having ordered the publishers to suppress the work, the storm was averted.[4] The spirit in which the republication of this tract originated extended to the circulation of other libels,[5] so reflecting upon the conduct of the queen, that she said the subject should be publicly examined; and, acknowledging the foresight of Bacon with respect to the former inquiry, she consulted him as to the expediency of proceeding by information.

Against this or any proceeding Bacon earnestly protested; and, although the honest expression of his sentiments so much offended the queen that she rose from him in displeasure, it had the effect of suspending her determination for some weeks, though she ultimately ordered that Essex should be accused in the Star Chamber.

The following is Bacon's account of this resolution: "After this, during the while since my lord was committed to my lord keeper's, I came divers times to the queen, as I had used to do, about causes of her revenue and law business: when the queen at any time asked mine opinion of my lord's case, I ever in one tenor, besought her majesty to be advised again and again, how she brought the cause into any public question: nay, I went further, for I told her my lord was an eloquent and well spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which passed them both, which was the pity and benevolence of his hearers; and therefore wished the conclusion might be, that they might wrap it up privately between themselves, and that she would restore my lord to his former attendance, with some addition of honour to take away discontent. But towards the end of Easter term her majesty brake with me, and told me that she had found my words true, for that the proceeding in the Star Chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits (as she termed them) than quenched them, and therefore that she was determined now for the satis

[1] Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 138—164.
[2] Sydney Papers, 149.
[3] Bacon's Apology, vol. ii. p. 335.
[4] Sydney Papers, vol. ii. 182—187. 191—193.
[5] Sydney Papers, vol. ii. 196—199.

faction of the world, to proceed against my lord in the Star Chamber, by an information *ore tenus*, and to have my lord brought to his answer; howbeit she said, she would assure me that whatsoever she did should be towards my lord *ad castigationem, et non ad destructionem*, as indeed she had often repeated the same phrase before: whereunto I said, to the end utterly to divert her, Madam, if you will have me speak to you in this argument, I must speak to you as Friar Bacon's head spake, that said first, Time is, and then Time was, and Time would never be; for certainly, said I, it is now far too late, the matter is cold, and hath taken too much wind; whereat she seemed again offended, and rose from me, and that resolution for a while continued; and after, in the beginning of Midsummer term, I attending her, and finding her settled in that resolution, which I heard of also otherwise, she falling upon the like speech, it is true, that seeing no other remedy, I said to her slightly, Why, madam, if you will needs have a proceeding, you were best have it in some such sort as Ovid spake of his mistress, *Est aliquid luce patente minus*, to make a council-table matter of it, and there an end; which speech again she seemed to take in ill part, but yet I think it did good at that time, and helped to divert that course of proceeding by information in the Star Chamber. Nevertheless, afterwards it pleased her to make a more solemn matter of the proceeding, and some few days after, when order was given that the matter should be heard at York House, before an assembly of councillors, peers, and judges, and some audience of men of quality to be admitted."

Such were the measures adopted by the queen to dispel, as she termed them, "the bruits and malicious imputations" of her people; but, jealous of their affections, she resented every murmur of public disapprobation by some new severity to Essex; and her conduct, neither marked by strict justice, or generous forgiveness, exhibited more of the caprice of an angry woman than the steady resentment of an offended monarch. What calamities would have been averted, if, instead of suffering herself to be hurried by this conflict of agitated feelings, the queen had attended to the advice of Bacon, whose care for her honour, and love for his friend, might have been safely trusted, and who, looking through the present, decided upon consequences with a certainty almost prophetic. The most profound statesman of the present day, possessed of all the light which history gives him, can add nothing to the prudent politic course which Bacon pointed out to the queen. She rejected this advice with a blind despotism that would neither be counselled with or against her inclinations, and fearing and suspecting all around her, ruined the man she wished to save, and eventually made total wreck of her own peace of mind.

It was determined that proceedings should be instituted; but, as the queen assured Bacon, only "ad *castigationem* non ad *destructionem*," not to taint the character of Essex, by which he might be rendered unable to bear office about her person, but before a selected council, "*inter domesticos parietes, non lucr forensi.*" This resolution having been formed, the queen's counsel learned in the law, were assembled to determine upon the mode of proceeding. At this meeting, it was said by one of the courtiers, that her majesty was not resolved whether Mr. Bacon should act in this trial as one of her counsel. What must have passed in his mind when he heard this observation! He knew enough of the common charities of courts to suspect every thing. He knew that the queen looked with great jealousy and distrust at his having "crossed her disposition" by his steady friendship for Essex. He saw, therefore, that whether this remark was a stratagem to sound his intentions, or that some attempt had been made to ruin him in the queen's opinion, by inducing her to suppose that he would sacrifice her to the popular clamour, of which she was too sensible, it required his immediate and vigilant attention. In this situation of no common difficulty, the conflict of his various duties, to the queen, to Essex, and to himself, were instantly present to his mind.

To the queen he was under the greatest obligation: she was the friend of his father, and had been his friend from his infancy; she consulted with him in all her difficulties; she had conferred upon him a valuable reversion of £2000 a year, had promoted him to be her counsel, and, what perhaps was her greatest kindness, instead of having hastily advanced him, she had, with a continuance of her friendship, made him bear the yoke in his youth. Such were his obligations to Elizabeth, of whom he never spoke but with affection for her virtues, and respect for her commanding intellect.

He had also great esteem for the virtues of Essex, and great admiration of the higher powers of his mind. He felt for him with all the hopes and fears of a parent for a wayward child, and with all the affection of a friend, from a deep feeling of his constant regard, and the grateful recollection of what, in the common world, would be deemed of more importance, an act of pecuniary kindness, not, as in these cases is generally supposed, to purchase, but to procure his liberty of thought and action.

Of his relative duties to the queen and to Essex, no man was a more competent judge than Bacon: no man was better, none so well grounded in the true rules of this difficult part of moral science. In his tract on Duty, in the Advancement of Learning, he truly says, "There is formed in every thing a double nature of good; the one as every thing is a total or substantive in itself, the other

as it is a part or member of a greater body; whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier. This double nature of good and the comparative thereof is much more engraven upon man, if he degenerate not, unto whom the conservation of duty to the public ought to be much more precious than the conservation of life and being, according to that memorable speech of Pompeius Magnus, when being in commission of purveyance for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them, 'Necesse est ut eam non ut vivam.'" And when Essex proffered him assistance, he, weighing these duties, admonished his friend that this was not to interfere with his duty to his sovereign. His words were, "I must and will ever acknowledge my lord's love, trust, and favour towards me, after the queen had denied me the solicitor's place, when he said, You have spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die, these were his very words, if I do not somewhat towards your fortune. My answer, I remember, was that for my fortune it was no great matter; but that his lordship's offer (which was of a piece of land worth about £1800) made me call to mind what was wont to be said when I was in France of the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations. He bad me take no care for that, and pressed it; whereupon I said, "My lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift; but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the king and his other lords."[1]

His considerations were not, however, confined to his duties to the queen and to Essex, but extended to the peculiar situation in which, with respect to his own worldly prospects, he was placed. He saw that, if he did not plead against Essex, all his hopes of advancement might, without any benefit to his friend, be destroyed; and that if he did plead against him, he should be exposed to obloquy and misrepresentation. The consideration of his worldly prospects were to him and to the community of great importance.

It is, perhaps, to be lamented that, formed for contemplation, he was induced, either by his necessities, or any erroneous notion of the virtue of activity, to engage in public life; but he was always unskilful to note the card of prudent lore, and it was his favourite opinion that, to dignify and exalt knowledge, contemplation and action should be nearly and strongly conjoined and united together: a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action.

Having engaged and encountered all the difficulties of his profession, he was entitled, by his commanding intellect, to possess the power, which, although it had not precedence in his thoughts, followed regularly in the train of his duty; not the common vulgar power, from ostentation, loving trivial pomp and city noise; or from ambition, which, like the sealed dove, mounts and mounts because it is unable to look about it; but power to advance science and promote merit, according to his maxim and in the spirit of his own words "detur digniori." "Power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground." With these prospects before him, he could not be so weak as hastily to abandon them, by yielding to that generous illusion by which the noblest minds are often raised in their own esteem by imagined disinterestedness.

With respect to his professional duties, he was in less difficulty. He knew that his conduct would be subject "to envy and peril," but knowing also that these aspersions would originate in good feeling, in the supposition of ingratitude and disregard of truth, he could not be alarmed at the clamours of those who knew not what they did. To consider every suggestion, in favour and in opposition to any opinion, is, according to his doctrine in the Novum Organum, the only solid foundation upon which any judgment, even in the calm inquiries of philosophy, can be formed. In public assemblies, therefore, agitated by passions by which the progress of truth is disturbed, he of all men knew and admired the wise constitution of our courts, in which it has been deemed expedient, that, to elicit truth, the judge should hear the opposite statements of the same or of different powerful disinterested minds, who may be more able than the suitors to do justice to the causes upon which their interests depend. A more efficacious mode to disentangle difficulty, to expose falsehood, and discover truth, was, perhaps, never devised. It prevents the influence of passions by which truth may be impeded, and calls in aid every intellectual power by which justice may be advanced. He was not likely, therefore, to be moved by the censures of those who, ignorant of the principles upon which this practice is founded, imagine advocates to be indiscriminate defenders of right and wrong, instead of being officers assisting in the administration of justice, and acting under the impression that truth is best discovered by powerful statements on both sides of the question. He was not likely to be moved by that ignorant censure which mixes the counsel with his client, instead of knowing that the advocate is indifferent on which side he pleads, whether for the most unfortunate or the most prosperous, for the most virtuous or the most abandoned member of

[1] Bacon's Apology.

the community; and that, if he were not indifferent,—if he were to exercise any discretion as to the party for whom he pleads, the course of justice would be interrupted by prejudice to the suitor, and the exclusion of integrity from the profession. The suitor would be prejudiced in proportion to the respectability of the advocate who had shrunk from his defence, and the weight of character of the counsel would be evidence in the cause. Integrity would be excluded from the profession, as the counsel would necessarily be associated with the cause of his client; with the slanderer, the adulterer, the murderer, or the traitor, whom it may be his duty to defend.

Such were the various conflicting duties by which a common mind might have been perplexed; but, strong in knowledge, he, without embarrassment, looked steadily at the undefined shapes of difficulty and danger, of possible mistake or mischance, and, without any of the vacillation in which contemplative genius is too apt to indulge, he saw instantly the path of his duty, and steadily advanced in it. He saw that, if he acted in obedience to general rules, he ought neither to desert the queen, or to bereave himself of the power to do good. If, not adhering to general rules, he exercised his own understanding upon the particular circumstances of the case, he saw that, by yielding to popular feeling, he might gain momentary applause, might leave Essex to a merciless opponent, and, by depriving himself of all influence over the queen, might sacrifice his friend at the foot of the throne.

He therefore wrote instantly to the queen, and, by this sagacious and determined conduct, having at once defeated the stratagems by which it was vainly hoped that he would be entangled, he, regardless of the senseless clamour of those who praise they know not what, and know not whom; of those who could neither be put in possession of his real sentiments towards Essex, or the private communications on his behalf with the queen, went right onward with his own, and the approbation of intelligence.

The following is Bacon's own account of this extraordinary event:—And then did some principal counsellors send for us of the learned counsel, and notify her majesty's pleasure unto us: save that it was said to me openly by one of them, that her majesty was not yet resolved whether she would have me forborns in the business or no. And hereupon might arise that other sinister and untrue speech, that I hear, is raised of me, how I was a suitor to be used against my lord of Essex at that time; for it is very true, that I that knew well what had passed between the queen and me, and what occasion I had given her both of distaste and distrust in crossing her disposition, by standing steadfastly for my lord of Essex, and suspecting it also to be a stratagem arising from some particular emulation, I writ to her two or three words of compliment, signifying to her majesty, "That if she would be pleased to spare me in my lord of Essex's cause, out of the consideration she took of my obligation towards him, I should reckon it for one of her greatest favours: but otherwise desiring her majesty to think that I knew the degrees of duties; and that no particular obligation whatsoever to any subject could supplant or weaken that entireness of duty that I did owe and bear to her and her service." And this was the goodly suit I made, being a respect no man that had his wits could have omitted: but nevertheless I had a farther reach in it; for I judged that day's work would be a full period of any bitterness or harshness between the queen and my lord: and therefore, if I declared myself fully according to her mind at that time, which could not do my lord any manner of prejudice, I should keep my credit with her ever after, whereby to do my lord service.

The proceedings after this communication to the queen are thus stated by Bacon:—"Hereupon the next news that I heard was, that we were all sent for again; and that her majesty's pleasure was, we all should have parts in the business; and the lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I should set forth some undutiful carriage of my lord, in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the book before mentioned of King Henry IV. Whereupon I replied to that allotment, and said to their lordships, That it was an old matter, and had no manner of coherence with the rest of the charge, being matters of Ireland: and therefore, that I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more; and it would be said I gave in evidence mine own tales. It was answered again with good shew, that because it was considered how I stood tied to my lord of Essex, therefore that part was thought fittest for me, which did him least hurt; for that whereas all the rest was matter of charge and accusation, this only was but matter of caveat and admonition. Wherewith, though I was in mine own mind little satisfied, because I knew well a man were better to be charged with some faults, than admonished of some others; yet the conclusion binding upon the queen's pleasure directly, 'volens nolens,' I could not avoid that part that was laid upon me."[1]

On the 5th June, 1600, this trial took place. It was marked by the same indecision that had characterized the whole of the queen's conduct. To give effect to her wishes that Essex should be censured, not sentenced, each man had his part allotted; and lest this mark of her disapprobation should hereafter be urged against him, she commanded that no official record should be kept of the proceedings, that he might not be rendered incapable of bearing office in her household.

[1] See Bacon's Apology, vol. ii. p. 339.

The privy counsel met at the lord keeper's house, and were assisted by noblemen selected for that purpose. The commissioners were eighteen, the auditory about two hundred; there was much state and solemnity in the assembly, and much humility and contrition on the part of Essex, who knelt while the commission was opened, and so remained till he had leave to rise. From this mode of conduct, which, doubtless, had been prescribed to him, he never departed but once during his examination, and he was then reminded by the lord treasurer of the course he was expected to pursue.

The case was opened by a statement, that "to command down the winds of malicious and seditious rumours wherewith men's conceits may have been tossed to and fro, the queen was pleased to call the world to an understanding of her princely course held towards the Earl of Essex, as well in herebefore protracting, as in now proceeding against him, not in the ordinary and open place of offenders and criminals, which might leave a taint upon his honour, but, on account of his penitence and submission, her majesty had ordered that the hearing should be before a great, honourable, and selected council, a full and deliberate, and yet in respect a private, mild, and gracious hearing." The chief heads of the accusation were then stated by the lawyers, who, with the exception of Bacon, either not in the court secret, or disregarding their instructions, pursued their argument with their usual pertinacity, coloured by the respective characters of the men, and of course by Sir Edward Coke, with his accustomed rancour. Bacon, on the contrary, though he was favoured with a part of the charge least likely to be injurious to Essex, still complained that he might injure his friend, and, though in array against him, evidently fought on his side.

To those persons present who were not already apprized of the queen's wishes, Bacon's speech would be considered more consistent with his affection for his friend than his duty to the queen, as it was constructed as much as possible to do him service. "I hope," he said, "that my Lord Essex himself, and all who now hear me, will consider that the particular bond of duty, which I do now, and ever will acknowledge that I owe unto his lordship, must be sequestered and laid aside, in discharge of that higher duty, which we all owe unto the queen, whose grace and mercy I cannot enough extol; whereof the earl is a singular work, in that, upon his humble suit, she is content not to prosecute him in her court of justice, the Star Chamber, but, according to his own earnest desire, to remove that cup from him, for those are my lord's own words, and doth now suffer his cause to be heard *inter privatos parietes*, by way of mercy and favour only, where no manner of disloyalty is laid to his charge; for if that had been the question, this had not been the place." In this strain he proceeded through the whole of his address.

He constantly kept in view the queen's determination neither to injure her favourite in person nor in purse; he averred that there was no charge of disloyalty; he stated nothing as a lawyer; nothing from his own ingenious mind; nothing that could displease the queen; he repeated only passages from letters, in the queen's possession, complaining of her cruelty and obduracy; topics which she loved to have set forth in her intercourse with a man whom she was thought to have too much favoured; he selected the most affecting expressions from the earl's letter, and though he at last performed his part of the task, by touching upon Hayward's book, he established in the minds of the hearers the fact that Essex had called in the work a week after he learnt that it was published.

To those who are familiar with Bacon's style, and know the fertility of his imagination, and the force of his reasoning, it is superfluous to observe that he brought to this semblance of a trial only the shadow of a speech; and that under the flimsy veil of an accuser there may easily be detected the face of a friend.

In answer to these charges, Essex, on his knees, declared that, ever since it had pleased her majesty to remove that cup from him, he had laid aside all thought of justifying himself, or of making any contestation with his sovereign; that he had made a divorce between himself and the world, and that, rather than bear a charge of disloyalty or want of affection, he would tear his heart out of his breast with his own hands. The first part of his defence drew tears from many of his hearers; but, being somewhat touched by the sharp speeches and rhetorical flourishes of his accusers, he expressed himself with so much heat, before he had gone half through with his reply, that he was interrupted by the lord keeper, who told him "this was not the course to do him good; that he would do well to commit himself to her majesty's mercy; that he was acquitted by all present of disloyalty, of which he did not stand charged, but of disobedience and contempt; and if he meant to say that he had disobeyed, without an intention of disobedience, it was frivolous and absurd."

In pronouncing the censure, the lord keeper declared, that if Essex had been tried elsewhere, and in another manner, a great fine and imprisonment for life must have been his sentence, but as he was in a course of favour, his censure was, "That the Earl of Essex should be suspended from his offices, and continue a prisoner in his own house till it pleased her majesty to release him." The Earl of Cumberland declared, that, if he thought the censure was to stand, he would ask more time, for it seemed to him somewhat severe; and intimated how easily a general com-

mander might incur the like, but, in confidence of her majesty's mercy, he agreed with the rest.

Of this day's proceedings a confused and imperfect account has been published by several historians,[1] and an unfair view taken of the conduct of Bacon, who could not have any assignable motive for the course they have attributed to him. The queen was evidently determined to protect her favourite. The Cecils had abated their animosity. The people were anxious for his reinstatement. Anthony Bacon was at this time living under the protection of Essex, and the brothers were in constant and affectionate intercourse.

The sentence had scarcely been pronounced, (6th June, 1600,) when Bacon's anxiety for his friend again manifested itself. On the very next day he attended the queen, fully resolved to exert his utmost endeavours to restore Essex again to favour. The account of his interview with the queen, from which his friendship and the queen's affection for Essex may be seen, is thus stated by Bacon: "As soon as this day was past, I lost no time; but the very next day following, as I remember, I attended her majesty, fully resolved to try and put in use my utmost endeavour, so far as I in my weakness could give furtherance, to bring my lord again speedily into court and favour; and knowing, as I supposed at least, how the queen was to be used, I thought that to make her conceive that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there; and I remember well I said to her, 'You have now, madam, obtained victory over two things, which the greatest princes in the world cannot at their wills subdue; the one is over fame; the other is over a great mind: for surely the world is now, I hope, reasonably well satisfied; and for my lord, he did shew that humiliation towards your majesty, at I am persuaded he was never in his lifetime more fit for your majesty's favour than he is now: therefore, if your majesty will not mar it by lingering, but give over at the best, and now you have made so good a full point, receive him again with tenderness, I shall then think that all that is past is for the best.' Whereat, I remember, she took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that she had ever said, that her proceedings should be 'ad reparationem,' and not 'ad ruinam;' as who saith, that now was the time I should well perceive that that saying of her's should prove true. And farther she willed me to set down in writing all that passed that day."[2]

In a few days Bacon waited upon the queen with the narrative, who, upon hearing him read Essex's answer, which was his principal care, "was exceedingly moved in kindness and relenting," and said, "How well you have expressed my lord's part: I perceive old love will not easily be forgotten." Availing himself of these favourable dispositions, Bacon ventured to say to the queen, "he hoped she meant that of herself;" and in the conclusion suggested that it might be expedient not to let this matter go forth to the public, since by her own command no record had been kept, and that it was not well to do that popularly which she had not suffered to be done judicially. The queen assented, and the narrative was suppressed.[3]

Amidst these exertions, known at that time only to the queen, to Essex, and to his confidential friends, Bacon was exposed to great obloquy, and, at the time when he was thinking only how he could most and best serve his friend, he was threatened by the populace with personal violence, as one who had deserted and betrayed him. Unmoved by such clamour, upon which he had calculated,[4] he went right onward in his course.

To Sir Robert Cecil, and to Lord Henry Howard, the confidential friend of Essex, and who had willingly shared his banishment from court, he indignantly complained of these slanders and threats. To Lord Howard he says:[5] "My Lord, There be very few besides yourself, to whom I would perform this respect. For I contemn *mendacia famæ*, as it walks among inferiors, though I neglect it not, as it may have entrance into some

[1] See particularly Hume.

[2] See Bacon's Apology.

[3] Bacon's account is as follows:—I obeyed her commandment, and within some few days after brought her again the narration, which I did read unto her in two several after noons; and when I came to that part that set forth my lord's own answer, which was my principal care, I do well bear in mind that she was extraordinarily moved with it, in kindness and relenting towards my lord: and told me afterwards, speaking how well I had expressed my lord's part, that she perceived old love would not easily be forgotten: whereunto I answered suddenly, that I hoped she meant that by herself. But in conclusion, I did advise her, that now she had taken a representation of the matter to herself, that she would let it go no farther: "For, madam," said I, "the fire blazeth well already, what should you tumble it? And besides, it may please you to keep a convenience with yourself in this case; for since your express direction was, there should be no register nor clerk to take this sentence, nor no record or memorial made up of the proceeding, why should you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done judicially?" Whereupon she did agree that that writing should be suppressed; and I think there were not five persons that ever saw it.—Apology.

[4] His Apology to the Earl of Devonshire contains various observations to this effect:—I was not so unseen in the world, but I knew the condition was subject to envy and peril, &c., but I resolved to endure it, in expectation of better. According to the ordinary charities of court, it was given out, that I was one of them that incensed the queen against my lord of Essex; and I must give this testimony to my lord Cecil, that one time in his house at the Savoy, he dealt with me directly, and said to me, "Cousin, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you should do some ill office to my lord of Essex; for my part, I am merely passive, and not active in this action; and I follow the queen, and that heavily, and I lead her not; my lord of Essex is one that in nature I could consent with as well as with any one living; the queen indeed is my sovereign, and I am her creature, I may not lose her, and the same course I would wish you to take." Whereupon I satisfied him how far I was from any such mind.

[5] Birch, 459.

ears. For your lordship's love, rooted upon good opinion, I esteem it highly, because I have tasted of the fruits of it; and we both have tasted of the best waters, in my account, to knit minds together. There is shaped a tale in London's forge, that beateth apace at this time, that I should deliver opinion to the queen, in my lord of Essex's cause. First, that it was præmunire, and now last, that it was high treason; and this opinion, to be in opposition and encounter of the lord chief justice's opinion, and the attorney general's. My lord, I thank God, my wit serveth me not to deliver any opinion to the queen, which my stomach serveth me not to maintain; one and the same conscience of duty guiding me and fortifying me. But the untruth of this fable, God and my sovereign can witness, and there I leave it: knowing no more remedy against lies than others do against libels. The root, no question of it, is, partly some light-headed envy at my accesses to her majesty; which being begun, and continued since my childhood, as long as her majesty shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those that shall think the contrary. And another reason is, the aspersion of this tale and the envy thereof, upon some greater man, in regard of my nearness. And therefore, my lord, I pray you answer for me to any person that you think worthy your own reply and my defence. For my lord of Essex, I am not servile to him, having regard to my superior's duty. I have been much bound unto him; and, on the other side, I have spent more time and more thoughts about his well-doing than ever I did about mine own. I pray God you his friends amongst you be in the right. *Nulla remedia, tam facient dolorem, quam quæ sunt salutaria.* For my part, I have deserved better than to have my name objected to envy, or my life to a ruffian's violence. But I have the privy coat of a good conscience. I am sure these courses and bruits hurt my lord more than all. So having written to your lordship, I desire exceedingly to be preferred in your good opinion and love. And so leave you to God's goodness."

The answer of Lord Howard to this letter, the best answer that could be made to the slanderers of whom Bacon complains, is as follows: "I might be thought unworthy of that good conceit you hold of me, good Mr. Bacon, if I did not sympathize with so sensitive a mind in this smart of wrongful imputation of unthankfulness. You were the first that gave me notice, I protest, at Richmond of the rumour, though within two days after I heard more than I would of it: but as you suffer more than you deserve, so I cannot believe what the greedy malice of the world hath laid upon you. The travels of that worthy gentleman in your behalf, when you stood for a place of credit; the delight which he hath ever taken in your company; his grief that he could not seal up assurance of his love by fruits, effects, and offices proportionable to an infinite desire; his study, in my knowledge, to engage your love by the best means he could devise, are forcible persuasions and instances to make me judge that a gentleman so well born, a wise gentleman so well levelled a gentleman so highly valued by a person of his virtue, worth, and quality, will rather hunt after all occasions of expressing thankfulness, so far as duty doth permit, than either omit opportunity or increase indignation. No man alive out of the thoughts of judgment the ground of knowledge, and lesson of experience, is better able to distinguish betwixt public and private offices, and direct measure in keeping a measure in discharge of both, to which I will refer you for the finding out of the golden number. In my own particular opinion I esteem of you as I have ever done, and your rare parts deserve; and so far as my voice hath credit, justify your credit according to the warrant of your profession, and the store of my best wishes in all degrees towards you, &c. My credit is so weak in working any strange effect of friendship where I would do most, as to speak of blossoms without giving tastes of fruits were idleness; but if you will give credit to my words, it is not long since I gave testimony of my good affection in the ear of one that neither wants desire nor means to do for you. Thus wishing to your credit that allowance of respect and reverence which your wise and honest letter doth deserve, and resting ever ready to relieve all minds (so far as my ability and means will stretch) that groan under the burden of undeserved wrong, I commend you to God's protection, and myself to the best use you will make of me. In haste from my lodging," &c.

The partisans of Essex again interfered, to raise the flames which Bacon had so judiciously suppressed, and again were the queen's ministers compelled to check their imprudence.

On the 12th of June, 1600, the lord keeper, in his usual speech in the Star Chamber to the country gentlemen, mentioned the late proceeding against the Earl of Essex, who, he observed, had acknowledged his errors, and expressed his sorrow for them; but that some wicked persons had intermeddled by libelling what her majesty had done in that point, which occasioned a proclamation to be published against such seditious practices.[1]

Notwithstanding this ill-advised conduct, the queen was desirous to remove from Essex the restraint of a keeper, when her indignation was again excited by a rumour, that Essex had been duly authorized by her to create knights, though his having conferred that honour had been made a charge against him before the commissioners. In the first moment of her displeasure she determined to rescind the honours he had bestowed Bacon advised her against this step, and recommended that a letter written by her own hand to

[1] Sydney Papers, vol. ii. 201.

Essex, when in Ireland, should be made public, in which she had commanded to the contrary. Upon sending to Essex for her letter, he returned a submissive reply, but said that it was either lost or mislaid; and, though her anger was great at the non-production of this document, she, early in the next month, ordered him to be liberated from his keeper, but not to quit London.[1]

Upon this release, which his declining health rendered necessary, he solicited permission to retire to the house of a relation near Reading; a permission which the queen, although she commanded him to dismiss two of his friends from his service, and although disturbed and displeased, seemed inclined to grant, as she listened to friendly communications made on his behalf, and received letters from him,[2] in which, having, discovered the wisdom of his friend's advice, "that the queen could not be controlled by resistance," he was endeavouring to regain by obsequiousness the ascendancy which he had lost by his rude and headstrong violence; assuring the queen, "that he kissed her royal hand and the rod which had corrected him; that he could never recover his wonted joy till he beheld her comfortable eyes, which had been his guiding stars, and by the conduct whereof he had sailed most happily whilst he held his course in a just latitude; that now he was determined to repent him of his offence, and to say with Nebuchodonosor, my dwelling is with the beast of the field, to eat grass as an ox, and to be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore my understanding to me."[3]

This abasement gratified Elizabeth, who said, "though she did not expect that his deeds would accord with his words, yet, if this could be brought to pass with the furnace, she should be more favourable to the profession of alchymy."

Bacon, who was too wise to cross Elizabeth in the spring-tide of her anger, without waiting till it was ebbing-water, now exerted all his power to reconcile her to her favourite, whom, in his many accesses to the queen, he availed himself of every opportunity to serve; and, although he could not, without exciting her displeasure, directly communicate with him, he, by the intervention of a friend, regularly acquainted him with the progress he made in abating the queen's anger; and, the moment he was restored to liberty, the assurances of his exertions were repeated by letter, and through the whole summer were regularly imparted to Essex.

In the same spirit, and with the same parental anxiety by which all Bacon's conduct had been influenced, he wrote two letters, one as from Anthony Bacon to Essex, the other from Essex, in answer, both to be shown by Bacon to the queen; and prepared a letter to be sent by Essex directly to her majesty, the scope of which

[1] Sydney Papers, p. 204. Her majesty is greatly troubled with the last number of knights made by the Earl of Essex in Ireland, and purposes, by public proclamation, to command them from the place due to their dignity; and that no ancient gentleman of the kingdom gave them any place. The warrant was signed, as I heard; but by Mr. Secretary's very special care and credit, it is stayed till Sunday the lords meet in court. Mr. Bacon is thought to be the man that moves her majesty unto it, affirming, that by the law the earl had no authority to make them, being by her majesty's own letter, of her own hand written, commanded the contrary.

Her majesty had ordered the lord keeper to remove my lord of Essex's keeper from him; but a while after, being somewhat troubled with the remembrance of his making so many knights, made a stay of her former order, and sent unto the earl for her own letter, which she writ unto him to command him to make none. But with a very submissive letter, he returned answer that he had lost it or mislaid it, for he could not find it; which somewhat displeases her majesty. As yet his liberty stands upon these terms. &c.. &c —28 June, 1600.

[2] Sydney Papers, 205-7-8-12.

[3] Camden, 169. Birch's Elizabeth, 461. One of the letters written by Mr. Francis Bacon for the earl, and printed among the works of the former, beginning with these words, "It were great simplicity in me," &c., is much inferior to what the earl himself would have written. But there are two others, which appear to have come from his lordship's own hand, and have not yet been seen in print. The first is in these terms:

"Let me beg leave, most dear and most admired sovereign, to remember the story of your own gracious goodness, when I was even at the mouth of the grave. No worldly means had power to stay me in this world but the comfort which I received from your majesty. When I was weak and full of infirmities, the increase of liberty which your majesty gave, and the gracious message which your majesty sent me, made me recover in a few weeks that strength, which my physicians in a long time durst not hope for. And now, lastly, when I should be forever disabled for your majesty's service, and by consequence made unwilling to live, your majesty at my humble supplication granted, that that cup should pass from me. These are deeply engraven in my memory, and they shall ever be acknowledged by my tongue and pen But yet after all these, without one farther degree of your mercy your servant perisheth. *Indignatio principis mors est.* He cannot be said to live, that feels the weight of it. What then can your majesty think of his state that hath thus long lived under it, and yet sees not your majesty reach out your fair hand to take off part of this weight? If your majesty could know what I feel, your sweet and excellent nature could not but be compassionate. I dare not lift up my voice to speak; but my humble (now exiled, though once too happy) eyes are lifted up, and speak in their dumb language, which your majesty will answer your own chosen time. Till then no soul is so afflicted as that of

Your majesty's humblest vassal, ESSEX.

The other letter was written on the 17th of November, the anniversary of her accession to the throne:

"Vouchsafe, dread sovereign, to know there lives a man, though dead to the world, and in himself exercised with continual torments of body and mind, that doth more true honour to your thrice blessed day, than all those that appear in your sight. For no soul had ever such an impression of your perfections, no alteration showed such an effect of your power, nor no heart ever felt such a joy of your triumph. For they that feel the comfortable influence of your majesty's favour, or stand in the bright beams of your presence, rejoice partly for your majesty's, but chiefly for their own happiness. Only miserable Essex, full of pain, full of sickness, full of sorrow, languishing in repentance for his offences past, hateful to himself, that he is yet alive, and importunate on death, if your favour be irrevocable; he joys only for your majesty's great happiness and happy greatness: and were the rest of his days never so many, and sure to be as happy as they are like to be miserable, he would lose them all to have this happy 17th day many and many times renewed with glory to your majesty, and comfort of all your faithful subjects, of whom none is accursed but your majesty's humblest vassal, ESSEX.

were, says Bacon, "but to represent and picture forth unto her majesty my lord's mind to be such, as I knew her majesty would fainest have had it: which letters whosoever shall see, for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reason of my brother's or his lordship's servants' delivery, long since come into divers hands, let him judge, especially if he knew the queen, and do remember those times, whether they were not the labours of one that sought to bring the queen about for my lord of Essex his good."[1]

To such expedients did his friendship for Essex induce him to submit: expedients, which, however they may be sanctioned by the conduct of courtiers, stooping, as they suppose, to occasions, not to persons, but ill accord with the admonition of Bacon's philosophy, that "the honest and just bounds of observation by one person upon another, extend no further but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence; or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel; or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution with respect to a man's self: but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous." Such is Bacon's doctrine, but having, as it appears, in his youth, taken an unfortunate bias from the censures of Burleigh and Cecil, and from the frequent assertions of Elizabeth, that he was without knowledge of affairs; he affected, through the whole of his life, an overstrained refinement in trifles, and a political subtlety, which never failed to awaken the suspicions of his enemies, and was altogether unworthy of his great mind.

From these various efforts Bacon indulged the most flattering hopes of the restoration of his friend to the queen's favour, in which, if Essex had acted with common prudence, he would have succeeded; though the queen kept alive her displeasure by many passionate expressions, "that he had long tried her anger, and she must have further proof of his humility, and that her father would not have endured his perverseness;" but Bacon, who knew the depths and soundings of the queen's character, was not dismayed by these ebullitions; he saw, under the agitated surface, a constant under-current of kindness.

Bacon's account is as follows: "From this time forth, during the whole latter end of that summer, while the court was at Nonsuch and Oatlands, I made it my task and scope to take and give occasions for my lord's redintegration in his fortunes: which my intention, I did also signify to my lord as soon as ever he was at his liberty, whereby I might without peril of the queen's indignation write to him; and, having received from his lordship a courteous and loving acceptation of my good-will and endeavours, I did apply it in all my accesses to the queen, which were very many at that time; and purposely sought and wrought upon other variable pretences, but only and chiefly for that purpose. And on the other side, I did not forbear to give my lord from time to time faithful advertisement what I found, and what I wished. And I drew for him, by his appointment, some letters to her majesty; which, though I knew well his lordship's gift and style was better than mine own, yet, because he required it, alleging, that by his long restraint he was grown almost a stranger to the queen's present conceits, I was ready to perform it; and sure I am, that for the space of six weeks or two months, it prospered so well, as I expected continually his restoring to his attendance. And I was never better welcome to the queen, nor more made of, than when I spake fullest and boldest for him: in which kind the particulars were exceeding many; whereof, for an example, I will remember to your lordship one or two. As at one time, I call to mind, her majesty was speaking of a fellow that undertook to cure, or at least to ease my brother of his gout, and asked me how it went forward; and I told her majesty, that at the first he received good by it, but after in the course of his cure he found himself at a stay, or rather worse: the queen said again 'I will tell you, Bacon, the error of it: the manner of these physicians, and especially these empirics, is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the first is proper, being to draw out the ill humour; but after, they have not the discretion to change the medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they should rather intend to cure and corroborate the part.' 'Good Lord! madam,' said I, 'how wisely and aptly can you speak and discern of physic ministered to the body, and consider not that there is the like occasion of physic ministered to the mind: as now in the case of my lord of Essex, your princely word ever was, that you intended ever to reform his mind, and not ruin his fortune: I know well you cannot but think that you have drawn the humour sufficiently; and therefore it were more than time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and minister strength and comfort unto him: for these same gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt than correct any mind of greatness.'"

In the latter end of August, 1600, Essex was summoned to attend at York House, where the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, and secretary signified the queen's pleasure that he should be restored to liberty. He answered that his resol-

[1] In another part of his Apology he says: "And I drew for him, by his appointment, some letters to her majesty; which though I knew well his lordship's gift and style was far better than mine own, yet, because he required it, alleging, that by his long restraint he was grown almost a stranger to the queen's present conceits, I was ready to perform it; and sure I am, that for the space of six weeks or two months it prospered so well, as I expected continually his restoring to his attendance."

tion was to lead a retired life in the country, but solicited them to intercede with her majesty that, before his departure, he might once come into the presence of the queen, and kiss her hand, that with some contentment, he might betake himself to his solitary life: hopes which, however, seemed not likely to be realized, as the queen's permission for him to retire into the country was accompanied with the declaration, that, although her majesty was contented that he should be under no guard but of duty and discretion, yet he must in no sort suppose that he was freed of her indignation, or presume to approach the court, or her person.

Thus liberated, but not restored to the queen's favour, he walked forth alone, without any greetings from his 'summer friends.'

In the beginning of September, 1600, Essex retired to the country, with the pleasing hope that the queen's affection was returning, and that he would not only be received into favour, and restored to power, but that by the influence of this affection he might secure an object of the greatest importance, a renewal of his valuable patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, which, after having enriched him for years, was now expiring.

Essex considered this renewal as one of the most critical events of his life, an event that would determine whether he might hope ever to be reinstated in his former credit and authority; but Elizabeth, though capable of strong attachments, inherited the haughty and severe temper of her father; and, being continually surrounded by the enemies of Essex, was persuaded that his lofty spirit was not sufficiently subdued; and when, at length, she was more favourably disposed towards him, he destroyed all that her own lurking partiality and the kindness of his friends had prepared for him by a letter, which, professing affection and seeking profit, was so deficient in good taste and in knowledge of the queen's temper, that she saw through all the expressions of his devotion and humility, a view only to his own interest. The queen told me, says Bacon, "that my lord had written her some very dutiful letters, and that she had been moved by them, but when she took it to be the abundance of his heart, she found it to be but a preparative to a suit for the renewing of his farm of sweet wines." To this complaint Bacon made the following characteristic and ingenious reply: "O madam, how doth your majesty construe these things, as if these two could not stand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in all creatures. For there are but two sympathies, the one towards perfection, the other towards preservation: that to perfection, as the iron tendeth to the loadstone; that to preservation, as the vine will creep towards a stake or prop that stands by it, not for any love to the stake, but to uphold itself. And therefore, madam, you must distinguish my lord's desire to do you service, is as to his perfection, that which he thinks himself to be born for; whereas his desire to obtain this thing of you is but for a sustentation."

The result, however, was, that hurt by this letter, she indignantly and somewhat coarsely refused his suit, saying, "that an unruly beast ought to be stinted of his provender." After a month's suspense, it was notified to him that the patent was confided to trustees for the queen's use.

In the storm that now (October, 1600) gathered round Essex, the real state of his mind revealed itself. "When I expected," he said, "a harvest, a tempest has arisen to me; if I be wanting to myself, my friends, and my country, it is long of others, not of myself; let my adversaries triumph, I will not follow the triumphal chariot." He who had declared his willingness "to wander and eat grass with the beasts of the field, like Nebuchadnezzar, until the queen should restore his senses," now, that this abject prostration proved fruitless, loudly proclaimed that "he could not serve with base obsequiousness; that he was thrust down into private life, and wrongfully committed to custody, and this by an old woman no less crooked in mind than in body." These ebullitions of peevish anger were duly repeated to the queen by those who hoped for his utter ruin. Elizabeth, shocked at the ingratitude of a man upon whom she had lavished so many favours; whose repeated faults she had forgiven till forgiveness became a folly, now turned away with extreme indignation from all whom she suspected of urging one word in his favour; and, remembering the constant exertions which had ever been made by Bacon on his behalf, began to think of him with distrust and jealousy. She would not so much as look at him; and whenever he desired to speak with her about law business, sent him out slighting refusals.

Bacon, acting in obedience to his own doctrine, "that the best mean to clear the way in the wood of suspicion is frankly to communicate with the party who is suspect, if he is of a noble nature," demanded the cause of this alienation, in an interview with the queen, which he has thus related: (January, 1601, Æt. 41:)—"Then, she remembering, belike, the continual, and incessant, and confident speeches and courses that I had held on my lord's side, became utterly alienated from me; and for the space of at least three months, which was between Michaelmas and New-year's-tide following, would not so much as look on me, but turned away from me with express and purpose-like discountenance whereseever she saw me; and at such time as I desired to speak with her about law business, ever sent me forth very slight refusals, insomuch as it is most true, that immediately after New year's-tide I desired to speak with her; and being admitted to her, I dealt with her plainly, and said, 'Madam, I see you withdraw

your favour from me, and now I have lost many friends for your sake, I shall lose you too: you have put me like one of those that the Frenchmen call *enfans perdus*, that serve on foot before horsemen, so have you put me into matters of envy without place, or without strength; and I know at chess a pawn before the king is ever much played upon: a great many love me not, because they think I have been against my lord of Essex; and you love me not, because you know I have been for him: yet will I never repent me that I have dealt in simplicity of heart towards you both, without respect of cautions to myself, and therefore *vivus videsque pereo*. If I do break my neck, I shall do it in a manner as Master Dorrington did it, which walked on the battlements of the church many days, and took a view and survey where he should fall: and so, madam,' said I, 'I am not so simple, but that I take a prospect of mine overthrow, only I thought I would tell you so much, that you may know that it was faith, and not folly that brought me into it, and so I will pray for you.' Upon which speeches of mine, uttered with some passion, it is true her majesty was exceedingly moved; and accumulated a number of kind and gracious words upon me, and willed me to rest upon this, *Gratia mea sufficit*, and a number of other sensible and tender words and demonstrations, such as more could not be; but as touching my lord of Essex, *ne verbum quidem*. Whereupon I departed, resting then determined to meddle no more in the matter, as I saw, that it would overthrow me, and not be able to do him any good."

Bacon's anguish, when he felt that the queen's displeasure was gradually taking the form most to be dreaded, the cold and severe aspect of offended justice, can be conceived only by those who had seen his patient watchfulness over his wayward friend. Through the whole of his career, Bacon had anxiously pursued him, warning him, when it was possible, to prevent the commission of error; excusing him to his royal mistress when the warning had proved fruitless; hoping all things, enduring all things; but the time seemed fast approaching, when, urged by his own wild passions, and the ruffian crew that beset him, he would commit some act which would place him out of the pale of the queen's mercy.

Irritated by the refusal of his patent, he readily listened to the pernicious counsels of a few needy and interested followers. Essex House had long been the resort of the factious and discontented; secretly courting the Catholics, and openly encouraging the Puritans, Essex welcomed all who were obnoxious to the court. He applied to the King of Scotland for assistance, opened a secret correspondence with Ireland, and, calculating upon the support of a large body of the nobility, conspired to seize the Tower of London and the queen herself, and marshalled his banditti to effect his purposes.

The queen, who had been apprized of the unusual concourse of persons to Essex House, was now fully acquainted with the extent of his treasons. In this emergency she acted with a firmness worthy of herself. She directed the Lord Mayor of London to take care that the citizens were ready, every man in his own house, to execute such commands as should be enjoined them. To Essex she sent the lord keeper, the lord chief justice, and the Earl of Worcester, to learn the cause of this treasonable assembly. He said "that there was a plot against his life; that some were suborned to stab him in his bed; that he and his friends were treacherously dealt with, and that they were determined on resistance." Deaf to all remonstrances, and urged by his faction, he seized and confined the officers of state, and, without plan, without arms, and with a small body of conspirators, he proceeded into the city, calling upon the citizens to join him, but calling in vain. Disappointed in his hopes, and proclaimed a traitor, after a fruitless attempt to defend himself, he was seized, and committed to the Tower.

No man knew better, or felt more deeply the duties of friendship, than Bacon: he did not think friendships mere abstractions, metaphysical nothings, created for contemplation only; he felt, as he has taught, that friendship is the allay of our sorrows, the ease of our passions, the sanctuary of our calamities; that its fruits are peace in the affections, counsel in judgment, and active kindness; the heart, the head, and the hand. His friendship, therefore, both in words and acts, Essex constantly experienced. In the wildest storm of his passions, while others suffered him to drive onward, the voice of the pilot might be heard, pointing out the sunken rocks which he feared would wreck him; and when, at last, bound hand and foot, he was cast at the feet of the queen, to undergo her utmost indignation, he still walked with him in the midst of the fire, and would have borne him off unhurt, but for the evil spirits which beset him.

It is impossible to form a correct judgment of the conduct of Bacon at this unfortunate juncture, without considering the difficulties of his situation, and his conflicting duties. Men of the highest blood and of the fairest character were implicated in the treasons of Essex: men who were, like himself, highly favoured by the queen, and in offices of great trust and importance. Bacon's obligations to Essex, and his constant efforts to serve him were well known; and the queen had of late looked coldly upon him, and might herself suspect his fidelity; for sad experience had proved to her that a monarch has no true friend. In the interval between the commitment of Essex to the Tower, and his arraign-

ment, Bacon must have become fully aware of the facts which would condemn Essex in the eyes of all good men, and render him amenable to the heaviest penalty of the law. Awakened, as from a dream, with the startling truth that Essex was guilty as well as imprudent, he saw that all which he and others had deemed rashness was the result of a long concocted treason. In whatever light it could be viewed, the course which Essex had pursued was ruinous to Bacon. He had been bondsman again and again to the queen for the love and duty of Essex; and now he had the mortification of discovering that, instead of being open and entire with him, Essex had abused his friendship, and had assumed the dissembling attitude of humility and penitence, that he might more securely aim a blow at the very life of his royal benefactress. This double treachery entirely alienated the affections of Bacon. He saw no longer the high-souled, chivalric Essex, open as the day, lucid as truth, giving both faults and virtues to the light, redeeming in the eyes of all men the bounty of the crown; he saw only an ungrateful man, whom the fiend ambition had possessed, and knew that the name of that fiend was "Legion."

On the 19th of February, 1601, Essex and Southampton were arraigned, and, upon the trial, one of the conspirators, allured by the hope of life, made a full disclosure of all their treasons.

Unable to deny facts clearly proved against him, Essex could insist only upon his motives, which he urged with the utmost confidence. He repeated his former assertion, that there was a plot against his life, and that Cecil, Cobham, and Raleigh had driven him to desperate measures. Bacon, who appeared as one of the counsel for the crown, resisted these imputations, and said, "It is evident, my lord of Essex, that you had planted in your heart a pretence against the government of your country; and, as Pisistratus, calculating upon the affections of the people, showed himself wounded in the streets of Athens, so you entered the city with the vain hope that the citizens would join in your rebellion. Indeed, my lord, all that you have said, or can say in these matters are but shadows, and therefore methinks it were your best course to confess, and not to justify."

Essex here interrupted him, and said, "The speech of Mr. Bacon calls upon me to defend myself; and be it known, my lords, I call upon him to be a witness for me, for he being a daily courtier, and having free access to her majesty, undertook to go to the queen in my behalf, and did write a letter most artificially, which was subscribed with my name, also another letter was drawn by him to occasion that letter, with others that should come from his brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, both which he showed the queen, and in my letter he did plead for me feelingly against those enemies, and pointed them out as particularly as was possible; which letters I know Mr. Secretary Cecil hath seen, and by them it will appear what conceit Mr. Bacon held of me, so different from what he here coloureth and pleadeth against me."

To this charge, urged in violation of the most sacred confidence, which Essex well knew would render Bacon obnoxious to the queen, and suspected by all parties, he instantly and indignantly replied, "My lord, I spent more hours to make you a good subject, than upon any man in the world besides; but since you have stirred up this point, I dare warrant you this letter will not blush to see the light, for I did but perform the part of an honest man, and ever laboured to have done you good if it might have been, and to no other end; for what I intended for your good was wished from the heart, without touch of any man's honour." After this unjustifiable disclosure, which severed the last link between them, Bacon only spoke once, and with a bitterness that showed how deeply he was wounded.

Through the whole trial Essex conducted himself with courage and firmness worthy of a better cause. Though assailed by the lawyers with much rancour, and harassed by the deepest search into his offences; though harshly questioned by his adversaries, and betrayed by his confederates, he stood at bay, like some noble animal, who fears not his pursuers, nor the death that awaits him; and when, at last, the deliberate voices of his fellows peers proclaimed him guilty, he heard the sentence with manly composure, and, without one thought of himself, sought only to save the life of his friend.

Bacon having obtained a remission of the sentence in favour of six persons who were implicated, made one more effort to serve this unhappy nobleman. He says, "For the time which passed, I mean between the arraignment and my lord's suffering, I was but once with the queen, at what time though I durst not deal directly for my lord as things then stood: yet generally I did both commend her majesty's mercy, terming it to her as an excellent balm that did continually distil from her sovereign hands, and made an excellent odour in the senses of her people: and not only so, but I took hardness to extenuate, not the fact, for that I durst not, but the danger, telling her that if some base or cruel-minded person had entered into such an action, it might have caused much blood and combustion; but it appeared well they were such as knew not how to play the malefactors, and some other words which I now omit."

All exertions, however, proved fruitless; for, after much fluctuation on the queen's part, arising from causes variously stated by historians, Essex, on the 25th of February, 1601, was executed in the Tower.

The queen having been coldly received by the citizens, after the death of Essex, or moved by some other cause, was desirous that a full statement should be made of the whole course of his treasons, and commanded Bacon to prepare it. He says, "Her majesty taking a liking of my pen, upon that which I had done before, concerning the proceeding at York House, and likewise upon some other declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writing, commanded me to pen that book, which was published for the better satisfaction of the world: which I did but so as never secretary had more particular and express directions and instructions in every point, how to guide my hand in it: and not only so, but after that I had made a first draught thereof, and propounded it to certain principal councillors, by her majesty's appointment, it was perused, weighed, censured, altered, and made almost a new writing, according to their lordships' better consideration: wherein their lordships and myself both were as religious and curious of truth, as desirous of satisfaction: and myself indeed gave only words and form of style in pursuing their direction. And after it had passed their allowance, it was again exactly perused by the queen herself, and some alterations made again by her appointment; after it was set to print, the queen, who, as she was excellent in great matters, so she was exquisite in small, noted that I could not forget my ancient respect to my Lord of Essex, in terming him ever my Lord of Essex, my Lord of Essex almost in every page of the book, which she thought not fit, but would have it made, Essex, or the late Earl of Essex: whereupon of force it was printed *de novo*, and the first copies suppressed by her peremptory commandment." He concludes the whole with these words; "Had I been as well believed either by the queen or by my lord, as I was well heard by them both, both my lord had been fortunate, and so had myself in his fortune."

Happier would it have been for the queen, and her ill-fated favourite, had they listened to his warning voice. Essex paid the forfeiture of his unrestrained passions by the stroke of the axe, but Elizabeth suffered the lingering torture of a broken heart; the offended majesty of England triumphed, she "queened it nobly," but the envenomed asp was in her bosom; she sunk under the consciousness of abused confidence, of ill-bestowed favours, of unrequited affection: the very springs of kindness were poisoned: suspicious of all around her, and openly deserted by those who hastened to pay court to her successor, her health visibly declined, and the last blow was given to her by some disclosure made on the death-bed of the Countess of Nottingham. Various rumours have arisen regarding this interview, and the cause of the queen's grief; but the fatal result has never been doubted. From that day, refusing the aid of medicine, or food, or rest, she sat upon the floor of her darkened chamber, and gave herself up to the most unrestrained sorrow. The spirit that had kept a world in awe was utterly prostrate; and, after a splendid and prosperous reign of forty-five years, desolate, afflicted, and weary of existence, she lingered till the 24th of March, 1603, on which day she died.

Bacon's respect for the queen was more manifested after her death, and even after his own death, than during her life.

In one of his wills he desires, that, whatever part of his manuscripts may be destroyed, his eulogy "In feliciem memoriam Elizabethæ" may be preserved and published: and, soon after the accession of James to the throne, he thus speaks of the queen.

"She was a princess that, if Plutarch were now alive to write lives by parallels, would trouble him, I think, to find for her a parallel amongst women. This lady was endued with learning in her sex singular and rare, even amongst masculine princes; whether we speak of learning, language, or of science, modern or ancient, divinity or humanity: and, unto the very last year of her life, she was accustomed to appoint set hours for reading, scarcely any young student in an university more daily or more duly. As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times, and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regimen. For if there be considered of the one side, the truth of religion established; the constant peace and security; the good administration of justice; the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained; the flourishing state of learning, suitable to so excellent a patroness; the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of crown and subject; the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain and opposition of Rome; and then that she was solitary and of herself; these things, I say, considered, I could not have chosen a more remarkable instance of the conjunction of learning in the prince, with felicity in the people."

PART II.

FROM THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH TO THE DEATH OF BACON.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES TILL THE PUBLICATION OF THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

1603 to 1610.

Upon the death of the queen, Bacon had every thing to expect from the disposition of her successor, who was a lover of letters, was desirous to be considered the patron of learning and learned men, was well acquainted with the attainments of Bacon, and his reputation both at home and abroad, and was greatly prepossessed in his favour by his brother Anthony, who was much esteemed by the king.

But neither the consciousness of his own powers or of the king's discernment rendered Bacon inert or passive. He used all his influence, both in England and in Scotland, to insure the protection of James. He wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, and to Lord Southampton, who was imprisoned and tried with Essex, using these remarkable words, "I may safely be that to you now, which I was truly before."

Upon the approach of the king he addressed his majesty in a letter written in the style of the times: and he submitted to the Earl of Northumberland, for the king's consideration, a proclamation, recommending "the union of England and Scotland; attention to the sufferings of unhappy Ireland; freedom of trade and the suppression of bribery and corruption; with the assurance, that every place and service that was fit for the honour or good of the commonwealth should be filled, and no man's virtue left idle, unemployed, or unrewarded, and every good ordinance and constitution, for the amendment of the estate and times, be revived and put in execution."

Soon after the arrival of James, which was on the 7th of May, Bacon having had an audience, and a promise of private access, thus describes the king to the Earl of Northumberland: "Your lordship shall find a prince the farthest from vainglory that may be, and rather like a prince of the ancient form than of the latter time. His speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country; in speech of business, short; in speech of discourse, large. He affecteth popularity by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his favours; and his virtue of access is rather, because he is much abroad and in press, than that he giveth easy audience. He hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and occasions, faster perhaps than policy will well bear. I told your lordship once before, that methought his majesty rather asked counsel of the time past, than of the time to come; but it is yet early to ground any settled opinion."

The title of knighthood had hitherto been considered an especial mark of royal favour; but the king, who perceived that the English gentry were willing to barter their gold for an empty honour, was no less ready to barter his honours for their gold. A general summons was, therefore, issued for all persons possessing £40 a year in land either to accept this title, or to compound with the king's commissioners; and on the 23d, the day of his coronation, not less than three hundred gentlemen received the honour of knighthood, amongst whom was Sir Francis Bacon, who thought that the title might gratify the daughter of Alderman Barnham, whom he soon after married.

In the opening of the year 1604, (Æt. 44,) it was publicly announced that a parliament would be assembled early in the spring; and never could any parliament meet for the consideration of more eventful questions than at that moment agitated the public mind. It did not require Bacon's sagacity to perceive this, or, looking forward, to foresee the approaching storm. Revolutions are sudden to the unthinking only. Political disturbances happen not without their warning harbingers. Murmurs, not loud but portentous, ever precede these convulsions of the moral world: murmurs which were heard by Bacon not the less audibly from the apparent tranquillity with which James ascended the throne. "Tempests of state," he says, "are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinox: and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

"———Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella."

These secret swellings and hollow blasts, which arise from the conflicts between power, tenacious in retaining its authority, and knowledge, advancing to resist it, are materials certain to explode, unless judiciously dispersed. Of this Bacon constantly warned the community, by recommending the admission of gradual reform. "In your innovations," he said, "follow the example of time, which innovateth greatly, but quietly." The advances of nature are all gradual; scarce discernible in their motions, but only visible in their issue. The grass grows and the shadow moves upon the dial unperceived, until we reflect upon their progress.

These admonitions have always been disregarded or resisted by governments, and. wanting this safety-valve, states have been periodically exposed

to convulsion. In England this appeared at Runnymede in the reign of John, and in the subversion of the pope's authority in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

When the spirit of reform has once been raised, its progress is not easily stayed. Through the ruins of Catholic superstition various defects were discovered in other parts of the fabric: and the people, having been spirit-broken during the reign of Henry, and lulled during the reign of Elizabeth, reform now burst with accumulated impetuosity. So true is the doctrine of Bacon, that, "when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened, which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure, men had need to pray for fair weather."

The state of Bacon's mind at this period may be easily conceived. The love of order and the love of improvement, apparently not really opposed to each other, were his ruling passions: and his mode of improvement was the same in all science, natural or human, by experiment, and only by experiment; by proceeding with the greatest caution, and by remembering that, after the most careful research, we may be in the greatest error: "for who will take upon him, when the particulars which a man knows, and which he hath mentioned, appear only on one side, there may not lurk some particular which is altogether repugnant: as if Samuel should have rested in those sons of Jesse which were brought before him in the house, and should not have sought David, who was absent in the field." He never presumed to act until he had tried all things; never used one of Briareus's hundred hands, until he had opened all Argus's hundred eyes. He acted through life upon his father's favourite maxim, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

This was his general mode of proceeding, which, when the experiment was attended with difficulty, generated more caution; and he well knew that, of all experiments, state alterations are the most difficult, the most fraught with danger.

Zealous as he was for all improvement; believing, as he did, in the omnipotence of knowledge, that "the spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets;" and branding the idolaters of old times as a scandal to the new, he says, "It is good not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident: and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not desire of change that pretendeth the reformation: that novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be always suspected; and, as the Scripture saith, 'that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it;' always remembering that there is a difference in innovations, between arts and civil affairs. In civil affairs, a change, even for the better, is to be suspected, through fear of disturbance; because they depend upon authority, consent, reputation, and opinion, and not upon demonstration; but arts and sciences should be like mines, resounding on all sides with new works and further progress."

Such was the state of his mind upon entering into public life at the commencement of the parliament, which assembled on the 19th of March, 1604, when, having already made some progress in the king's affections, he was returned both for St. Albans and for Ipswich, which borough he elected to represent; and, at this early period, so great a favourite was he with the House, that some of the members proposed him as speaker.

On the 22d of March, the king first addressed the parliament, recommending to their consideration the union of the two kingdoms; the termination of religious discontents; and the improvement of the law.

Upon the return of the Commons to the Lower House, the storm commenced. Prayers had scarcely been ended, and the House settled, when one member proposed the immediate consideration of the general abuse and grievance of purveyors;—the burden and servitude to the subjects of the kingdom, attendant upon the wardship of children;—the oppression of monopolies;—the abuses of the Exchequer, and the dispensation of penal statutes. After this proposal, received by an expressive silence, another member called the attention of the House to what he termed three main grievances: the burden, charge, and vexation of the commissaries' courts;—the suspension of learned and grave ministers for preaching against popish doctrine;—and depopulations by enclosure.

To consider these weighty subjects a select committee of the House was appointed, including Bacon as one of the members. This committee immediately entered upon their inquiries, and, so ready were the parties with their evidence, and so active the members in their proceedings, that on the 26th Bacon made his report to the House of the result of their investigations.

The political discontent, thus first manifested, increased yearly under the reign of James, and having brought his son to the scaffold, continued till the combustible matter was dispersed. "Cromwell," it was said, "became Protector, because the people of England were tired of kings, and Charles was restored because they were weary of Protectors." Such are the consequences of neglecting gradual reform.

During the whole of the conflicts in the commencement of this stormy session, Bacon's exertions were unremitting. He spoke in every debate. He sat upon twenty-nine committees, many of them appointed for the consideration of the important questions agitated at that eventful time. He

was selected to attend the conferences of the privy council; to report the result; and to prepare various remonstrances and addresses; was nominated as a mediator between the Commons and the Lords; and chosen by the Commons to present to the king a petition touching purveyors.

To his address, clothed in language the most respectful, yet distinctly pointing out what was expected by the people, the king listened with the patience due from a sovereign to his suffering and oppressed subjects; and instead of the displeasure felt by Elizabeth at his firm and honest boldness, he received it kindly, and replied to it graciously.

Many of his speeches are fortunately preserved: they are all distinguished for their fitness for the hearers and the occasion, their knowledge of affairs, and their pithy, weighty eloquence.

The king had hitherto continued to employ Bacon, in the same manner in which he had served the late queen; but he now thought fit to show him higher marks of favour than he had received from her majesty; and, accordingly, on the 25th of August, 1604, constituted him by patent his counsel learned in the law, with a fee of forty pounds a year, which is said to have been a "grace scarce known before;" and he granted him the same day, by another patent under the great seal, a pension of sixty pounds a year, for special services received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himself.

It must not be supposed that either political altercations or legal promotions diverted his attention from the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. He knew well the relative worth of politics and philosophy.

His love of knowledge was never checked, perhaps it was increased by his occupations in active life. "We judge," he says, "that mankind may conceive some hopes from our example, which we offer, not by way of ostentation, but because it may be useful. If any one therefore should despair, let him consider a man as much employed in civil affairs as any other of his age, a man of no great share of health, who must therefore have lost much time, and yet, in this undertaking he is the first that leads the way, unassisted by any mortal, and steadfastly entering the true path, that was absolutely untrod before, and submitting his mind to things, may somewhat have advanced the design." Politics employed, but the love of knowledge occupied his mind. It advanced like the river, which is said to flow without mingling her streams with the waters of the lake through which it passes.

During the vacation of this year, he escaped from exertions respecting the Union, to Eton, where he conversed on the subject of education with his friend, Sir Henry Saville, then provost of the college; to whom, upon his return, he wrote the following letter:

To Sir Henry Saville.

Coming back from your invitation at Eton, where I had refreshed myself with company, which I loved; I fell into a consideration of that part of policy whereof philosophy speaketh too much, and laws too little; and that is, of education of youth. Whereupon fixing my mind a while, I found straightways, and noted, even in the discourses of philosophers, which are so large in this argument, a strange silence concerning one principal part of that subject. For as touching the framing and seasoning of youth to moral virtues, (as tolerance of labours, continency from pleasures, obedience, honour, and the like,) they handle it; but *touching the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgment, they say nothing*; whether it were, that they thought it to be a matter wherein nature only prevailed, or that they intended it, as referred to the several and proper arts, which teach the use of reason and speech.

But for the former of these two reasons, howsoever it pleaseth them to distinguish of habits and powers; the experience is manifest enough, that the motions and faculties of the wit and memory may be not only governed and guided, but also confirmed and enlarged, by customs and exercise daily applied: as if a man exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark, but also draw a stronger bow. And as for the latter, of comprehending these precepts within arts of logic and rhetoric: if it be rightly considered, their office is distinct altogether from this point; for it is no part of the doctrine of the use or handling of an instrument, to teach how to whet or grind the instrument, to give it a sharp edge, or how to quench it, or otherwise, whereby to give it a stronger temper.

Wherefore, finding this part of knowledge not broken, I have, but "*tanquam aliud agens*," entered into it, and salute you with it; dedicating it, after the ancient manner, first as to a dear friend, and then as to an apt person; for as much as you have both place to practise it, and judgment and leisure to look deeper into it than I have done. Herein you must call to mind, Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Though the argument be not of great height and dignity, nevertheless it is of great and universal use. And yet I do not see why, to consider it rightly, that should not be a learning of height which teacheth to raise the highest and worthiest part of the mind. But howsoever that be, if the world take any light and use by this writing, I will the gratulation be to the good friendship and acquaintance between us two. And so recommend you to God's divine protection.

With this letter he presented a tract upon "Helps to the Intellectual Powers," which contains similar observations upon the importance of knowledge and improvement of the body.

From these suggestions, the germ of his opinions upon the same subject in the Advancement of Learning, it appears that he considered the object of education to be knowledge and improvement of the body and of the mind.

How far society has, after the lapse of two centuries, concurred with him in these opinions, and, if he is not in error, how far we have acted upon his suggestions, may deserve a moment's consideration.

Bacon arranges knowledge respecting the body into

- I. Health.
  1. The preservation.
  2. The cure of diseases.
  3. The prolongation of life.
- II. Strength.
  1. Athletic.
  2. Gymnastics.
- III. Beauty.
- IV. Pleasure.

These subjects, considered of importance by Bacon, by the ancients, and by all physiologists, do not form any part of our university education. The formation of bodily habits, upon which our happiness and utility must be founded, are left to chance, to the customs of our parents, or the practices of our first college associates. All nature strives for life and for health. The smallest moss cannot be moved without disturbing myriads of living beings. If any part of the animal frame is injured, the whole system is active in restoring it: but man is daily cut off or withered in his prime; and, at the age of fifty, we stand amidst the tombs of our early friends.

At some future time the admonition of Bacon, that "although the world, to a Christian travelling to the land of promise, be as it were a wilderness, yet that our shoes and vestments be less worn away while we sojourn in this wilderness, is to be esteemed a gift coming from divine goodness," may, perhaps, be considered deserving attention.

Bacon arranges knowledge respecting the mind into.

- I. The understanding.
  1. Invention.
  2. Judgment.
  3. Memory.
  4. Tradition.
- II. The will.
  1. The image of good.
  2. The culture of the mind.

In the English universities there is not, except by a few lectures, some meager explanations of logic, and some indirect instruction by mathematics upon mental fixedness, any information imparted upon the nature or conduct of the understanding, and Locke might now repeat what he said more than a century ago: "Although it is of the highest concernment that great care should be taken of the mind, to conduct it right in the search of knowledge, and in the judgments it makes: yet the last resort a man has recourse to in the conduct of himself is his understanding. A few rules of logic are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest improvement: and it is easy to preceive that men are guilty of a great many faults in the exercise and improvement of this faculty of the mind, which hinder them in their progress, and keep them in ignorance and error all their lives."

At some future period our youth will, perhaps, be instructed in the different properties of our minds, *understanding*, *reason*, *imagination*, *memory*, *will*, and be taught the nature and extent of our powers for the discovery of truth;—our different motives for the exercise of our powers;—the various obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge,—and the art of invention, by which our reason will be "rightly guided, and directed to the place where the star appears, and point to the very house where the babe lies."

In the English universities there are not any lectures upon the passions; but this subject, deemed important by all philosophy, human and divine, is disregarded, except by such indirect information as may be obtained from the poets and historians; by whom the love of our country is taught—perhaps, if only one mode is adopted, best taught—in the midst of Troy's flames: and friendship by Nisus eagerly sacrificing his own life to save his beloved Euryalus: and with such slight information we are suffered to embark upon our voyage, without any direct instruction as to the tempests by which we may be agitated; by which so many, believing they are led by light from heaven, are wrecked and lost; and so few reach the true haven of a well ordered mind; "that temple of God which he graceth with his perfection and blesseth with his peace, not suffering it to be removed, although the earth be removed, and although the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea."

At some future time it may be deemed worthy of consideration, whether inquiry ought not to be made of the nature of each passion, and the harmony which results from the exact and regular movement of the whole.

In the fall of the year, Bacon expressed to the lord chancellor an inclination to write a history of Great Britain; and he prepared a work, inscribed to the king, upon its true greatness.

"Fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint."

In this work, in which, he says, he has not any purpose vainly to represent this greatness, as in water, which shows things bigger than they are, but rather, as by an instrument of art, helping the sense to take a true magnitude and dimension, he intended an investigation of the general truths upon which the prosperity of states depends, with a particular application of them to this island.

He has, however, only drawn the outline, and filled up two or three detached parts, reserving the minute investigation of the whole subject for other works.

According to his usual method, he commences the tract by clearing the way, in the removal of some erroneous opinions, on the dependence of government upon extent of territory;—upon wealth;—upon fruitfulness of soil;—and upon fortified towns. Each of these subjects it was his intention to have separately considered, but he has in this fragment completed only the two first sections.

To expose the error, that the strength of a kingdom depends upon the extent of territory, "Look," he says, "at the kingdom of Persia, which extended from Egypt to Bactria and the borders of the East, and yet was overthrown and conquered by a nation not much bigger than the isle of Britain. Look, too, at the state of Rome, which, when too extensive, became no better than a carcass, whereupon all the vultures and birds of prey of the world did seize and ravine for many ages; as a perpetual monument of the essential differences between the scale of miles and the scale of forces: and that the natural arms of each province, or the protecting arms of the principal state, may, when the territory is too extensive, be unable to counteract the two dangers incident to every government, foreign invasion and inward rebellion."

Having thus generally refuted this erroneous opinion, he beautifully explains that the power of territory, as to extent, consists in compactness, —with the heart sufficient to support the extremities;—the arms, or martial virtues, answerable to the greatness of dominion;—and every part of the state profitable to the whole. Each of these sections is explained with his usual extensive and minute investigation, and his usual felicity of familiar illustration.

With respect to *compactness*, he says, "Remember the tortoise, which, when any part is put forth from the shell, is endangered."

With respect to the *heart being sufficient* to sustain the extremities, "Remember," he says, "that the state of Rome, when it grew great, was compelled to naturalize the Latins, because the Roman stem could not bear the provinces and Italy both as branches; and the like they were contented after to do to most of the Gauls: and Sparta, when it embraced a larger empire, was compared to a river, which, after it had run a great way, and taken other rivers and streams into it, ran strong and mighty, but about the head and fountain was shallow and weak."

With respect to *martial valour*, "Look," he says, "at every conquered state, at Persia and at Rome, which, while they flourished in arms, the largeness of territory was a strength to them, and added forces, added treasure, added reputation: but when they decayed in arms, then greatness became a burden; like as great stature in a natural body is some advantage in youth, but is a burden in age; so it is with great territory which when a state beginneth to decline, doth make it stoop and buckle so much the faster."

And with respect to *each part being profitable* to the whole, he says, in allusion to the fable in Æsop, by which Agrippa appeased the tumult, that health of body and of state is promoted by the due action of all its parts, "Some provinces are more wealthy, some more populous, and some more warlike; some situate aptly for the excluding or expulsing of foreigners, and some for the annoying and bridling of suspected and tumultuous subjects: some are profitable in present, and some may be converted and improved to profit by plantations and good policy."

He proceeds with the same minuteness to expose the error, that the power of government consists in *riches*; by explaining that the real power of wealth depends upon mediocrity, joined with martial valour and intelligence.

The importance of martial valour and high chivalric spirit he avails himself of every opportunity to enforce. "Well," he says, "did Solon, who was no contemplative man, say to Crœsus, upon his showing him his great treasures, 'When another comes with iron he will be master of all your gold:' so Machiavel justly derideth the adage that money is the sinews of war, by saying, 'There are no sinews of war but the sinews and muscles of men's arms.'"

So impressed was he with the importance of elevating the national character, that, three years before his death, he spoke with still greater energy upon this subject, in his treatise upon the Greatness of States. "Above all things," he says, "cultivate a stout and warlike disposition of the people; for walled towns, stored arsenals, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like, all this is but sheep in a lion's skin, unless the breeding and disposition of the people be warlike;" and, "as to the illusion that wealth may buy assistance, let the state which trusts to mercenary forces ever remember, that, by these purchases, if it spread its feathers for a time beyond the compass of its nest, it will mew them soon after;" and, in this spirit, he records various maxims to counteract the debasement of character attendant upon the worship of gold: and, above all, the evil of sedentary and within-door mechanical arts, requiring rather the finger than the arm: which in Sparta, Athens, and Rome, was left to slaves, and amongst Christians should be the employment of aliens, and not of the natives, who should be tillers of the ground, free servants, and labourers in strong and manly arts.

Such were the opinions of Bacon. How far they will meet with the approbation of political econo-

mists in these enlightened times, it is not necessary in this analysis of his sentiments, to inquire. If he is in error, he may, in the infancy of the science of government, be pardoned for supposing that the national character would not be elevated by making sentient man a machine, or by those processes, by which bones and sinews, life and all that adorns life, is transmuted into gold. The bell by which the labourers are summoned to these many-windowed fabrics in our manufacturing towns, sweeter to the lovers of gain than holy bell that tolls to parish church, would have sounded upon Bacon's ear with harsher import than the Norman curfew. He may be pardoned, though he should warn us that in these temples, not of liberty, the national character will not be elevated by the employment of children, not in the temper of Him who took them in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them, but in never-ceasing labour, with their morals sapped and undermined, their characters lowered and debased. It is possible that if he had witnessed the cowering looks and creeping gait, or shameless mirth of these little slaves, he might have thought of Thebes, or Tyre, or Palmyra, and of the instability of all human governments, whatever their present riches or grandeur may be, unless the people are elevated by virtue.

Such, however, were his sentiments; and, even if they are erroneous, it cannot but be lamented that the only parts of this work which are completed and applied to Great Britain, are those which relate to extent and wealth. The remaining errors of fruitfulness of the soil, and fortified towns, are not investigated.

Having thus cleared the way by showing in what the strength of government does not consist, he intended to explain in what it did consist:

1. In a fit situation, *to which his observations are confined.*
2. In the population and breed of men.
3. In the valour and military disposition of the people.
4. In the fitness of every man to be a soldier.
5. In the temper of the government to elevate the national character; and,
6. In command of the sea: *the dowry of Great Britain.*

During the next terms and the next sessions of parliament, (1605, Æt. 45,) his legal and political exertions continued without intermission. Committees were appointed for the consideration of subsidies; of articles for religion; purveyors; recusants; restoring deposed ministers; abuses of the Marshalsea court, and for the better execution of penal laws in ecclesiastical causes. He was a member of them all; and, mindful of the mode in which, during the late session, he had discharged his duties as representative of the House, he was elected to deliver to the king the charge of the Commons respecting ecclesiastical grievances.

In every debate in this session he was the powerful advocate, in speeches which now exist, for the union of the kingdoms and the union of the laws; during which he availed himself, according to his usual mode, when opportunity offered, to recommend as the first reform, the reform of the law, saying, "The mode of uniting the laws seemeth to me no less excellent than the work itself; for if both laws shall be united, it is of necessity for preparation and inducement thereunto, that our own laws be reviewed and recompiled; than the which, I think, there cannot be a work that his majesty can undertake in these his times of peace, more politic, more honourable, nor more beneficial to his subjects, for all ages."

In the midst of these laborious occupations he published his celebrated work upon "the Advancement of Learning," which professes to be a survey of the then existing knowledge, with a designation of the parts of science which were unexplored; the cultivated parts of the intellectual world, and the deserts; a finished picture, with an outline of what was untouched.

Within the outline is included the whole of science. After having examined the objections to learning;—the advantages of learning;—the places of learning, or universities;—the books of learning, or libraries, "the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed;"—after having thus cleared the way, and, as it were, "made silence, to have the true nature of learning better heard and understood," he investigates all knowledge:

1st. Relating to the Memory, or History.
2d. Relating to the Imagination, or Poetry.
3d. Relating to the Understanding, or Philosophy.

Such is the outline: within it the work is minutely arranged, abounds with great felicity of expression, and nervous language: but not contenting himself, by such arrangement, with the mere exhibition of truth, he adorned it with familiar, simple, and splendid imagery.

When speaking of the error of common minds retiring from active life, he says, "Pythagoras, being asked what he was, answered, that if Hiero were ever at the Olympic games, he knew the manner, that some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer, and some came to look on, and that he was one of them that came to look on; but men must know, that in this theatre of man's life, it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers-on." So, when explaining the danger to which intellect is exposed of running out into sensuality on its retirement from active life, he says, in another work, "When I was chancellor I told Gondomar, the

Spanish ambassador, that I would willingly forbear the honour to get rid of the burden; that I had always a desire to lead a private life. Gondomar answered, that he would tell me a tale; 'My lord, there was once an old rat that would needs leave the world: he acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days in solitude, and commanded them to respect his philosophical seclusion. They forbore two or three days: at last one, bardier than his fellows, ventured in to see how he did; he entered, and found him sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese.'"

In such familiar explanations did he indulge himself: it being his object not to inflate trifles into marvels, but to reduce marvels to plain things. Of these simple modes of illustrating truth it appears, from a volume of Apothegms, published in the decline of his life, and a recommendation of them, in this treatise, as a useful appendage to history, that he had formed a collection.

When the subject required it, he, without departing from simplicity, selected images of a higher nature; as, when explaining how the body acts upon the mind, and anticipating the common senseless observation, that such investigations are injurious to religion, "Do not," he says, "imagine that inquiries of this nature question the immortality of the soul, or derogate from its sovereignty over the body. The infant in its mother's womb partakes of the accidents of its mother, but is separable in due season." So, too, when explaining that the body is decomposed by the depredation of innate spirit and of ambient air, and that if the action of these causes can be prevented, the body will defy decomposition; "Have you never," he says, "seen a fly in amber, more beautifully entombed than an Egyptian monarch?" and, when speaking of the resemblance in the different parts of nature, and calling upon his readers to observe that truths are general, he says, "Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music the same with the playing of light upon the water,

"'Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus?'"

Such are his beautiful and playful modes of familiarizing abstruse subjects: but to such instances he did not confine himself. He was too well acquainted with our nature, merely to explain truth, without occasionally raising the mind by noble and lofty images to love it.

It must not be supposed that, because he illustrated his thoughts, he was misled by imagination, which never had precedence, but always followed in the train of his reason: or, because he had recourse to arrangement, that he was enslaved by method, which he always disliked, as impeding the progress of knowledge. It is, therefore, his constant admonition, that a plain, unadorned style, in aphorisms, is the proper style for philosophy; and in aphorisms, the Novum Organum and his tract on Universal Justice are composed. But, although this was his general opinion; although he was too well acquainted with what he terms the idols of the mind, to be diverted from truth by the love of order: yet, knowing the charms of theory and system, and the necessity of adopting them to insure a favourable reception for abstruse works, he did not reject these garlands, at once the ornament and fetters of science. They may now, perhaps, be laid aside, and the noble temple which he raised may be destroyed; but its gorgeous magnificence will never be forgotten, and amidst the ruins a noble statue will be seen by every true worshipper of beauty and of knowledge.

To form a correct judgment of the merits of this treatise, it is but justice to the author to remember both the time when it was written and the persons for whom it was composed; "length and ornament of speech being fit for persuasion of multitudes, although not for information of kings."

The work is divided into two books: the first consisting of his dedication to the king:—of his statement of the objections to learning, by divines, by politicians, and from the errors of learned men;—and of some of the advantages of knowledge.

If, in compliance with the custom of the times, or from an opinion that wisdom, although it ought not to stoop to persons, should submit to occasions, or from a morbid anxiety to accelerate the advancement of knowledge, Bacon could delude himself by the supposition that this fulsome dedication to the king was consistent either with the simplicity or dignity of philosophy, he must have forgotten what Seneca said to Nero: "Suffer me to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine ear, for that is not my custom, as I have always preferred to offend by truth than to please by flattery." He must have forgotten that when Æsop said to Solon, "Either we must not come to princes, or we must seek to please and content them;" Solon answered, "Either we must not come to princes at all, or we must speak truly, and counsel them for the best." He must have forgotten his own doctrine, that books ought to have no patrons but truth and reason; and he must also have forgotten his own nervous and beautiful admonition, that "the honest and just bounds of observation by one person upon another, extend no further but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel; or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution with respect to a man's self: but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous, which as in friendship it is want of integrity, so towards princes or superiors it is want of duty."

If his work had been addressed to the philosophy of the country, instead of having confined his professional objections to divines and politicians, he would have explained that, as our opinions always constitute our intellectual and often our worldly wealth, prejudice is common to us all, and is particularly conspicuous amongst all professional men, with respect to the sciences which they profess.

His objections to learning from the errors of learned men, contain his observations upon the study of words; upon useless knowledge; and upon falsehood, called by him delicate learning; contentious learning; and fantastical learning; all of them erroneously considered objections to learning; as the study of words is merely the selection of one species of knowledge; and contentious learning is only the conflict of opinion which ever exists when any science is in progress, and the way from sense to the understanding is not sufficiently cleared; and falsehood is one of the consequences attendant upon inquiry, as our opinions, being formed not only by impressions upon our senses, but by confidence in the communication of others and our own reasonings, unavoidably teem with error, which can by time alone be corrected.

As it is Bacon's doctrine that knowledge consists in understanding the properties of creatures and the names by which they are called, "the occupation of Adam in Paradise," it may seem extraordinary that he should not have formed a higher estimate than he appears to have formed of the study of words. Words assist thought; they teach us correctness; they enable us to acquire the knowledge and character of other nations; and the study of ancient literature in particular, if it is not an exercise of the intellect, is a discipline of humanity; if it do not strengthen the understanding, it softens and refines the taste; it gives us liberal views; it accustoms the mind to take an interest in things foreign to itself; to love virtue for its own sake; to prefer glory to riches, and to fix our thoughts on the remote and permanent, instead of narrow and fleeting objects. It teaches us to believe that there is really something great and excellent in the world, surviving all the shocks and accidents and fluctuations of opinion, and raises us above that low and servile fear, which bows only to present power and upstart authority. Rome and Athens filled a place in the history of mankind which can never be occupied again. They were two cities set on a hill which cannot be hid; all eyes have seen them, and their light shines like a mighty sea-mark into the abyss of time:

"Still green with bays each ancient altar stands."

But, notwithstanding these advantages, Bacon says, "the studying words and not matter is a distemper of learning, of which Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem; for words are but images of matter, and to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture."

These different subjects are classed under the quaint expression of "Distempers of Learning," to which, that the metaphor may be preserved, he has appended various other defects, under the more quaint term of "Peocant Humours of Learning."

His observations upon the advantages of learning, although encumbered by fanciful and minute analysis, abound with beauty; for, not contenting himself with the simple position with which philosophy would be satisfied, that knowledge teaches us how to select what is beneficial, and avoid what is injurious, he enumerates various modes, divine and human, by which the happiness resulting from knowledge ever has been and ever will be manifested.

After having stated what he terms *divine* proofs of the advantages of knowledge, he says, the *human* proofs are:

1. Learning diminishes afflictions from nature.
2. Learning diminishes evils from man to man.
3. There is a union between learning and military virtue.
4. Learning improves private virtues.
    1. It takes away the barbarism of men's minds.
    2. It takes away levity, temerity, and insolency.
    3. It takes away vain admiration,
    4. It takes away, or mitigates fear.
    5. It disposes the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in its defects, but to be susceptible of growth and reformation.
5. It is power.
6. It advances fortune.
7. It is our greatest source of delight.
8. It insures immortality.

These positions are proved by all the force of his reason, and adorned by all the beauty of his imagination. When speaking of the power of knowledge to repress the inconveniences which arise from man to man, he says, "In Orpheus's theatre all beasts and birds assembled, and, forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge; which, as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make

them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."

So when explaining, amidst the advantages of knowledge, its excellency in diffusing happiness through succeeding ages, he says, "Let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire; which is, immortality or continuance: for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families; to this buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and, in effect, the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For, have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and destroyed? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar; no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth: but the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages; so that, if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other?"

After having thus explained some of the blessings attendant upon knowledge, he concludes the first book with lamenting that these blessings are not more generally preferred.

The second book, after various preliminary observations, and particularly upon the defects of universities, of which, from the supposition that they are formed rather for the discovery of new knowledge than for diffusing the knowledge of our predecessors, he, through life, seems to have formed too high an estimate, he arranges and adorns every species of history, which he includes within the province of memory,—and every species of poetry, by which imagination can "elevate the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying its own divine essence:"—and, passing from poetry, by saying, "but it is not good to stop too long in the theatre: let us now pass on to the judicial place or palace of the mind, which we are to approach and view with more reverence and attention," he proceeds to the investigation of every species of philosophy, divine, natural, and human, of which, from his analysis of human philosophy, or the science of man, some conception may be formed of the extent and perfection of the different parts of the work.

These different subjects, exhibited with this perspicuity, are adorned with beautiful illustration and imagery: as, when explaining the doctrine of the will, divided into the image of good, or the exhibition of truth, and the culture or Georgics of the mind, which is its husbandry or tillage, so as to love the truth which it sees, he says, "The neglecting these Georgics seemeth to me no better than to exhibit a fair image or statue, beautiful to behold, but without life or motion."

Having thus made a small globe of the intellectual world, he, looking at the work he had made, and hoping that it was good, thus concludes: "And being now at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me, 'si nunquam fallit imago,' (as far as a man can judge of his own work,) not much better than the noise or sound which musicians make while they are tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards: so have I been content to tune the instruments of the muses, that they may play that have better hands. And surely, when I set before me the condition of these times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit in all the qualities thereof: as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers; the art of printing, which communicateth books to men of all fortunes; the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business as the states of Græcia did, in respect of their popularity, and the state of Rome, in respect of the greatness of their monarchy; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences; and the inseparable property of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth,—I cannot but be raised to this persuasion, that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Grecian and Roman learning; only if men will know their own strength, and their own weakness both; and take, one from the other, light of invention, and not fire of contradiction; and esteem of the inquisition of truth as of an enterprise, and not as of a quality or ornament; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation."

Of this work he presented copies to the king

and to different statesmen, and, to secure its perpetuity, he exerted himself with his friends to procure a translation of it into Latin, which, in the decline of his life, he accomplished.

As a philosopher, Bacon, who beheld all things from a cliff, thus viewed the intellectual globe, dilating his sight to survey the whole of science, and contracting it so that the minutest object could not escape him.

Sweet as such speculations were to such a mind: pleasing as the labour must have been in surmounting the steeps: delightful to tarry upon them, and painful to quit them, he did not suffer contemplation to absorb his mind; but, as a statesman, he was ever in action, ever advancing the welfare of his country. These opposite exertions were the necessary result of his peculiar mind; for, as knowledge takes away vain admiration; as no man marvels at the play of puppets who has been behind the curtain, Bacon could not have been misled by the baubles by which common minds are delighted; and, as he had examined the nature of all pleasures, and felt that knowledge and benevolence, which is ever in its train, surpassed them all; the chief source of his happiness, wherever situated, must have consisted in diminishing evil and in promoting good.

With his delicate health and intense love of knowledge, he ought in prudence to have shunned the broad way and the green, and retreated to contemplation; but it was his favourite opinion that, "in this theatre of man's life, God and angels only should be lookers-on; that contemplation and action ought ever to be united, a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest, and Jupiter, the planet of action."

He could not, thus thinking, but engage in active life; and, so engaged, he could not but act in obedience to the passion by which he was alone animated; by exerting himself and endeavouring to excite others to promote the public good. We find him, therefore, labouring as a statesman and a patriot to improve the condition of Ireland; to promote the union of England and Scotland; to correct the errors which had crept into our religious establishments, and to assist in the amendment of the law; and, not content with the fruits of his own exertions, calling upon all classes of society to co-operate in reform.

To professional men he says, "I hold that every man is a debtor to his profession, from the which, as men do of course seek to receive countenance and profit, so ought they to endeavour themselves by way of amends, to be a help and ornament." And he admonishes the king, that, "as a duty to himself, to the people, and to the King of kings, he ought to erect temples, tombs, palaces, theatres, bridges, make noble roads, cut canals, grant multitude of charters and liberties for comfort of decayed companies and corporations; found colleges and lectures for learning and the education of youth; institute orders and fraternities for nobility, enterprise, and obedience; but, above all, establish good laws for the regulation of the kingdom, and as an example to the world."

On the first day of the ensuing year he thus presented, as a new year's gift, to the king, a discourse touching the plantation of Ireland: "I know not better how to express my good wishes of a new year to your majesty, than by this little book, which in all humbleness I send you. The style is a style of business, rather than curious or elaborate. And herein I was encouraged by my experience of your majesty's former grace, in accepting of the like poor field-fruits touching the union. And certainly I reckon this action as a second brother to the union. For I assure myself that England, Scotland, and Ireland, well united, is such a trefoil as no prince except yourself, who are the worthiest, weareth in his crown."

In this discourse, his knowledge of the miseries of Ireland, that still neglected country, and of the mode of preventing them, with his heartfelt anxiety for her welfare, appears in all his ardent endeavours, by all the power he possessed, to insure the king's exertions for "this desolate and neglected country, blessed with almost all the dowries of nature, with rivers, havens, woods, quarries, good soil, temperate climate, and a race and generation of men, valiant, hard and active, as it is not easy to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature; but they are severed,—the harp of Ireland is not strung or attuned to concord. This work, therefore, of all others most memorable and honourable, your majesty hath now in hand; specially, if your majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism."

His exertions respecting the union of England and Scotland were, both in and out of parliament, strenuous and unremitted. He spoke whenever the subject was agitated. He was a member of every committee that was formed to carry it into effect: he prepared the certificate of the commissioners appointed to treat of the union: and he was selected to report the result of a conference with the Lords; until, exhausted by fatigue, he was compelled to intercede with the House that he might be assisted by the co-operation of other members in the discharge of these arduous duties; and, it having been decided by all the judges, after an able argument of Bacon's, that all persons born in Scotland *after* the king's commission were natural born subjects, he laboured in parliament to extend these privileges to all Scotland, that the rights enjoyed by the children should not be withheld from their parents.

The journals of the Commons contain an outline of many of his speeches, of which one upon the

union of laws, and another upon the general naturalization of the Scottish nation were completed, and have been preserved; and are powerful evidence of his zeal and ability in this good cause, exerted at the risk of the popularity, which, by his independent conduct in parliament, he had justly acquired. But he did not confine his activity to the bar or to the House of Commons. In his hours of recreation he wrote three works for the use of the king: "A Discourse upon the happy Union;" "Considerations on the same;" and a preparation towards "the union of these two mighty and warlike nations under one sovereign and monarchy, and between whom there are no mountains or races of hills, no seas or great rivers, no diversity of tongue or language, that hath created or provoked this ancient and too long continued divorce."

His anxiety to assist in the improvement of the church appears in his exertions in parliament, and in his publications in his times of recreation. When assisting in the improvement of our civil establishment, he was ever mindful that our country ought to be treated as our parents, with mildness and persuasion, and not with contestations; and, in his suggestions for the improvement of our religious establishments, his thoughts have a glory around them, from the reverence with which he always approaches this sacred subject, and particularly on the eve of times, which he foresaw, when voices in religion were to be numbered and not weighed, and when his daily prayer was, "Remember, O Lord, how thy servant hath walked before thee; remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy assemblies: I have mourned for the division of the church: I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine, which thy right-hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might stretch her branches to the seas and the floods."

His publications are two: the one entitled, "An Advertisement, touching the Controversies of the Church of England;" the other, "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England." These tracts abound with thought; and, according to his usual mode, consist of an extensive survey of the whole of our religious establishment, and the most minute observations of all its parts, even to the surplice of the minister, that simple pastoral garment, which, with the crook to guide, and to draw back the erring flock, beautiful emblems of the good shepherd, are still retained by the established church.

His tract upon *church controversies* contains an outline of all religious disputes, and abounds with observations well worthy the consideration of ecclesiastical controversialists; who will, perchance, submit to be admonished by Bacon that, as Christians, they should contend, not as the brier with the thistle, which is most unprofitable, but as the vine with the olive, which bears best fruit.

The considerations touching the *pacification of the church*, are dedicated to the king; and, after apologizing for his interposition as a layman with ecclesiastical matters, and describing the nature of the various reformers, and the objections to the reform of the church, he examines with great accuracy the government of bishops,—the liturgy,—the ceremonies, and subscription,—a preaching ministry,—the abuse of excommunications,—the provision for sufficient maintenance in the church, and non-residents, and pluralities, of which he says: "For non-residence, except it be in case of necessary absence, it seemeth an abuse, drawn out of covetousness and sloth; for that men should live of the flock that they do not feed, or of the altar at which they do not serve, is a thing that can hardly receive just defence; and to exercise the office of a pastor, in matter of the word and doctrine, by deputies, is a thing not warranted." And he thus concludes: "Thus have I, in all humbleness and sincerity of heart, to the best of my understanding, given your majesty tribute of my cares and cogitations in this holy business, so highly tending to God's glory, your majesty's honour, and the peace and welfare of your states; insomuch as I am persuaded, that the papists themselves should not need so much the severity of penal laws, if the sword of the spirit were better edged, by strengthening the authority, and suppressing the abuses in the church."

Early in this year, (1607, Æt. 47,) an event occurred of considerable importance to his worldly prospects and professional tranquillity, by the promotion of Sir Edward Coke from the office of attorney-general to the chief justiceship of the common pleas, occasioning a vacancy in the office of solicitor-general, which Bacon strenuously exerted himself to obtain, under the delusion, that, by increasing his practice, he should be enabled sooner to retire into contemplative life. He applied to Lord Salisbury, to the lord chancellor, and to the king, by whom, on the 25th day of June, 1607, he was appointed solicitor, to the great satisfaction of his profession, the prospect of worldly emolument, and the hope of professional tranquillity, by a removal from conflict with the coarse mind and acrid humour of Sir Edward Coke, rude to his equals and insolent to the unfortunate.

Who can forget his treatment of Bacon? who, when reviled, reviled not again, but in due season thus expostulated with him:

Mr. Attorney,—I thought best, once for all, to let you know in plainness what I find of you, and what you shall find of me. You take to yourself a liberty to disgrace and disable my law, my experience, my discretion. What it pleaseth you I

pray think of me; I am one that knows both mine own wants and other men's: and it may be, perchance, that mine mend, others stand at a stay. And surely, I may not endure in public place to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best advantage to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at another's cost. Since the time I missed the solicitor's place, the rather, I think, by your means, I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as attorney and solicitor together, but either to serve with another, upon your remove, or to step into some other course; so as I am more free than ever I was from any occasion of unworthy conforming myself to you more than general good manners, or your particular good usage shall provoke: and, if you had not been short-sighted in your own fortune, as I think, you might have had more use of me; but that tide is passed. I write not this, to show my friends what a brave letter I have written to Mr. Attorney; I have none of those humours, but that I have written is to a good end: that is, to the more decent carriage of my master's service, and to our particular better understanding one of another. This letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed and not in word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both; else it is but a few lines lost, which for a much smaller matter I would have adventured. So this being to yourself, I for my part rest, &c.

Of Coke's bitter spirit there are so many painful instances, that unless Bacon had to complain of unfairness in other matters, the acrimony which overflowed upon all, could not be considered altogether the effect of personal rivalry. It would have been well had his morbid feelings been confined to his professional opponents; but, unmindful of the old maxim, "Let him take heed how he strikes, who strikes with a dead hand," his rancorous abuse extended to prisoners on trials for their lives, for which he was severely censured by Bacon, who told him that in his pleadings he was ever wont to insult over misery.

Who can forget Coke's treatment of Raleigh, entitled as he was by station and attainments to the civil observances of a gentleman, and, by long imprisonment and subsequent misfortunes, to the commiseration of all men. It is true that there were some persons present at this trial, who remembered that Raleigh and Cobham had stood only a few years before, with an open satisfaction, to witness the death of Essex, against whom they had secretly conspired; but even the sense of retributive justice, though it might deaden their pity, could not lessen their disgust at the cruel and vulgar invectives of Coke, whose knowledge neither expanded his intellect, nor civilized his manners. Fierce with dark keeping, his mind resembled some of those gloomy structures where records and muniments are piled to the exclusion of all higher or nobler matters. For genius he had no love: with philosophy he had no sympathy.

Upon the trial of Raleigh, Coke, after denouncing him as an atheist and a traitor, reproached him, with the usual antipathy of a contracted mind to superior intellect, for being a genius and man of wit.

When Bacon presented him with a copy of his Novum Organum, he wrote with his own hand, at the top of the title-page, *Edw. C. ex dono auctoris.*

Auctori Consilium.
Instaurare pars veterum documenta sophorum:
Instaura Leges Justitiamq; prius.

And over the device of the ship passing between Hercules's pillars, he wrote the two following verses:

"It deserveth not to be read in schools,
But to be freighted in the Ship of Fooles."

From professional altercations with this contracted mind, Bacon was rescued by his promotion.

Another and more important advantage attendant upon his appointment was the opportunity which it afforded him to assist in the encouragement of merit and in legal reform. *Detur digniori* was his constant maxim and constant practice. He knew and taught that power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; and when appointed solicitor, he acted in obedience to his doctrines, encouraging merit, and endeavouring to discharge the duty which he owed to his profession by exertions and works for the improvement of the law.

In the midst of arduous affairs of state and professional duties, he went right onward with his great work, conferring with various scholars and philosophers, from whose communications there was any probability of his deriving advantage.

In the progress of the Novum Organum he had, at different periods, even from his youth, arranged his thoughts upon detached parts of the work, and collected them under different titles: "Temporis partus maximus," "Filum Labyrinthi," "Cogitata et Visa, &c.

He now sent to the Bishop of Ely the "Cogitata et Visa." He communicated also on the subject with his friend, Mr. Mathew, who, having cautioned him that he might excite the prejudices of the churchmen, spoke freely, yet with approbation of the work. He also sent the tract to Sir Thomas Bodley, who received it with all the attachment of a collegian to Aristotle, and the schoolmen and university studies, and, with the freedom of a friend, respectfully imparted to Bacon that his plan was visionary.

In the year 1609, as a relaxation from abstruse speculations, he published in Latin his interesting little work, "De Sapientia Veterum," of which he sent a copy to his friend, Mr. Mathew, saying,

"My great work goeth forward, and after my manner I alter ever when I add."

This treatise is a species of parabolical poetry, explained in the Advancement of Learning, and expanded by an insertion in the treatise De Augmentis Scientiarum of three of the Fables. "One use of parabolical poesy consists," he says, "in withdrawing from common sight those things the dignity whereof deserves to be retired, as the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy, which are therefore veiled and invested in fables and parables, and, next to sacred writ, are the most ancient of all writings; for adopted, not excogitated by the reciters, they seem to be like a thin rarefied air, which, from the traditions of more ancient nations, fell into the flutes of the Grecians."

This tract seems, in former times, to have been much valued, for the same reason, perhaps, which Bacon assigns for the currency of the Essays; "because they are like the late new halfpence, where the pieces are small, but the silver is good."

The fables, abounding with a union of deep thought and poetic beauty, are thirty-one in number, of which a part of "The Sirens, or Pleasures," may be selected as a specimen.

In this fable he explains the common but erroneous supposition, that knowledge and the conformity of the will, knowing and acting, are convertible terms. Of this error he, in his essay of "Custom and Education," admonishes his readers, by saying, "Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions, but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. Æsop's damsel, transformed from a cat to a woman, sat very demurely at the board-end till a mouse ran before her." In the fable of the Sirens he exhibits the same truth, saying, "The habitation of the Sirens was in certain pleasant islands, from whence, as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any ships approaching, with their sweet tunes they would first entice and stay them, and, having them in their power, would destroy them; and, so great were the mischiefs they did, that these isles of the Sirens, even as far off as man can ken them, appeared all over white with the bones of unburied carcasses: by which it is signified that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet they do not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasure."

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE PUBLICATION OF THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE NOVUM ORGANUM.

In consequence of the limitation, in the court of King's Bench, of the jurisdiction of the Marshalsea court to the officers of the king's household, a new court of record was erected by letters patent, styled "Curia virgi palatii summi Regis," to extend the jurisdiction; and the judges nominated by the letters patent were Sir Francis Bacon, solicitor-general, and Sir James Vavasour, then marshal of the household. In this office he delivered a learned and methodical charge to a jury upon a commission of oyer and terminer, in which he availed himself of an opportunity to protest against the abuse of capital punishment. "For life," he says, "I must say unto you, in general, that it is grown too cheap in these times; it is set at the price of words, and every petty scorn and disgrace can have no other reparation; nay, so many men's lives are taken away with impunity, that the very life of the law, the execution, is almost taken away."

When solicitor he argued in the case of Sutton's Hospital, or the Charter-House, against the legality of the foundation, and, fortunately for the advancement of charity and of knowledge, he argued without success, as its validity was confirmed; and in 1611 this noble institution was opened, to the honour of its munificent founder, who preferred the consciousness of doing good to the empty honours which were offered to divert him from his course. It seems, however, that Bacon's objections to the charity were not confined to his argument at the bar, but were the expression of his judgment, as he afterwards addressed a letter of advice to the king, pointing out many imaginary or real defects of the project, in which he says, "I wish Mr. Sutton's intentions were exalted a degree; and that which he meant for teachers of children, your majesty should make for teachers of men; wherein it hath been my ancient opinion and observation, that in the universities of this realm, which I take to be of the best endowed universities of Europe, there is nothing more wanting towards the flourishing state of learning than the honourable and plentiful salaries of readers in arts and professions; for, if you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, 'that those which stayed with the carriage should have equal part with those that were in the action.'"

In the year 1612, he published a new edition of his Essays, enlarged and enlivened by illustrations and imagery, which, upon the sudden death of Prince Henry, to whom it was intended to be dedicated, he inscribed to his brother.

In this year he, as solicitor-general, appeared on behalf of the crown, upon the prosecution of the Lord Sanquhar, a Scottish nobleman, for murder; and his speech, which has been preserved, is a specimen of the mildness ever attendant upon knowledge. After having clearly stated the case, he thus concludes; "I will conclude toward you, my lord, that though your offence hath been great, yet your confession hath been free, and

your behaviour and speech full of discretion; and this shows, that though you could not resist the tempter, yet you bear a Christian and generous mind, answerable to the noble family of which you are descended."

During the time he was solicitor he composed, as it seems, his "Confession of Faith."

Bacon as solicitor naturally looked forward to the office of attorney-general, to which he succeeded on the 27th of October, upon the promotion of Sir Henry Hobart to the chief justiceship of the common pleas. Never was man more qualified for the office of attorney-general than Bacon. With great general knowledge, ever tending to humanize and generate a love of improvement; with great insight into the principles of politics and of universal justice, and such worldly experience as to enable him to apply his knowledge to the times in which he lived. "Non in republica Platonis; sed tanquam in fæce Romuli;" with long unwearied professional exertion in the law of England, publications upon existing parts of the law, and efforts to improve it, he entered upon the duties of his office with the well-founded hope in the profession, that he would be an honour to his name and his country, and without any fear that he would be injured by the dangerous authority with which he was intrusted. Although power has, upon ordinary minds, a tendency to shape and deprave the possessor, upon intelligence it tends more to humble than to elevate. When Cromwell, indignant that Sir Matthew Hale had dismissed a jury because he was convinced that it had been partially selected, said to this venerable magistrate, "You are not fit to be a judge," Sir Matthew answered, "It is very true." When Alexander received letters out of Greece of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, "It seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battle of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of; so certainly, if a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls except, will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where as some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust."

With the duties of the office he was well acquainted. As a politician he never omitted an opportunity to ameliorate the condition of society, and exerted himself in all the usual House of Commons questions: thus dilating and contracting his sight, and too readily giving up to party what was meant for mankind. As public prosecutor, he did not suffer the arm of justice to be weakened either by improper lenity or severity at variance with public feeling. Knowing that the efficacy of criminal legislation consists in duly poising the powers of law, religion, and morals; and being aware of the common erroneous supposition, that, by an increase in the quantity of any agent, its beneficial effects are also increased, he warned the community that the acerbity of a law ever deadened the execution, by associating compassion with guilt, and confounding the gradation of crime; and that the sentiment of justice in the public mind is as much or more injured by a law which outrages public feeling, as by a law which falls short or disappoints the just indignation of the community.

But, not confining his professional exertions to the discharge of the common duties of a public prosecutor, he availed himself of his situation to advance justice and humanity, and composed a work for compiling and amending the laws of England, which he dedicated to the king. "Your majesty," he says, "of your favour having made me privy councillor, and continuing me in the place of your attorney-general, I take it to be my duty not only to speed your commandments and the business of my place, but to meditate and to excogitate of myself, wherein I may best, by my travails, derive your virtues to the good of your people, and return their thanks and increase of love to you again. And after I had thought of many things, I could find, in my judgment, none more proper for your majesty as a master, nor for me as a workman, than the reducing and recompiling the laws of England."

In this tract, having traced the exertions of different legislators from Moses to Augustus, he says, "Cæsar si ab eo quæreretur quid egisset in togâ, leges se respondisset multas et præclarus tulisse;" and his nephew Augustus did tread the same steps but with deeper print, because of his long reign in peace, whereof one of the poets of the time saith,

> "Pace data terris animum ad civilia vertit
> Jura suum, legesque tulit justissimus auctor."

From July, 1610, until this period, there had not been any parliament sitting; and the king, unable to procure the usual supplies, had recourse, by the advice of Lord Salisbury, to modes injurious to himself, and not warranted by the constitution. Bacon, foreseeing the evils which must result from these expedients, implored the king to discontinue them, and to summon a parliament.

A parliament was accordingly summoned, and met in April, 1614, when the question whether the attorney-general was eligible to sit in the House was immediately agitated; and, after debate and search of precedents, it was resolved, that, by reason of his office, he ought not to sit in the House of Commons, as he was an attendant on the lords: but it was resolved that the present attorney-general shall for this parliament remain in the House, although this privilege shall not extend to any future attorney-general.

Upon his entrance on the discharge of his legal

duties, an opportunity to eradicate error accidentally presented itself. Amongst the criminal informations filed in the Star Chamber by his predecessor, he found a charge against two obscure persons for the crime of duelling. Of this opportunity he instantly availed himself, to expose the nature of these false imaginations of honour, by which, in defiance of virtue, disregard of the law, and contempt of religion, vice and ignorance raise themselves in the world upon the reputation of courage; and high-minded youth, full of towardness and hope, such as the poets call "auroræ filii," sons of the morning, are deluded by this fond disguise and puppetry of honour.

The king's great object in summoning a parliament was the hope to obtain supplies; a hope which was totally defeated by a rumour that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy, and had undertaken to secure a majority to enable him to control the house. To pacify the heat, Bacon made a powerful speech, in which he ridicules the supposition that any man can have embarked in such a wild undertaking as to control the Commons of England: to make a policy of insurance as to what ship shall come safe home into the harbour in these troubled seas; to find a new passage for the king's business, by a new and unknown point of the compass: to build forts to intimidate the house, unmindful that the only forts by which the king of England can command, is the fort of affection moving the hearts, and of reason the understandings of his people. He then implores the house not to listen to these idle rumours, existing only in the imagination of some deluded enthusiast, who, like the fly upon the chariot wheel, says, "What a dust do I raise! and, being without foundation or any avowed author, are like the birds of paradise, without feet, and never lighting upon any place, but carried away by the wind whither it listeth. Let us then," he adds, "instead of yielding to these senseless reports, deliberate upon the perilous situation in which the government is placed: and, remembering the parable of Jotham, in the case of the trees of the forest, that when question was, whether the vine should reign over them? that might not be;—and whether the olive should reign over them? that might not be, let us consider whether we have not accepted the bramble to reign over us. For it seems that the good vine of the king's graces, that is not so much in esteem: and the good oil, whereby we should relieve the wants of the estate and crown, is laid aside; and this bramble of contention and emulation, this must reign and rule amongst us."

Having examined and exposed all the arguments, he concluded by saying; "Thus I have told you my opinion. I know it had been more safe and politic to have been silent; but it is more honest and loving to speak. When a man speaketh, he may be wounded by others; but as he holds his peace from good things, he wounds himself."

The exertions of Bacon and of the king's friends being, however, of no avail, the king, seeing no hope of assistance, in anger dissolved the parliament, and committed several of the members who had spoken freely of his measures.

This violence, instead of allaying, increased the ferment in the nation; (June, 1634;) and, unable to obtain a supply from parliament, and being extremely distressed for money, several of the nobility and clergy in and about London, made presents to the king; and letters were written to the sheriffs and justices in the different counties, and to magistrates of several corporations, informing them what had been done in the metropolis, and how acceptable and seasonable similar bounty would be from the country.

Amongst others, a letter was sent to the mayor of Marlborough in Wiltshire, where Mr. Oliver St. John, a gentleman of an ancient family, was then residing, who wrote to the mayor on the 11th of October, 1614, representing to him that this benevolence was against law, reason, and religion, and insinuating that the king, by promoting it, had violated his coronation oath, and that, by such means as these, King Richard the Second had given an opportunity to Henry the Fourth to deprive him of his crown; desiring, if he thought fit, that his sentiments should be communicated to the justices who were to meet respecting the benevolence.

For this letter, Mr. St. John was tried in the Star Chamber on the 15th of April, 1615; when, the attorney-general appearing, of course, as counsel for the crown, the defendant was fined £5000, imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and ordered to make submission in writing.

So deeply were the judges impressed with the enormity of this offence, that some of the court thought the crime of a higher nature than a contempt; but they all agreed that the benevolence was not restrained by any statute; and the lord chancellor, who was then, as he supposed, on his death-bed, more than once expressed his anxiety that his passing sentence upon Mr. St. John might be his last act of judicial duty.

Such was the state of the law and of the opinion of justice which at that time prevailed!

The dissatisfaction which existed in the community, at the state of the government, now manifested itself in various modes, and was, according to the usual efforts of power, attempted to be repressed by criminal prosecutions. Amongst others, the attorney-general was employed in the prosecution for high treason of a Mr. Peacham, a clergyman between sixty and seventy years of age; of Mr. Owen, of Godstow in Oxfordshire, a gentleman of property and respectability; and of William Talbot, an Irish barrister, for maintaining, in different modes, that, if the king were

excommunicated and deprived by the pope, it was lawful for any person to kill him.

The prosecution against Peacham was for several treasonable passages in a sermon, found in his study, but never preached, and never intended to be preached.

Doubts being entertained both of the fact with respect to the intention to preach, and of the law, supposing the intention to have existed, recourse was had to expedients from which, in these enlightened times, we recoil with horror.

To discover the fact, this old clergyman was put upon the rack, and was examined "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture," but no confession was extorted, which was instantly communicated by Bacon to the king.

To be certain of the law, the king resolved to obtain the opinions of the judges before the prosecution was commenced. For this purpose, the attorney-general was employed to confer with Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Sergeant Montague to speak with Justice Crooke, Mr. Sergeant Crew with Justice Houghton, and Mr. Solicitor with Justice Dodderidge, who were instructed by Bacon that they should presently speak with the three judges, before he could see Coke; and that they should not in any case make any doubt to the judges, as if they mistrusted they would not deliver any opinion apart, but speak resolutely to them, and only make their coming to be, to know what time they would appoint to be attended with the papers. The three judges very readily gave their opinions; but with Sir Edward Coke the task was not easy: for his high and independent spirit refused to submit to these private conferences, contrary, as he said, to the custom of the realm, which requires the judges not to give opinion by fractions, but entirely and upon conference; and that this auricular taking of opinions, single and apart, was new and dangerous.

The answer to this resistance, Bacon thus relates in a letter to the king: "I replied in civil and plain terms, that I wished his lordship, in my love to him, to think better of it; for that this, that his lordship was pleased to put into great words, seemed to me and my fellows, when we spake of it amongst ourselves, a reasonable and familiar matter, for a king to consult with his judges, either assembled or selected, or one by one. I added, that judges sometimes might make a suit to be spared for their opinion till they had spoken with their brethren; but if the king upon his own princely judgment, for reason of estate, should think it fit to have it otherwise, and should so demand it, there was no declining; nay, that it touched upon a violation of their oath, which was to counsel the king without distinction, whether it were jointly or severally. Thereupon I put him the case of the privy council, as if your majesty should be pleased to command any of them to deliver their opinion apart and in private; whether it were a good answer to deny it, otherwise than if it were propounded at the table. To this he said, that the cases were not alike, because this concerned life. To which I replied, that questions of estate might concern thousands of lives; and many things more precious than the life of a particular; as war and peace, and the like."

By this reasoning Coke's scruples were, after a struggle, removed, and he concurred with his brethren in obedience to the commands of the king.

From the progress which knowledge has made, during the last two centuries, in the science of justice and its administration, mitigating severity, abolishing injurious restraints upon commerce, and upon civil and religious liberty, and preserving the judicial mind free, almost, from the possibility of influence, we may, without caution, feel disposed to censure the profession of the law at that day for practices so different from our own. Passing out of darkness into light, we may for a moment be dazzled, and forget the ignorance from which we have emerged; an evil attendant upon the progress of learning, which did not escape the observation of Bacon, by whom we are admonished, that "if knowledge, as it advances, is taken without its true corrective, it ever hath some nature of venom or malignity, and some effects of that venom, which is ventosity or swelling. This corrective spice, the mixture whereof maketh knowledge so sovereign, is charity; of which the apostle saith, 'If I spake with the tongues of men and angels, and had not charity, it were but as a tinkling cymbal.'"

For having thus acted in obedience to the king's commands, by a compliance with error sanctioned by the practice of the profession, Bacon has, without due consideration, been censured by a most upright, intelligent judge of modern times, who has thus indirectly accused the bar as venal, and the bench as perjured.

To this excellent man posterity has been more just; we do not brand Judge Foster with the imputation of cruelty, for having passed the barbarous and disgraceful sentence upon persons convicted of high treason, which was not abolished till the reign of George the Fourth; nor do we censure the judges in and before the time of Elizabeth for not having resisted the infliction of torture, sanctioned by the law, which was founded upon the erroneous principle that men will speak truth, when under the influence of a passion more powerful than the love of truth; nor shall we be censured, in future times, for refusing, in excessive obedience to this principle, to admit the evidence of the richest peer of the realm, if he have the interest of sixpence in the cause; nor has Sir Matthew Hale been visited with the sin of having condemned and suffered to be executed, a mother and her daughter of eleven years of age, for witchcraft, under the quaint advice of Sir

Thomas Brown, one of the first physicians and philosophers of his, or, indeed, of any time, who was devoting his life to the confutation of what he deemed vulgar errors! nor will the judges of England hereafter be considered culpable for having at one session condemned and left for execution six young men and women under the age of twenty, for uttering forged one pound notes; or for having, so late as the year 1820, publicly sold for large sums the places of the officers of their courts.

To persecute the lover of truth for opposing established customs, and to censure him in after ages for not having been more strenuous in opposition, are errors which will never cease until the pleasure of self-elevation from the depression of superiority is no more. "These things must continue as they have been; so too will that also continue, whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: justificata est sapientia a filiis suis."

Bacon, unmoved by the prejudice, by which during his life he was resisted, or the scurrilous libels by which he was assailed, went right onward in the advancement of knowledge, the only effectual mode of decomposing error. Where he saw that truth was likely to be received, he presented her in all her divine loveliness. When he could not directly attack error, when the light was too strong for weak eyes, he never omitted an opportunity to expose it. Truth is often silent as fearing her judge, never as suspecting her cause.

In his letter to the king, stating that Peacham had been put to the torture, he says, "Though we are driven to make our way through questions, which I wish were otherwise, yet I hope the end will be good:" and, unable at that period to counteract the then common custom of importuning the judges, he warned Villiers of the evil. "By no means," he says, "be you persuaded to interpose yourself, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending in any court of justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it, and by all means dissuade the king himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends; if it should prevail, it perverts justice; but if the judge be so just, and of such courage, as he ought to be, as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it: judges must be as chaste as Cæsar's wife, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be unjust; and, sir, the honour of the judges in their judicature is the king's honour, whose person they represent."

The trial of Peacham took place at Taunton on the 7th of August, 1615, before the chief baron and Sir Henry Montagu. Bacon did not attend, but the prosecution was conducted by the king's sergeant and solicitor, when the old clergyman, who defended himself "very simply, although obstinately and doggedly enough," was convicted, but, some of the judges doubting whether it was treason, he was not executed.

The same course of private consultation with the judges would have been adopted in the case of Owen, had not the attorney-general been so clear in his opinion of the treason, as to induce him to think it inexpedient to imply that any doubt could be entertained.

His speeches against Owen and Talbot, which are preserved, are in the usual style of speeches of this nature, with some of the scurrility by which the eloquence of the bar was at that time polluted.

When speaking of the king's clemency, he says, "The king has had too many causes of irritation: he has been irritated by the Powder Treason, when, in the chair of majesty, his vine and olive branches about him, attended by his nobles and third estate in parliament, he was, in the twinkling of an eye, as if it had been a particular doomsday, to have been brought to ashes, and dispersed to the four winds. He hath been irritated by wicked and monstrous libels, and by the violence of demagogues who have at all times infested, and in times of disturbance, when the scum is uppermost, ever will infest society; confident and daring persons, *Nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare aliquâ de re, videretur*, priding themselves in pulling down magistrates, and chanting the psalm, 'Let us bind the kings in chains, and the nobles in fetters of iron.'"

During this year an event occurred, which materially affected the immediate pursuits and future fate of Sir Francis Bacon,—the king's selection of a new favourite.

George Villiers, a younger son of Sir George Villiers and Mary Beaumont, on each side well descended, was born in 1592. Having early lost his father, his education was conducted by Lady Villiers, and, though he was naturally intelligent and of quick parts, more attention was paid to the graces of manner and the lighter accomplishments which ornament a gentleman, than the solid learning and virtuous precepts which form a great and good man. At the age of eighteen he travelled to France, and, having passed three years in the completion of his studies, he returned to the seat of his forefathers, in Leicestershire, where he conceived an intention of settling himself in marriage; but, having journeyed to London, and consulted Sir Thomas Gresham, that gentleman, charmed by his personal beauty and graceful deportment, advised him to relinquish his intention, and try his fortune at court. Shrewd advice, which he, without a sigh, obeyed. He sacrificed his affections at the first temptation of ambition.

The king had gradually withdrawn his favour from Somerset, equally displeased by the haughtiness of his manners, and by an increasing gloom, that obscured all those lighter qualities which had formerly contributed to his amusement, a gloom

soon after fatally explained. Although powerfully attracted by the elegance and gayety of Villiers, yet James had been so harassed by complaints of favouritism, that he would not bestow any appointment upon him, until solicited by the queen and some of the gravest of his councillors. In 1613 Villiers was taken into the king's household, and rose rapidly to the highest honours. He was nominated cupbearer, received several lucrative appointments; the successive honours of knighthood, of a barony, an earldom, a marquisate, and was finally created Duke of Buckingham.

From the paternal character of Bacon's protection of the new favourite, it is probable that he had early sought his assistance and advice; as a friendship was formed between them, which continued with scarcely any interruption till the death, and, indeed, after the death of Bacon: [1] a friendship which was always marked by a series of the wisest and best counsels, and was never checked by the increased power and elevation of Villiers.

This intimacy between an experienced statesman and a rising favourite was naturally looked upon with some jealousy, but it ought to have been remembered that there was never any intimacy between Bacon and Somerset. In the whole of his voluminous correspondence, there is not one letter of solicitation or compliment to that powerful favourite, or any vain attempt to divert him from his own gratifications to the advancement of the public good; but in Villiers he thought he saw a better nature, capable of such culture, as to be fruitful in good works. Whatever the motives were in which this union originated, the records extant of the spirit by which it was cemented are honourable to both. In the courtesy and docility of Villiers, Bacon did not foresee the rapacity that was to end in his own disgrace, and in the violent death of the favourite.

About this period, Sir George Villiers, personally and by letter, importuned his friend to communicate his sentiments respecting the conduct which, thus favoured by the king, it would be proper for him to observe; and, considering these requests as commands, Bacon wrote a letter of advice to Villiers, such as is not usually given in courts, but of a strain equally free and friendly, calculated to make the person to whom it was addressed both good and great, and equally honourable to the giver and the receiver: advice which contributed not a little to his prosperity in life. It is an essay on the following subjects:

1. Matters that concern religion, and the church and churchmen.

2. Matters concerning justice, and the laws, and the professors thereof.

3. Councillors, and the council table, and the offices and officers of the kingdom.

4. Foreign negotiations and embassies.

5. Peace and war, both foreign and civil, and in that the navy and forts, and what belongs to them.

6. Trade at home and abroad.

7. Colonies, or foreign plantations.

8. The court and curiality.

Each of these subjects he explains, with a minuteness scarcely to be conceived, except by the admirers of his works, who well know his extensive and minute survey of every subject to which he directed his attention.

In the beginning of the year 1613, Sir Thomas Overbury was poisoned in the Tower by one Weston, of which crime he was convicted, received sentence of death, and was executed. In the progress of the trial suspicions having been excited against the Earl and Countess of Somerset, as having been deeply concerned in this barbarous act; their injudicious friends, by endeavouring to circulate a report that these suspicions were but an artifice to ruin that nobleman, the King commanded the attorney-general to prosecute in the Star Chamber Mr. Lumsden, a gentleman of good family in Scotland, Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Sir John Wentworth, who were convicted and severely punished. The speech of Bacon upon this trial is fortunately preserved.

Shortly after this investigation, so many circumstances transpired, all tending to implicate the Earl and Countess of Somerset, and so great an excitement prevailed through the whole country, that the king determined to bring these great offenders to trial; a resolution which he could not have formed without the most painful struggle between his duty to the public and his anxiety to protect his fallen favourite. His sense of duty as the dispenser of justice prevailed. Previous to the trial, which took place May, 1616, the same course of private consultation with the judges was pursued, and the king caused it to be privately intimated to Somerset, that it would be his own fault if favour was not extended to him: favour which was encouraged by Bacon, in a letter to the king, in which he says, "The great downfall of so great persons carrieth in itself a heavy judgment, and a kind of civil death, although their lives should not be taken. All which may satisfy honour for sparing their lives."

In his speech upon the trial, Bacon gave a clear and circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy against Overbury, describing the various practices against his life; but though he fully and fairly executed his duty as attorney-general, it was without malice or harshness, availing himself of an opportunity, of which he never lost sight, to recommend mercy; and though the friends of the new favourite were supposed to have

[1] See Bacon's will.

been deeply interested in the downfall of Somerset, and accused of secretly working his ruin, Bacon gained great honour in the opinions of all men, by his impartial yet merciful treatment of a man whom in his prosperity he had shunned and despised.

Early in this year, (1615, Æt. 55,) a dispute which occasioned considerable agitation, arose between the Court of Chancery and the Court of King's Bench, respecting the jurisdiction of the chancellor after judgment given in courts of law. Upon this dispute, heightened by the warmth and haughtiness of Sir Edward Coke, and the dangerous illness of the chancellor at the time when Coke promoted the inquiry, the king and Villiers conferred with Bacon, to whom and other eminent members of the profession, the matter was referred, and upon their report, the king in person pronounced judgment in favour of the lord chancellor, with some strong observations upon the conduct of Coke.

Pending this investigation, (1616, Æt. 56,) Villiers, it seems, communicated to Bacon the king's intention either to admit him a member of the privy council, or, upon the death or resignation of the chancellor, to intrust him with the great seal, a trust to which he was certain of the chancellor's recommendation.

Having thus discharged the duties of solicitor and attorney-general, with much credit to himself and advantage to the community, he, early in the year 1615-16, expressed to Villiers his wish to be admitted a member of the privy council, from the hope that he might be of service "in times which did never more require a king's attorney to be well armed, and to wear a gauntlet and not a glove." In consequence of this communication, the king, on the 3d of June, gave him the option either to be made privy councillor, or the assurance of succeeding the chancellor. Bacon, for reasons which he has thus expressed in a letter to Villiers, preferred being sworn privy councillor:

"Sir, the king giveth me a noble choice, and you are the man my heart ever told me you were. Ambition would draw me to the latter part of the choice; but in respect of my hearty wishes that my lord chancellor may live long, and the small hopes I have that I shall live long myself, and, above all, because I see his majesty's service daily and instantly bleedeth; towards which I persuade myself (vainly, perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts firmly and constantly) that I shall give, when I am of the table, some effectual furtherance, (as a poor thread of the labyrinth, which hath no other virtue but a united continuance, without interruption or distraction,) I do accept of the former, to be councillor for the present, and to give over pleading at the bar; let the other matter rest upon my proof and his majesty's pleasure, and the accidents of time. For, to speak plainly, I would be loath that my lord chancellor, to whom I owe most after the king and yourself, should be locked to his successor for any advancement or gracing of me. So I ever remain your true and most devoted and obliged servant. —3d June, 1616."

He was accordingly sworn of the privy council, and took his seat at the board on the 9th of June; it having been previously agreed that, though in general he should cease to plead as an advocate, his permission to give counsel in causes should continue, and that if any urgent and weighty matter should arise, that he might, with the king's permission, be allowed to plead. Upon this unusual honour he was immediately congratulated by the university of Cambridge.

Such were the occupations of this philosopher, who, during the three years in which period he was attorney-general, conducted himself with such prudent moderation in so many perplexed and difficult cases, and with such evenness and integrity, that his conduct has never been questioned, nor has malice dared to utter of him the least calumny.

He now approached his last act as attorney-general, which was of the same nature as the first, his prosecution of Mr. Markham in the Star Chamber, for sending a challenge to Lord Darcy.

On the 3d of March, 1616-17, Lord Brackley, then lord chancellor, being worn out with age and infirmities, resigned the great seal, and escaped, for a short interval, from the troubles of the Court of Chancery, over which he had presided for thirteen years, amidst the disputes between this high tribunal and the courts of common law, and the pressure of business, which had so increased as to have been beyond the power of any individual to control.

On the 7th of the same month, the seals were delivered by the king to Sir Francis Bacon, with four admonitions: *First*, To contain the jurisdiction of the court within its true and due limits, without swelling or excess. *Secondly*, Not to put the great seal to letters patent, as a matter of course to follow after precedent warrants. *Thirdly*, To retrench all unnecessary delays, that the subject might find that he did enjoy the same remedy against the fainting of the soul and the consumption of the estate, which was speedy justice. "Bis dat, qui cito dat." *Fourthly*, That justice might pass with as easy charge as might be; and that those same brambles, that grow about justice, of needless charge and expense, and all manner of exactions, might be rooted out so far as might be.

Thus was Francis Bacon, then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, created Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

In the joy of recent possession he instantly wrote to his friend and patron, the Earl of Buckingham, with a pen overflowing with the expression of his gratitude.

My dearest Lord,—It is both in cares and kindness, that small ones float up to the tongue and great ones sink down into the heart in silence. Therefore I could speak little to your lordship to-day, neither had I fit time. But I must profess thus much, that in this day's work you are the truest and perfectest mirror and example of firm and generous friendship that ever was in court. And I shall count every day lost, wherein I shall not either study your well doing in thought, or do your name honour in speech, or perform you service in deed. Good my lord, account and accept me your most bounden and devoted friend and servant of all men living,

Fr. Bacon, C. S.

March 7, 1616-17.

Such is the nature of human delight; such the nature of human foresight!

As he must have known, what he has so beautifully taught, that a man of genius can seldom be permanently influenced by worldly distinction; as he well knew that his own happiness and utility consisted not in action but in contemplation; as he had published his opinion that "men in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their person, nor in their actions, nor in their times," it is probable that he was urged to this and to every other step on the road to aggrandizement, either by the importunities of his family, or by his favourite opinion, that "knowledge is never so dignified and exalted as when contemplation and action are nearly and strongly conjoined together: a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action."

It has been said by some of the ancient magicians, that they could see clearly all which was to befall others, but that of their own future life they could discern nothing. It might be a curious speculation for any admirer of the works of this great man, to collect the oracles he would have delivered to warn any other philosopher of the probable danger and certain infelicity of accepting such an office in such times.

To the hope of wealth he would have said, "it diverts and interrupts the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which, while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take it up, the race is hindered.

"Declinat cursus aurumq. volubile tollit."

To the importunities of friends he would have answered by his favourite maxim, "You do not duly estimate the value of pleasures; for if you observe well, you shall find the logical part of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part nothing worth: that is, they can judge well of the mode of attaining the end, but ill of the value of the end itself."

He would have warned ambition that "the seeled dove mounts and mounts because he is unable to look about him."

To the supposition "that worldly power is the means to do good," he would have said, "A man who spends his life in an impartial search after truth, is a better friend to mankind than any statesman or hero, whose merits are commonly confined within the circle of an age or a nation, and are not unlike seasonable and favouring showers, which, though they be profitable and desirable, yet serve for that season only wherein they fall, and for a latitude of ground which they water; but the benefices of the philosopher, like the influences of the sun and the heavenly bodies, are for time permanent, for place universal: those again are commonly mixed with strife and perturbation; but these have the true character of divine presence, and come in *aura leni* without noise or agitation."

The flattering illusion of good to result from the union of contemplation and action, would have been dissipated by the admonition, that the life and faculties of man are so short and limited that this union has always failed, and must be injurious both to the politician and to the philosopher. To *the politician*, as, from variety of speculation, he would neither be prompt in action nor consistent in general conduct; and as, from meditating upon the universal frame of nature, he would have little disposition to confine his views to the circle where his usefulness might be most beneficial. To *the philosopher*, as powers intended to enlarge the province of knowledge, and enlighten distant ages, would be wasted upon subjects of mere temporary interest, debates in courts of justice, and the mechanism of state business. That Bacon should have been doomed to such occupations, that he, who stood the lofty beacon of science, evermore guiding the exploring scholar in voyages of discovery to improve and bless mankind, should voluntarily have descended to the shifting quicksands of politics, is a theme for wonder and pity. He could have pointed out to another the shoals, the sunken rocks, and the treacherous nature of the current; but he adventured,—and little minds can now point out where he was lost, and where the waters went over his soul.

Much as it is to be lamented that he should have accepted this office, the loss to science seems, in some sort, to have been compensated by his entire devotion to his professional and political duties: duties for which he possessed unrivalled powers.

It has been truly said by the biographer of Bacon's successor, that "the chancellorship of England is not a chariot for every scholar to get

up and ride in. Saving this one, perhaps it would take a long day to find another. Our laws are the wisdom of many ages, consisting of a world of customs, maxims, intricate decisions, which are *responsa prudentum*. Tully could never have boasted, if he had lived amongst us, *Si mihi vehementer occupato stomachum moverint, triduo me jurisconsultum profitebor*. He is altogether deceived, that thinks he is fit for the exercise of our judicature, because he is a great rabbi in some academical authors; for this hath little or no copulation with our encyclopedia of arts and sciences. Quintilian might judge right upon the branches of oratory and philosophy, *Omnes disciplinas inter se conjunctionem rerum, et communionem habere*. But our law is a plant that grew alone, and is not entwined into the hedge of other professions; yet the small insight that some have into deep matters, cause them to think that it is no insuperable task for an unexpert man to be the chief arbiter in a court of equity. Bring reason and conscience with you, the good stock of nature, and the thing is done. *Æquitas optimo cuique notissima est*, is a trivial saying, a very good man cannot be ignorant of equity; and who knows not that extreme right is extreme injury? But they that look no further than so, are short-sighted: for there is no strain of wisdom more sublime, than upon all complaints to measure the just distance between law and equity; because in this high place, it is not equity at lust and pleasure that is moved for, but equity according to decrees and precedents foregoing, as the dew-beaters have trod the way for those that come after them."

Of Bacon's fitness for this office, some estimate may be formed by a consideration of the four principal qualifications of a chancellor, as

A Lawyer,
A Judge,
A Statesman,
And the Patron of Preferment.

As a Lawyer he had for a series of years been engaged in professional life. He had been solicitor and attorney-general; had published upon different parts of the law; had deeply meditated upon the principles of equity, and had availed himself of every opportunity to assist in improvement of the law, in obedience to his favourite maxim, "that every man is a debtor to his profession, from the which, as men do of course seek countenance and profit, so ought they of duty to endeavour themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament."

As a Judge, he, from his infancy, had seen the different modes in which judicial duties were discharged, had meditated deeply and published his opinions upon the perfection of these duties "to the suitors, to the advocates, to the officers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them:" and in his addresses to the judges upon their appointment or promotion, he availed himself of every opportunity to explain them.

As a Statesman, we have seen that he was cradled in politics; that his works abound with notices of his political exertions; that his advice to Sir George Villiers is an essay upon all the various duties of a statesman, with respect to religion, justice, the council table, foreign negotiations, peace and war, trade, the colonies, and the court; and of his parliamentary eloquence his friend Ben Jonson says, "There happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking; his language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."

As a Patron, he considered preferment a sacred trust, to preserve and promote high feeling, encourage merit, and counteract the tendency of learning to dispose men to leisure and privateness.

In his advice to Villiers, as to the patrimony of the church, he says, "You will be often solicited, and perhaps importuned to prefer scholars to church livings; you may further your friends in that way, 'cæteris paribus;' otherwise remember, I pray, that these are not places merely of favour; the charge of souls lies upon them, the greatest account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will share deeply in their faults who are the instruments of their preferment."

A few weeks after he was appointed lord keeper, he thus writes to a clergyman of Trinity College, Cambridge: "After my hearty commendations, I have heard of you, as a man well deserving, and of able gifts to become profitable in the church; and there being fallen within my gift the rectory of Frome St. Quintin, with the chapel of Evershot, in Dorsetshire, which seems to be a thing of good value, eighteen pounds in the king's books, and in a good country, I have thought good to make offer of it to you: the rather for that you are of Trinity College, whereof myself was some time: and my purpose is to make choice of men rather by care and inquiry, than by their own suits and commendatory letters. So I bid you farewell.

From your loving friend,
Fr. Bacon, C. S."

From Dorset House, 23d April. 1617.

Upon sending to Buckingham his patent for creating him a viscount, he says, "I recommend unto you principally, that which I think was never done since I was born, and which, because it is not done, hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the king's service; which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance able men, in all kinds, degrees, and professions. For in the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed; and though of late choice goeth better, both in church and commonwealth, yet money and time-serving, and cunning canvasses and importunity prevaileth too much. And in places of moment, rather make able and honest men yours, than advance those that are otherwise, because they are yours."

And in his appointment of judges, it will be seen that he was influenced only by an anxiety to select the greatest ability and integrity, "science and conscience," for these important trusts.

In the exercise of this virtue there was not any merit peculiar to Bacon. It was the common sympathy for intellect, which, from consciousness of the imbecility and wretchedness attendant upon ignorance, uses power to promote merit and relieve wrongs. It passes by the particular infirmities of those who contribute any thing to the advancement of general learning, judging it fitter that men of abilities should jointly engage against ignorance and barbarism. This had many years before his promotion been stated by Bacon: "Neither can this point otherwise be; for learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation: so that it is impossible for them to esteem that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment; whereas the corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes; never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune."

This truth, necessarily attendant upon all knowledge, is not excluded from judicial knowledge. It has influenced all intelligent judges: Sir Thomas More; the Chancellor de l'Hôpital; Lord Somers, to whom he has been compared; D'Aguesseau; Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Matthew Hale. Bacon's favourite maxim therefore was, "Detur digniori: qui beneficium digno dat omnes obligat;" and in his prayer, worthy of a chancellor, he daily said, "This vine, which my right-hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods."

Whatever were Sir Francis's gratifications, attendant upon the dignity of this promotion, in direct pecuniary profit he sustained great loss: as he relinquished his office of attorney-general, worth at least £6000 a year, his chancellorship to the prince, and his post of Registrar of the Star Chamber, worth about £1600 a year, whilst the direct profits of the great seal were only £918, 15s. Of the amount of the indirect profits from fees and presents it is, of course, impossible to form a correct estimate. It must, however, have been considerable, as, according to the oriental customs of the times, statesmen were then seldom approached by a suitor without some acceptable offering.

The new year's gifts, regularly presented to the king, were of immense value, and were given by the great officers of state, peers and peeresses, the bishops, knights, and their ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen, and even from the tradesmen, and all the officers of the household. These presents were chiefly in money, but sometimes varied by the taste of the donors. As a matter of curiosity, it may be noticed, that Sir Francis Bacon gave to the queen "one pettycoat of white sattin, embrodered all over like feathers and billets, with three broad borders, fair embrodered with snakes and fruitage, 'emblems of wisdom and bounty;'" exhibiting, even at that day, a fancy delighting in splendour and allegory; and so general was the practice, that when Bacon applied to the queen to be appointed solicitor-general, his application was accompanied by the present of a jewel.

This custom of making presents to persons in power was not confined to the reigning monarch, but extended to statesmen. They were made, as of course, to Lord Salisbury, to Lord Burleigh, and to all persons in office, and made by the most virtuous members of the community. The same custom extended to the chancellor, and to the judges. In the time of Henry the Sixth the practice existed. In the time of Sir Thomas More, when the custom seems to have been waning, presents were, without any offence, offered to that righteous man; and it is mentioned by the biographer of Sir Augustine Nicholls, one of the judges in the time of James the First, as an instance of his virtue, that "he had exemplary integrity, even to the rejection of gratuities after judgment given, and a charge to his followers that they came to their places clear-handed, and that they should not meddle with any motions to him, that he might be secured from all appearance of corruption."

This custom, which, more or less, seems to have prevailed at all times in nations approaching civilization, was, about the year 1560, partially

abolished in France by the exertions of l'Hôpital, which abolition is thus stated by Mr. Butler, in his life of the chancellor:

"Another reformation in the administration of justice, which l'Hôpital wished to effect, was the abolition of the épices, or presents made, on some occasions, by the parties in a cause to the judges by whom it was tried.

"A passage in Homer, where he describes a compartment in the shield of Achilles, in which two talents of gold were placed between two judges, as the reward of the best speaker, is generally cited to prove that, even in the earliest times, the judges were paid for their administration of justice.

"Plutarch mentions, that, under the administration of Pericles, the Athenian magistrates were first authorized to require a remuneration from the suitors of their courts. In ancient Rome, the magistrates were wholly paid by the public; but Justinian allowed some magistrates of an inferior description to receive presents, which he limited to a certain amount, from the suitors before them.

"Montesquieu observes, that, 'in the early ages of the feudal law, when legal proceedings were short and simple, the lord defrayed the whole expense of the administration of justice in his court. In proportion as society became refined, a more complex administration of justice became necessary; and it was considered that not only the party who was cast should, on account of his having instituted a bad cause, but that the successful party should, on account of the benefit which he had derived from the proceedings of the court, contribute, in some degree, to the expenses attending them; and that the public, on account of the general benefit which it derived from the administration of justice, should make up the deficiency.'

"To secure to the judges the proportion which the suitors were to contribute towards the expenses of justice, it was provided, by an ordonnance of St. Louis, that, at the commencement of a suit, each party should deposit in court the amount of one-tenth part of the property in dispute: that the tenth deposited by the unsuccessful party should be paid over to the judges on their passing sentence; and that the tenth of the successful party should then be returned to him. This was varied by subsequent ordonnances. Insensibly it became a custom for the successful party to wait on the judges, after sentence was passed, and, as an acknowledgment of their attention to the cause, to present them with a box of sweetmeats, which was then called *épices*, or spices. By degrees, this custom became a legal perquisite of the judges; and it was converted into a present of money, and required by the judges before the cause came to hearing: *Non deliberetur donec solventur species*, say some of the ancient registers of the parliaments of France. That practice was afterwards abolished; the amount of the épices was regulated; and, in many cases, the taking of them was absolutely forbidden. Speaking generally, they were not payable till final judgment; and if the matter were not heard in court, but referred to a judge for him to hear, and report to the court upon it, he was entitled to a proportion only of the épices, and the other judges were entitled to no part of them. Those among the magistrates who were most punctual and diligent in their attendance in court, and the discharge of their duty, had most causes referred to them, and were therefore richest in épices; but the superior amount of them, however it might prove their superior exertions, added little to their fortune, as it did not often exceed £50, and never £100 a year. The judges had some other perquisites, and also some remuneration from government; but the whole of the perquisites and remuneration of any judge, except those of the presidents, amounted to little more than the épices. The presidents of the parliament had a higher remuneration; but the price which they paid for their offices was proportionably higher, and the whole amount received by a judge for his épices, perquisites, and other remunerations, fell short of the interest of the money which he paid for the charge; so that it is generally true, that the French judges administered justice not only without salary, but even with some pecuniary loss. Their real remuneration was the rank and consideration which their office gave them in society, and the respect and regard of their fellow-citizens. How well does this illustrate Montesquieu's aphorism, that the principle of the French monarchy was honour! It may be truly said, that the world has not produced a more learned, enlightened, or honourable order in society, than the French magistracy.

"Englishmen are much scandalized, when they are informed that the French judges were personally solicited by the suitors in court, their families and protectors, and by any other person whom the suitors thought likely to influence the decision of the causes in their favour. But it all amounted to nothing:—to all these solicitations the judges listened with equal external reverence and internal indifference; and they availed themselves of the first moment when it could be done with decency, to bow the parties respectfully out of the room: it was a corvée on their time which they most bitterly lamented."

Bacon had scarcely been an hour appointed lord keeper, when these presents of gold and of furniture, and of other costly articles, were showered upon him by various persons, and, amongst others, by the suitors of the court.

Immediately after his appointment as lord keeper, he waited upon the late lord chancellor to acquit himself of the debt of personal gratitude which he owed to that worthy person, and to acquaint him with his master's gracious intentions

to confer upon him the title of an earl, with a pension for life; an honour which, as he died on the 15th of the month, before the completion of the arrangements, was transferred to his son, who was created Earl of Bridgewater by the first patent to which the new lord keeper affixed the seal.

On the 14th of March the king quitted England, to visit his native country; and Sir Francis had scarcely been a week raised to the office of lord keeper, when he was placed at the head of the council, and intrusted with the management of all public affairs.

The king was accompanied by Buckingham, who, in his double capacity of prime minister, and master of the revels, assisted with equal readiness at the discussions which were to direct the nation, and the pastimes contrived to amuse the king. Graceful in all exercises, and a fine dancer, Buckingham brought that diversion into great request, while his associates willingly lent themselves to the devices which his better taste disdained; for James is said to have loved such representations and disguises as were witty and sudden, the more ridiculous the more pleasant.

The policy of the favourite seems to be clear. He had endeavoured to prevent the king's visit; and, in surrounding his royal master with these buffooneries, he well knew that he should disgust the better part of the Scottish nobility, and keep aloof all those grave and wise councillors, who could not recognise, under the disguise of a masquer, the learned pupil of Buchanan, and the ruler of two kingdoms.

Through the whole of this progress a constant communication was maintained between Buckingham and the lord keeper.

On the 7th of May, being the first day of term, the lord keeper went in great state to Westminster, in the following order:

1. Clerks and inferior officers in chancery.
2. Students in law.
3. Gentlemen servants to the keeper, sergeants-at-arms, and the seal-bearer, all on foot.
4. Himself, on horseback, in a gown of purple satin, between the treasurer and the keeper of the privy seal.
5. Earls, barons, and privy councillors.
6. Noblemen of all ranks.
7. Judges, to whom the next place to the privy councillors was assigned.

In this pomp he entered the hall. How different from the mode in which his successor took his seat!

Upon the lord keeper's entrance, he, in the presence of so many honourable witnesses, addressed the bar, stating the nature of the charge which had been given to him by the king, when he was intrusted with the great seal, and the modes by which, under the protection of God, it was his intention to obey what he was pleased to call his majesty's righteous commandments.

With respect to the *excess of jurisdiction*, or tumour of the court, which was the first admonition, the lord keeper dilated upon all the causes of excess, and concluded with an assurance of his temperate use of authority, and his conviction that the health of a court as well as of a body consisted in temperance.

With respect to the cautious *sealing of patents*, which was the second admonition, the lord keeper having stated six principal cases in which this caution was peculiarly requisite, and to which he declared that his attention should be directed, thus concluded: "And your lordships see in this matter of the seal, and his majesty's royal commandment concerning the same, I mean to walk in the light, so that men may know where to find me; and this publishing thereof plainly, I hope will save the king from a great deal of abuse, and me from a great deal of envy; when men shall see that no particular turn or end leads me, but a general rule.

With respect to *speedy justice*, which was the third admonition, and upon which, in his essays on "Delay and Despatch," it appears that he had maturely deliberated, he explained the nature of true and affected despatch; and, having divided delays, into the delays of the judge and of the suitor, he said, "For myself, I am resolved that my decree shall come speedily, if not instantly after the hearing, and my signed decree speedily upon my decree pronounced. For fresh justice is the sweetest; and to the end that there be no delay of justice, nor any other means-making or labouring, but the labouring of the counsel at the bar.

"Again, because justice is a sacred thing, and the end for which I am called to this place, and therefore is my way to heaven; and if it be shorter, it is never a whit the worse, I shall, by the grace of God, as far as God will give me strength, add the afternoon to the forenoon, and some fourth night of the vacation to the term, for the expediting and clearing of the causes of the court; only the depth of the three long vacations I would reserve in some measure free from business of estate, and for studies, arts, and sciences, to which in my own nature I am most inclined.

"There is another point of true expedition, which resteth much in myself, and that is in my manner of giving orders. For I have seen an affectation of despatch turn utterly to delay at length: for the manner of it is to take the tale out of the counsellor at the bar his mouth, and to give a cursory order, nothing tending or conducing to the end of the business. It makes me remember what I heard one say of a judge that sat in chancery; that he would make forty orders in a morning out of the way, and it was out of the way indeed; for it was nothing to the end of the busi

ness; and this is that which makes sixty, eighty, a hundred orders in a cause, to and fro, begetting one another; and, like Penelope's web, doing and undoing. But I mean not to purchase the praise of expeditive in that kind; but as one that have a feeling of my duty, and of the case of others. My endeavour shall be to hear patiently, and to cast my order into such a mould as may soonest bring the subject to the end of his journey."

And as to the delays of the suitor, he thus concluded: "By the grace of God, I will make injunctions but a hard pillow to sleepers; for if I find that he prosecutes not with effect, he may, perhaps, when he is awake, find not only his injunction dissolved, but his cause dismissed."

With respect to the last admonition, that justice should not be obstructed by unnecessary *expense*, he expressed his determination to diminish all expense, saying in substance what he had said in his essay on Judicature: "The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace, and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, 'grapes (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;' neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briers and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece."

He concludes his address with some observations upon projected improvements in the practice of the court, and his intention to frame ordinances for its better regulation. "My lords," he added, "I have no more to say, but now I will go on to business."

Upon his retirement from the court he communicated to Buckingham, then at Edinburgh, an account of the day's proceedings, in a letter, saying, "Yesterday I took my place in chancery, which I hold only from the king's grace and favour, and your constant friendship. There was much ado, and a great deal of world. But this matter of pomp, which is heaven to some men, is hell to me, or purgatory at least. It is true I was glad to see that the king's choice was so generally approved, and that I had so much interest in men's good wills and good opinions, because it maketh me the fitter instrument to do my master service, and my friend also.

"After I was set in chancery, I published his majesty's charge, which he gave me when he gave me the seal, and what rules and resolutions I had taken for the fulfilling his commandments. I send your lordship a copy of that I said. Men tell me, it hath done the king a great deal of honour; insomuch that some of my friends, that are wise men and no vain ones, did not stick to say to me, that there was not these seven years such a preparation for a parliament; which was a commendation, I confess, pleased me well. I pray take some fit time to show it his majesty, because, if I misunderstood him in any thing, I may amend it, because I know his judgment is higher and deeper than mine."

The approbation of the king was immediately communicated by Buckingham.

Before the king's departure for Scotland he had appointed commissioners for managing the treaty of marriage between the prince his son and the Infanta of Spain. The lord keeper, who had too much wisdom not to perceive the misfortunes which would result from this union, prudently and honestly advised the king not to proceed with the treaty, stating the difficulties which had already occurred from a disunited council; but the king fell into the snare which the politic Gondomar had prepared for him, and persisted to negotiate an alliance, in opposition to his own interests, the advice of his ablest councillors, and the universal voice of his people. A more unequal game could not be played, than between the childish cunning of this blundering, obstinate, good-humoured king, and the diplomacy of the smooth, intellectual, determined Gondomar, graceful, supple, and fatal as a serpent.

Bacon, who was fully aware of the envy which pursued his advancement, was careful to transmit an exact account of his proceedings, and, in despatches which appeared only to contain a narrative of passing events, conveyed to the king and his favourite many sound maxims of state policy. His royal master, who was not insensible of his services, greatly commended him, and Buckingham expressed his own admiration of the wisdom and prudence of his counsels.

This sunshine was, however, soon after clouded by a circumstance, which is worth noting only as it shows the temper of the times, and the miserable subjection in which the favourite held all persons, however eminent in talent or station. Sir Edward Coke, who had been disgraced the year before, unable to bear retirement, aggravated, as it was, by the success of his rival, applied, during the king's absence, to Secretary Winwood, submissively desiring to be restored to favour; and he, who, in support of the law, had resisted the king to his face, and had rejected with scorn the proposal of an alliance with the family of Buckingham, now offered "to do any thing that was required of him," and to promote, upon their own terms, the marriage of his daughter with Sir John Villiers. Winwood, who, for party purposes, was supposed to enter officiously into this business, readily undertook the negotiation. It was not attended with much difficulty: the young lady, beautiful and opulent, was instantly accepted.

Bacon, for many cogent reasons, which he fairly expressed both to the king and to Buckingham, strongly opposed this match, displeasing to

the political friends of Buckingham, and fraught with bitterness from the opposition of Lady Hatton, the young lady's mother, upon whom her fortune mainly depended. Bacon's dislike to Coke, and the possible consequences to himself from this alliance, were supposed by Buckingham to have influenced this unwise interference; which he resented, first by a cold silence, and afterwards by several haughty and bitter letters: and so effectually excited the king's displeasure, that, on his return, he sharply reprimanded in the privy council those persons who had interfered in this business. Buckingham, who could show his power, as well in allaying as in raising a storm, was soon ashamed of the king's violence, and, seeing the ridicule that must arise from his inflating a family quarrel into a national grievance, interceded "on his knees" for Bacon. A reconciliation, of course, took place, but not without disgrace to all the parties concerned; exhibiting on the one part unbecoming violence, and on the other the most abject servility. The marriage, which had occasioned so much strife, was solemnized at the close of the month of September; and Sir Edward Coke was recalled to the council table, where, after the death of Winwood, he did not long keep his seat.

This storm having subsided, the lord keeper turned his attention to the subject of finance, and endeavoured to bring the government expenses, now called the civil list, within the compass of the ordinary revenue; a measure more necessary, since there had never been any disposition in parliament to be as liberal to James as to his illustrious predecessor.

The difficulties which the council met in the projected retrenchments, from the officers of state whose interests were affected, confirmed the remark of Cardinal Richelieu, "that the reformation of a king's household is a thing more fit to be done than successfully attempted." This did not discourage the lord keeper, who went manfully to the work, and wrote freely to Buckingham and to the king himself, upon the necessity both of striking at the root, and lopping off the branches; of considering whether Ireland, instead of being a burden to England, ought not, in a great measure, to support itself; and of diminishing household expenses, and abridging pensions and gratuities.

Notwithstanding these efforts to retrench all unnecessary expenditure in the household, the pecuniary distresses of the king were so great, that expedients, from which he ought to have been protected by the Commons, were adopted, and the grant of patents and infliction of fines was made a profitable source of revenue: although Bacon had, upon the death of Salisbury, earnestly prayed the king "not to descend to any means, or degree of means, which cometh not of a symmetry with his majesty and greatness.

While these exactions disclosed to the people the king's poverty, they could daily observe his profuse expenditure and lavish bounty to his favourite; recourse, therefore, was had to Buckingham by all suitors; but neither the distresses of the king, nor the power of the favourite, deterred the lord keeper from staying grants and patents, when his public duty demanded this interposition: an interference which, if Buckingham really resented, he concealed his displeasure; as, so far from expressing himself with his usual haughtiness, he thanked his friend, telling him that he "desired nothing should pass the seal except what was just or convenient."

On the 4th of January, 1618, the lord keeper was created Lord High Chancellor of England, and, in July, Baron of Verulam, to which, as stated in the preamble to the patent of nobility, witnessed by the Prince of Wales, Duke of Lenox, and many of the first nobility, the king was "moved by the grateful sense he had of the many faithful services rendered him by this worthy person." In the beginning of the same year the Earl of Buckingham was raised to the degree of marquis.

In August, 1618, the lord keeper, with a due sense of the laudable intentions of the founder, stayed a patent for the foundation of Dulwich College, from the conviction that education was the best charity, and would be best promoted by the foundation of lectures in the university. This, his favourite opinion, which he, when solicitor-general, had expressed in his tract upon Sutton's Hospital, and renewed in his will, was immediately communicated to Buckingham, to whom he suggested that part of the founder's bounty ought to be appropriated to the advancement of learning.

Firm, however, as Bacon was with respect to patents, his wishes, as a politician, to relieve the distresses of the king, seem to have had some tendency to influence his mind as a judge. In one of his letters he expresses his anxiety to accellerate the prosecution, saying, "it might, if wind and weather permit, come to hearing in the term;" and in another he says, "the evidence went well, and I will not say I sometimes helped it as far as was fit for a judge."

So true is it, as Bacon himself had taught, that a judge ought to be of a retired nature, and unconnected with politics. So certain is the injury to the administration of justice, from the attempt to blend the irreconcileable characters of judge and politician: the judge unbending as the oak, the politician pliant as the osier: the judge firm and constant, the same to all men; the politician, ever varying,

"Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinas Arion."

It was, about this time, discovered that several Dutch merchants of great opulence had exported gold and silver to the amount of some millions

There are various letters extant upon this subject, exhibiting the king's pecuniary distresses, his rash facility in making promises, and the discontent felt by the people at his improvidence, and partiality for his own countrymen.

Though evidently rejoicing at this windfall for his royal master, Bacon, regardless of the importunities of the attorney-general, refused to issue writes of *ne exeat* against the merchants till he had obtained evidence to warrant his interposition, and cautioned his majesty against granting the forfeitures accruing from this discovery. He entreated that a commission might be formed, impowering Sir E. Coke, the chancellor of the exchequer, the lord chief justice, and himself, to investigate this matter. These observations were well received, and immediately adopted by the king; and although informations were filed against a hundred and eighty, only twenty of the principal merchants were tried and convicted. They were fined to the amount of £100,000, which, by the intercession of Buckingham, was afterwards remitted to about £30,000. The rest of the prosecutions were stayed at his instance, intercession having been made to him by letters from the States-General, and probably by the merchants themselves, in the way in which he was usually approached by applicants.

While this cause was pending, the Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer, was prosecuted, with his lady, in the Star Chamber, for trafficking with the public money to the amount of £50,000; and they were sentenced to imprisonment and fine, not, according to the judgment of Sir Edward Coke, of £100,000, but of £30,000. Bacon commended Coke to the king, as having done his part excellently, but pursued his own constant course, activity in detecting the offence, and moderation in punishing the offender. After a short confinement they were released at the intercession of Buckingham, and the fine reduced to £7,000.

The motives by which Buckingham was influenced in this and similar remissions, may possibly be collected from his conduct in the advancement of Lord Chief Justice Montagu, who, for a sum of £20,000, was appointed to the treasurership, vacated by the removal of Lord Suffolk, and was created a peer; for which offence this dispenser of the king's favours was, in the reign of Charles the First, impeached by the Commons; but he, after the death of Bacon and of the king, solemnly denied the accusation, by protesting "that the sum was a voluntary loan to the king by the lord treasurer, after his promotion, and not an advance to obtain the appointment."

Such were the occupations to which this philosopher was doomed; occupations which, even as chancellor, he regretted, saying, most truly, "I know these things do not pertain to me; for my part is to acquit the king's office towards God, in the maintenance of the prerogative, and to oblige the hearts of the people to him by the administration of justice."

From these political expedients he turned to his more interesting judicial duties. How strenuously he exerted himself in the discharge of them may be seen in his honest exultation to Buckingham, and may be easily conceived by those who know how indefatigable genius is in any business in which it is interested: how ardent and strenuous it is in encountering and subduing all difficulties to which it is opposed.

In a letter to Buckingham, of the 8th of June, 1617, he says, "This day I have made even with the business of the kingdom for common justice; not one cause unheard; the lawyers drawn dry of all the motions they were to make; not one petition unanswered. And this, I think, could not be said in our age before. This I speak, not out of ostentation, but out of gladness, when I have done my duty. I know men think I cannot continue if I should thus oppress myself with business: but that account is made. The duties of life are more than life; and if I die now, I shall die before the world be weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare." And in two other letters he, from the same cause, expresses the same joy.

These exertions did not secure him from the interference of Buckingham, or protect him, as they have never protected judge, from misrepresentation and calumny; but, unmoved by friendship or by slander, he went right onward in his course. He acted as he taught, from the conviction, that "a popular judge is a deformed thing: and plaudits are fitter for players than magistrates. Do good to the people, love them, and give them justice, but let it be 'nihil inde expectantes;' looking for nothing, neither praise nor profit."

Notwithstanding Bacon's warning to Buckingham, that he ought not, as a statesman, to interfere, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending in any court of justice, the temptations to Buckingham were, it seems, too powerful to induce him to attend to this admonition, in resistance of a custom so long established and so deeply seated, that the applications were, as a matter of course, made to statesmen and to judges, by the most respectable members of the community, and by the two universities.

Early in March, Sir Francis was appointed lord keeper, and, on the 4th of April, Buckingham thus wrote: "My honourable lord:—Whereas the late lord chancellor thought it fit to dismiss out of the chancery a cause touching Henry Skipwith to the common law, where he desireth it should be decided; these are to entreat your lordship in the gentleman's favour, that if the adverse party shall attempt to bring it now back

again into your lordship's court, you would not retain it there, but let it rest in the place where now it is, that without more vexation unto him in posting him from one to another, he may have a final hearing and determination thereof. And so I rest your lordship's ever at command,

"G. Buckingham.

"My lord, this is a business wherein I spake to my lord chancellor, whereupon he dismissed the suit."

Scarcely a week passed without a repetition of these solicitations.

When Sir Francis was first intrusted with the great seal, he found a cause entitled Fisher *v.* Wraynham, which had been in the court from the year 1606. He immediately examined the proceedings, and, having ordered the attendance of the parties, and heard the arguments of counsel, he terminated this tedious suit, by decreeing against the defendant Wraynham, who was a man described as holding a smooth pen and a fine speech, but a fiery spirit. He immediately published a libel against the chancellor and the late master of the rolls: for which he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber.

Sir Henry Yelverton, in stating the case, said, "I was of counsel with Mr. Wraynham, and pressed his cause as far as equity would suffer. But this gentleman being of an unquiet spirit, after a secret murmuring, breaks out in a complaint to his majesty, and not staying his return out of Scotland, but fancying to himself, as if he saw some cloud arising over my lord, compiled his undigested thoughts into a libel, and fastens it on the king. And his most princely majesty finding it stuffed with most bitter reviling speeches against so great and worthy a judge, hath of himself commanded me this day to set forth and manifest his fault unto your lordships, that so he might receive deserved punishment. In this pamphlet Mr. Wraynham saith, he had two decrees in the first lord chancellor's time, and yet are both cancelled by this lord chancellor in a preposterous manner: without cause; without matter; without any legal proceedings; without precedent, upon the party's bare suggestions, and without calling Mr. Wraynham to answer: to reward Fisher's fraud and perjuries; to palliate his unjust proceedings; and to confound Wraynham's estate: and that my lord was therein led by the rule of his own fancy. But he stayeth not here. Not content to scandalize the living, he vilifies the dead, the master of the rolls, a man of great understanding, great pains, great experience, great dexterity, and of great integrity; yet, because he followed not this man's humour in the report thereof, he brands him with aspersions."

And Mr. Sergeant Crowe, who was also counsel for the prosecution, said, "Mr. Wraynham, thus to traduce my lord, is a foul offence; you cannot traduce him of corruption, for, thanks be to God, he hath always despised riches, and set honour and justice before his eyes. My lords, I was of counsel with Fisher, and I knew the merits of the cause, for my lord chancellor seeing what recompense Fisher ought in justice to have received, and finding a disability in Wraynham to perform it, was enforced to take the land from Wraynham to give it to Fisher, which is hardly of value to satisfy Fisher's true debt and damages."

Wraynham was convicted by the unanimous opinion of the court; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in delivering his judgment, said, "The fountain of wisdom hath set this glorious work of the world in the order and beauty wherein it stands, and hath appointed princes, magistrates, and judges, to hear the causes of the people. It is fitting, therefore, to protect them from the slanders of wicked men, that shall speak evil of magistrates and men in authority, blaspheming them. And therefore, since Wraynham hath blasphemed and spoken evil, and slandered a chief magistrate, it remaineth, that in honour to God, and in duty to the king and kingdom, he should receive severe punishment."

According to the custom of the times, a suit of hangings for furniture, worth about £160, was presented to the lord chancellor, on behalf of Fisher, by Mr. Shute, who, with Sir Henry Yelverton, was one of his counsel in the cause.

This present was not peculiar to the cause Wraynham and Fisher, but presents on behalf of the respective suitors were publicly made by the counsel in the cause, and were offered by the most virtuous members of the community, without their having, or being supposed to have any influence upon the judgment of the court.

In the cause of Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, £400 was presented before the award was made, on behalf of Edward, by the counsel in the cause, Sir Richard Young and Sir George Hastings, who was also a member of the house of commons, but the lord keeper decided against him: and £300 was presented on behalf of Rowland, after the award was made in his favour by the chancellor and Lord Hobart; and in the cause of Awbrey and Bronker, £100 was presented on behalf of Awbrey, before the decree, by his counsel, Sir George Hastings, and a severe decree was made against Awbrey.

In a reference between the company of grocers and apothecaries, the grocers presented £200, and the apothecaries a taster of gold, and a present of ambergris.

In the cause of Hody and Hody, which was for a great inheritance, a present of gold buttons, worth about £50, was given by Sir Thomas Perrot, one of the counsel in the cause, after the suit was ended.

This slander of Wraynham's was not the only evil to which he was exposed.

On the 12th of November, 1616, John Bertram,

a suitor in chancery, being displeased with a report made by Sir John Tindal, one of the masters of the court, shot him dead as he was alighting from his carriage, and, upon his committal to prison, he destroyed himself. An account of this murder was published under the superintendence of Sir Francis, to counteract the erroneous opinions which had been circulated through the country, and the false commiseration which the misery of this wretched offender had excited, in times when the community was alive to hear any slander against the administration of justice.

When the morbid feeling of insane minds is awakened, there is always some chance of a repetition of its outrages. Towards the end of the year the lord keeper was in danger of sharing the fate of Sir John Tindal, from the vindictive temper of Lord Clifton, against whom a decree had been made, who declared publicly that "he was sorry he had not stabbed the lord keeper in his chair the moment he pronounced judgment." As soon as this misguided suitor, who afterwards destroyed himself, was committed to the tower, Bacon wrote to Buckingham, saying, "I pray your lordship in humbleness to let his majesty know that I little fear the Lord Clifton, but I much fear the example, that it will animate ruffians and *rodomonti* extremely against the seats of justice, which are his majesty's own seats, yea, and against all authority and greatness, if this pass without public censure and example, it having gone already so far as that the person of a baron hath been committed to the Tower. The punishment it may please his majesty to remit, and I shall, not formally but heartily, intercede for him, but an example, setting myself aside, I wish for terror of persons that may be more dangerous than he, towards the first judge of the kingdom."

Not content with discharging the common duties of a judge, he laboured, whenever an opportunity offered, to improve the administration of justice.

He carried into effect the proposal, which, when attorney-general, he had submitted to the king, that two legal reporters, with an annual stipend to each of £100, should be appointed. He realized the intention, which he expressed upon taking his seat, by issuing ordinances for the better administration of justice in the chancery, upon which the practice of the court at this day is founded. Before the circuits he assembled the judges, and explained his views of their duties, when they, as the planets of the kingdom, were representing their sovereign, in the administration of law and justice;—to advance kind feeling and familiar intercourse, he introduced a mode, at that time not usual, of inviting the judges to dinner; thus manifesting, as he says in a letter to Lord Burleigh, that it is ever a part of wisdom not to exclude inferior matters of access amongst the care of great: and, upon the promotion of any judge, he availed himself of the opportunity to explain the nature of judicial virtues, of which an extensive outline may be seen in his works.

"The judge is a man of ability, drawing his learning out of his books, and not out of his brain; rather learned than ingenious; more plausible than witty; more reverend than plausible. He is a man of gravity; of a retired nature, and unconnected with politics: his virtues are inlaid, not embossed.—He is more advised than confident.—He has a right understanding of justice, depending not so much on reading other men's writings, as upon the goodness of his own natural reason and meditation.—He is of sound judgment; not diverted from the truth by the strength of immediate impression.—He is a man of integrity:—of well regulated passions; beyond the influence either of anger, by which he may be incapable of judging, or of hope, either of money or of worldly advancement, by which he may decide unjustly; or of fear, either of the censure of others, which is cowardice, or of giving pain when it ought to be given, which is improper compassion.—He is just both in private and in public.—He without solicitation accepts the office, with a sense of public duty.—He is patient in hearing, in inquiry, and in insult; quick in apprehension, slow in anger.—His determination to censure is always painful to him, like Cæsar, when he threatened Metellus with instant death, 'Adolescens, durius est mihi hoc dicere quam facere.'—He does not affect the reputation of despatch, nor forget that an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal.—He is diligent in discovering the merits of the cause: by his own exertions; from the witness, and the advocates.—He is cautious in his judgment; not forming a hasty opinion: not tenacious in retaining an opinion when formed: 'never ashamed of being wiser to-day than he was yesterday:' never wandering from the substance of the matter in judgment into useless subtilty and refinement.—He does not delay justice.—He is impartial; never suffering any passion to interfere with the love of truth.—He hears what is spoken, not who speaks: whether it be the sovereign, or a pauper; a friend, or a foe; a favourite advocate, or an intelligent judge.—He decides according to law; 'jus dicere: non jus dare,' is his maxim.—He delivers his judgment in public, 'palam atque astante corona.'

"He discharges his duty to all persons.—To the suitors, by doing justice, and by endeavouring to satisfy them that justice is done:—to the witnesses, by patience, kindness, and by encouragement;—to the jurors, by being a light to lead them to justice:—to the advocates, by hearing them patiently; correcting their defects, not suffering justice to be perverted by their ingenuity, and encouraging their merits:—to the inferior

officers, by rewarding the virtuous; skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court; and discountenancing the vicious, sowers of suits, disturbers of jurisdiction, impeders, by tricks and shifts, of the plain and direct course of justice, and bringing it into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the poller and exacter of fees, who justifies the common resemblance of the courts to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece:—to himself, by counteracting the tendency of his situation to warp his character, and by proper use of times of recreation:—to his profession, by preserving the privileges of his office, and by improvement of the law:—and to society, by advancing justice and good feeling, in the suppression of force and detection of fraud; in readiness to hear the complaints of the distressed; in looking with pity upon those who have erred and strayed; in courtesy; in discountenancing contentious suits; in attending to appearances, esse et videri; in encouraging respect for the office; and by resigning in due time."

In his youth he had exerted himself to improve the gardens of Gray's Inn: in gardens he always delighted, thinking them conducive to the purest of human pleasures, and he now, as chancellor, had the satisfaction to sign the patent for converting Lincoln's Inn Fields into walks, extending almost to the wall where his faithful friend Ben Jonson had, when a boy, worked as a bricklayer.

For relaxation from his arduous occupations he was accustomed to retire to his magnificent and beautiful residence at Gorhambury, the dwelling-place of his ancestors, where, "when his lordship arrived, St. Albans seemed as if the court had been there, so nobly did he live. His servants had liveries with his crest: his watermen were more employed than even the king's."

About half a mile from this noble mansion, of which the ruins yet remain, and within the bounds of Old Verulam, the lord chancellor built, at the expense of about £10,000, a most ingeniously contrived house, where, in the society of his philosophical friends, he escaped from the splendour of chancellor, to study and meditation. "Here," says Aubrey, "his lordship much meditated, his servant, Mr. Bushell, attending him with his pen and inkhorn, to set down his present notions. Mr. Thomas Hobbes told me that his lordship would employ him often in this service, whilst he was there, and was better pleased with his minutes, or notes, set down by him, than by others who did not well understand his lordship. He told me that he was employed in translating part of the Essays, viz. three of them, one whereof was that of Greatness of Cities, the other two I have now forgot."

Such was the gorgeous splendour, such the union of action and contemplation in which he lived.

About this period the king conferred upon him the valuable farm of the Alienation Office, and he succeeded in obtaining for his residence, York House, the place of his birth, and where his father had lived, when lord keeper in the reign of Elizabeth.

This may be considered the summit of this great man's worldly prosperity. He had been successively solicitor and attorney-general, privy councillor, lord keeper, and lord chancellor, having had conferred upon him the dignities, first of knight, then of Baron of Verulam, and, early in the next year, of Viscount St. Albans; but, above all, he was distinguished through Europe by a much prouder title, as the greatest of English philosophers.

At York House, on the 22d of January, 1620, he celebrated his sixtieth birthday, surrounded by his admirers and friends, amongst whom was Ben Jonson, who composed, in honour of the day, a poem founded on the fiction of the poet's surprise upon his reaching York House, at the sight of the genius of the place performing some mystery. Fortune is justly represented insecurely placed upon a wheel, whose slightest revolution may cause her downfall. It has been said that wailing sounds were heard, before the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and at last the rushing of mighty wings when the angel of the sanctuary departed. Had the poet been a prophet, he would have described the good genius of the mansion, not exulting, but dejected, humbled, and about to depart forever.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PUBLICATION OF THE NOVUM ORGANUM TO HIS RETIREMENT FROM ACTIVE LIFE.

October, 1620, to June, 1621.

GLITTERING in the blaze of worldly splendour, and absorbed in worldly occupations, the chancellor, now sixty years of age, could no longer delude himself with the hope of completing his favourite work, the great object of his life, upon which he had been engaged for thirty years, and had twelve times transcribed with his own hand. He resolved at once to abandon it, and publish the small fragment which he had composed. For this act of despair he assigned two reasons:—"Because I number my days, and would have it saved;" and "to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a Natural and Experimental History,

which must be the foundation of a true and active philosophy." Such are the consequences of vain attempts to unite deep contemplation and unremitting action! Such the consequences of forgetting our limited powers; that we can reach only to our arm's length, and our voice be heard only till the next air is still!

It will be remembered, that in the Advancement of Learning, he separates the subject of the human mind into

- 1. The Understanding
  - 1. Invention.
  - 2. Judgment.
  - 3. Memory.
  - 4. Tradition.
- 2. The Will.

Under the head of Invention he says, "The invention of sciences, I purpose, if God give me leave hereafter to propound, having digested it into two parts; whereof the one I term *experientia literata*, and the other *interpretatio naturæ*: the former being but a degree and rudiment of the latter. But I will not dwell too long, nor speak too great upon a promise." This promise, he, however, lived partly to realize.

In the year 1623, he completed his tract upon *Literate Experience*, in which, after having explained that our inventions, instead of resulting from reason and foresight, have ever originated in accident; that "we are more beholden to a wild goat for surgery: to a nightingale for modulations of music: to the ibis for some part of physic: to a pot-lid that flew open for artillery: in a word, to chance rather than to logic: so that it is no marvel that the Egyptians had their temples full of the idols of brutes; but almost empty of the idols of men:" he divides this art of Discovery into two parts: "For either the indication is made from experiments to experiments, or from experiments to axioms, which may likewise design new experiments; whereof the former we will term *Experientia Literata*; the latter, *Interpretatio Naturæ*, or *Novum Organum*: as a man may go on his way after a threefold manner, either when himself feels out his way in the dark; or, being weak-sighted, is led by the hand of another; or else when he directs his footing by a light. So when a man essays all kind of experiments without sequence or method, that is a mere palpation; but when he proceeds by direction and order in experiments, it is as if he were led by the hand; and this is it which we understand by *Literate Experience*; for the light itself, which is the third way, is to be derived from the interpretation of nature, or the *New Organ*."

He then proceeds to explain his doctrine of "*Literate Experience*," or the science of making experiments. The hunting of Pan.

In this interesting inquiry the miraculous vigilance of this extraordinary man may possibly be more apparent than in his more abstruse works. An outline of it is subjoined.[1]

[1] The art of experimenting is,

- 1. Systematic.
  - 1. Simple.
    - 1. Production.
      - 1. By repetition.
      - 2. By extension.
      - 3. By compulsion.
    - 2. Inversion.
    - 3. Variation.
      - 1. Of the matter.
      - 2. Of the efficient.
      - 3. Of the quantity.
    - 4. Translation.
      - 1. From nature.
        - 1. To nature.
        - 2. To art.
      - 2. From art.
        - 1. To a different art.
        - 2. To a part of the same art.
      - 3. From experiment to experiment.
  - 2. Compound.
- 2. Chance.

A few moments consideration of each of these subjects will not be lost.

PRODUCTION is experimenting upon the result of the experiment, and is either, 1st, by *Repetition*, continuing the experiment upon the result of the experiment; as Newton, who, after having separated light into seven rays, proceeded to separate each distinct pencil of rays; or, 2dly, by *Extension*, or urging the experiment to a greater subtlety, as in the memory being helped by images and pictures of persons: may it not also be helped by imaging their gestures and habits? or, 3dly, by *Compulsion*, or trying an experiment till its virtue is annihilated: not merely hunting the game, but killing it; as burning or macerating a loadstone, or dissolving iron till the attraction between the iron and the loadstone is gone.

INVERSION is trying the contrary to that which is manifested by the experiment: as in heating the end of a small bar of iron, and placing the heated end downwards, and your hand on the top, it will presently burn the hand. Invert the iron, and place the hand on the ground, to ascertain whether heat is produced as rapidly by descent as by ascent.

VARIATION is either of the *matter*, as the trying to make paper of woollen, as well as of linen; or of the *efficient*, as by trying if amber and jet, which when rubbed, will attract straw, will have the same effect if warmed at the fire, or of the *quantity*, like Æsop's housewife, who thought that by doubling her measure of barley, her hen would daily lay her two eggs.

TRANSLATION is either *from nature to nature*, as Newton translating the force of gravity upon the earth to the celestial bodies; or from *nature to art*, as the manner of distilling might be taken from showers or dew, or from that homely experiment of drops adhering to covers put upon pots of boiling water; or from *art to a different art*, as by transferring the invention of spectacles, to help a weak sight, to an instrument fastened to the ear, to help the deaf; or to a different part of the same art: as, if opiates repress the spirits in diseases, may they not retard the consumption of the spirits so as to prolong life; or from *experiment to experiment*: as upon flesh putrefying sooner in some cellars than in others, by considering whether this may not assist in finding good or bad air for habitations.

Such are the modes of experimenting by translation,* open to all men who will awake and perpetually fix their eyes, one while on the nature of things, another on the application of them, to the use and service of mankind.

COPULATION of experiments is trying the efficacy of united experiments, which, when separate, produce the same effect: as, by pulling off the more early buds when they are newly knotted, or by laying the roots bare until the spring, late roses will be produced. Will not the germination be more delayed by a union of these experiments?

CHANCES of an experiment, or the trying a conclusion, not for that any reason, or other experiment, induceth you to it,

* They may be thus exhibited:

- 1. From nature
  - To nature.
  - To art.
- 2. From art
  - To a different art.
  - To a different part of the same art.
- 3. From experiment to experiment.

The Novum Organum is the next subject of consideration. It thus opens:

FRANCISCUS
DE VERULAMIO
SIC COGITAVIT.[1]

His despair of the possibility of completing his important work, of which his Novum Organum was only a portion, appears at the very entrance of the volume, which, instead of being confined to the Novum Organum, exhibits an outline, and only an outline, of the whole of his intended labours.

After his dedication to the king, he, according to his wonted mode, clears the way by a review of the state of learning, which, he says, is neither prosperous nor advanced, but, being barren in effects, fruitful in questions, slow and languid in its improvement, exhibiting in its generality the counterfeit of perfection, ill filled up in its details, popular in its choice, suspected by its very promoters, and therefore countenanced with artifices, it is necessary that an entirely different way from any known by our predecessors must be opened to the human understanding, and different helps be obtained, in order that the mind may exercise its jurisdiction over the nature of things.

but only because the like was never attempted before: an irrational, and, as it were, a passionate manner of experimenting; but yet the wonders of nature lie out of the high road and beaten paths, so as the very absurdity of an attempt may sometimes be prosperous.

Such is the nature of his tract entitled "Literate Experience."

[1] Vol. ix. p. 145, 147. Cum autem incertus esset, quando hæc alicui posthac in mentem ventura sint; eo potissimum usus argumento, quod neminem hactenus invenit, qui ad similes cogitationes animum applicuerit; decrevit prima quæque, quæ perficere licuit, in publicum edere. Neque hæc festinatio ambitiosa fuit, sed sollicita; ut si quid illi humanitus accideret, exstaret tamen designatio quædam, ac destinatio rei quam animo complexus est; utque exstaret simul signum aliquod honestæ suæ et propensæ in generis humani commoda voluntatis. Certe aliam quamcunque ambitionem inferiorem duxit re, quam præ manibus habuit. Aut enim hoc quod agitur nihil est; aut tantum, ut merito ipso contentum esse debeat, nec fructum extra quærere.

FRANCIS OF VERULAM
THOUGHT THUS.

Uncertain, however, whether these reflections would ever hereafter suggest themselves to another, and particularly having observed that he has never yet met with any person disposed to apply his mind to similar meditations, he determined to publish whatsoever he had first time to conclude. Nor is this the haste of ambition, but of his anxiety, that if the common lot of mankind should befall him, some sketch and determination of the matter his mind had embraced might be extant, as well as an earnest of his will being honourably bent upon promoting the advantage of mankind. He assuredly looked upon any other ambition as beneath the matter he had undertaken; for that which is here treated of is either nothing, or it is so great that he ought to be satisfied with its own worth and seek no other return.

The intended work is then separated into six parts:

1. Divisions of the Sciences.
2. Novum Organum; or, Precepts for the Interpretation of Nature.
3. Phenomena of the Universe; or, Natural and Experimental History on which to found Philosophy.
4. Scale of the Understanding.
5. Precursors or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy.
6. Sound Philosophy, or Active Science.

And with respect to each of these parts he explains his intentions.

As to the first, or The Division of the Sciences, he, in 1605, had exhibited an outline in the Advancement of Learning, and lived nearly to complete it in the year 1623. In this treatise he describes the cultivated parts of the intellectual world and the deserts; not to measure out regions, as augurs for divination, but as generals to invade for conquest.

The Novum Organum is a treatise upon the conduct of the understanding in the systematic discovery of truth, or the art of invention by a *New Organ*: as, in inquiring into any nature, the hydrophobia, for instance, or the attraction of the magnet, the Novum Organum explains a mode of proceeding by which its nature and laws may with certainty be found.

It having been Bacon's favourite doctrine, that important truths are often best discovered in small and familiar instances, as the nature of a commonwealth, in a family and the simple conjugations of society, man and wife, parents and children, master and servant, which are in every cottage; and as he had early taught that all truths, however divisible as lines and veins, are not separable as sections and separations, but partake of one common essence, which, like the drops of rain, fall separately into the river, mix themselves at once with the stream, and strengthen the general current, it may seem extraordinary that it should not have occurred to him that the mode to discover any truth might, possibly, be seen by the proceedings in a court of justice, where the immediate and dearest interests of men being concerned, and great intellect exerted, it is natural to suppose that the best mode of invention would be adopted.

In a well constituted court of justice the judge is without partiality. He hears the evidence on both sides, and the reasoning of the opposite advocates. He then forms his judgment. This is the mode adopted by Bacon in the Novum Organum for the discovery of all truths. He endeavours to make the philosopher in his study proceed as a judge in his court.

For this purpose his work is divisible into three parts: 1st. The removal of prejudice, or the do-

struction of idols, or modes by which the judgment is warped from the truth. 2dly. By considering facts on both sides; as if the inquiry be into the nature of heat, by considering all the affirmative and negative instances of heat.

Affirmative Table.	*Negative Table.*
The Sun's direct rays.	The Moon's rays.
Blood of Terrestrial Animals.	Blood of Fish.
Living Animals,	Dead Animals,
&c.	&c.

3dly. By explaining the mode in which the facts presented to the senses ought by certain rules to be examined.

As the commander of an army, before he commences an attack, considers the strength and number of his troops, both regular and allies; the spirit by which they are animated, whether they are the lion, or the sheep in the lion's skin; the power of the enemy to which he is opposed: their walled towns, their stored arsenals and armories, their horses and chariots of war, elephants, ordnance and artillery, and their races of men; and then in what mode he shall commence his attack and proceed in the battle: so, before man directs his strength against nature, and endeavours to take her high towers and dismantle her fortified holds, and thus enlarge the borders of his dominion, he ought duly to estimate,

1st. His powers, natural and artificial, for the discovery of truth.
2d. His different motives for the exercise of his powers.
3d. The obstacles to which he is opposed; and,
4th. The mode in which he can exert his powers with most efficacy, or the Art of Invention.

Of these four requisites, therefore, a perfect work upon the conduct of the understanding ought, as it seems, to consist: but the Novum Organum is not thus treated. To system Bacon was not attached: for "As young men, when they knit and shape perfectly, do seldom grow to a farther stature, so knowledge, while it is in aphorisms and observations, it is in growth; but when it once is comprehended in exact methods, it may perchance be farther polished and illustrated, and accommodated for use and practice; but it increaseth no more in bulk and substance.

Instead of explaining our different powers, our *Senses*, our *Imagination*, our *Reason*, there are in the Novum Organum only some scattered observations upon the defects of the senses;—upon the different causes or idols by which the judgment is always liable to be warped, and some suggestions as to the artificial helps to our natural powers in exploring the truths which are exhibited to the senses.

With respect to the defects of the senses, he says that things escape their cognisance by seven modes:

1st. From distance; which is remedied by substitutes, as beacons, bells, telegraphs, &c.
2d. By the interception of interposing bodies; which is remedied by attention to outward or visible signs, as the internal state of the body by the pulse, &c.
3d. By the unfitness of the body: or,
4th. Its insufficiency in quantity to impress the sense, as the air and the vital spirit, which is imperceptible by sight or touch.
5th. From the insufficiency of time to actuate the sense, either when the motion is too slow, as in the hand of a clock or the growth of grass, or too rapid, as a bullet passing through the air.
6th. From the percussion of the body being too powerful for the sense, as in looking at the midday sun; which is remedied by removing the object from the sense; or by diminishing its force by the interposition of a medium, as smoking tobacco through water; or by reflection, as the sun's rays in a mirror or basin of water: and—
7th. Because the sense is pre-occupied by another object, as by the use of perfumes.

The defects of the judgment he investigates in a more laborious inquiry. "There are," he says, "certain predispositions which beset the mind of man; certain idols which are constantly operating upon the mind and warping it from the truth; for the mind of man, drawn over and clouded with the sable pavilion of the body, is so far from being like smooth, equal, and clear glass, which might sincerely take and reflect the beams of things according to their true incidence, that it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstitions, apparitions, and impostures; which idols are of such a pernicious nature, that, if they once take root in the mind, they will so possess it that truth can hardly find entrance; and, even should it enter, they will again rise up, choke, and destroy it."

These idols are of two sorts: 1st. Common to all men, therefore called Idols of the Tribe, including the defects of words, called Idols of the Market; 2d. Peculiar to peculiar individuals, either from their original conformation, or from their education and pursuits in life, called Idols of the Den, including the errors from particular opinions, called Idols of the Theatre. So that his doctrine of idols may be thus exhibited:

1. Of the Tribe.—Of the Market
2. Of the Den.—Of the Theatre.

The *Idols of the Tribe*, or warps to the judgment,

by which all mankind swerve from the truth, are of two classes: 1st. When man is under the influence of a passion more powerful than the love of truth, as worldly interest, crying "Great is Diana of the Ephesians:" or, 2dly, When, under the influence of the love of truth, he, like every lover, is hurried without due and cautious inquiry by the hope of possessing the object of his affections: which manifests itself either in hasty assent, or hasty generalization, *the parents of credulity*;—in tenacity in retaining opinions, *the parent of prejudice*;—in abandoning universality, *the parent of feeble inquiry*;—or in indulging in subtleties and refinements and endless inquiry, *the parent of vain speculations*, spinning out of itself cobwebs of learning, admirable for their fineness of texture, but of no substance or profit.

As men associate by discourse, and words are imposed according to the capacity of the vulgar, a false and improper imposition of words unavoidably possesses the understanding, leading men away to idle controversies and subtleties, irremediable by definitions, which, consisting of words, shoot back, like the Tartar's bow, upon the judgment from whence they came.

These defects of words, or *Idols of the Market*, are either names of non-existences, as the *primum mobile*, the element of fire, &c.; or confused names of existences, as beauty, virtue, &c.; which, from the subtlety of nature being infinite, and of words finite, must always exist. Words tell the minutes, but not the seconds. When we attempt to reach heaven, we are stopped by the confusion of languages.

The *Idols of the Den*, or attachment by particular individuals to particular opinions, he thus explains: "We every one of us have our particular den or cavern, which refracts and corrupts the light of nature; either because every man has his respective temper, education, acquaintance, course of reading, and authorities; or from the difference of impressions, as they happen in a mind prejudiced or prepossessed, or in one that is calm and equal. Of which defects Plato's cave is an excellent emblem: for, certainly, if a man were continued from his childhood to mature age in a grotto or dark and subterraneous cave, and then should come suddenly abroad, and should behold the stately canopy of heaven and the furniture of the world, without doubt he would have many strange and absurd imaginations come into his mind and people his brain. So in like manner we live in the view of heaven, yet our spirits are enclosed in the caves of our bodies, complexions, and customs, which must needs minister unto us infinite images of error and vain opinions, if they do seldom and for so short a time appear above ground out of their holes, and do not continually live under the contemplation of nature, as in the open air." Of these Idols of the Den, the attachment of professional men, divines, lawyers, politicians, &c., to their respective sciences, are glaring instances.

Idols of the Theatre, or depraved theories, are, of course, infinite and inveterate; appearing in that numerous litter of strange, senseless, absurd opinions, which crawl about the world to the disgrace of reason, and the wretchedness of mankind.

Upon the destruction of these idols, Bacon is unceasing in his exhortations. "They must," he says, "by the lover of truth be solemnly and forever renounced, that the understanding may be purged and cleansed; for the kingdom of man, which is founded in the sciences, can scarce be entered otherwise than the Kingdom of God, that is, in the condition of little children:" and, with an earnestness not often found in his works, he adds, "If we have any humility towards the Creator; if we have any reverence and esteem of his works; if we have any charity towards men, or any desire of relieving their miseries and necessities; if we have any love for natural truths; any aversion to darkness, any desire of purifying the understanding, we must destroy these idols, which have led experience captive, and childishly triumphed over the works of God; and now at length condescend, with due submission and veneration, to approach and peruse the volume of the creation; dwell some time upon it, and bringing to the work a mind well purged of opinions, idols, and false notions, converse familiarly therein. This volume is the language which has gone out to all the ends of the earth, unaffected by the confusion of Babel; this is the language that men should thoroughly learn, and not disdain to have its alphabet perpetually in their hands; and in the interpretation of this language they should spare no pains, but strenuously proceed, persevere, and dwell upon it to the last."

Such is a faint outline of Bacon's celebrated doctrine of idols, which has sometimes been supposed to be the most important of all his works, and to expose the cause of all the errors by which man is misled.

Upon the *motives* by which the lover of truth, seeking nature with all her fruits about her, can alone be actuated, and which he has explained in other parts of his works, he, in the Novum Organum, contents himself with saying, "We would in general admonish all to consider the true ends of knowledge, and not to seek it for the gratification of their minds, or for disputation, or that they may despise others, or for emolument, or fame, or power, or such low objects, but for its intrinsic merit and the purposes of life."

The obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge are:

- 1. Want of time, and
  - 1. Worldly occupation.
  - 2. Sickness.
  - 3. Shortness of life.
- 2. Want of means.

Upon the obstacles *from want of time*, more imaginary than real, if time is not wasted in frivolous pursuits, in sensuality or in sleep, in misapplication of times of recreation, or in idle curiosity, the Novum Organum contains but one casual, consolatory observation: "We judge also that mankind may conceive some hopes from our example, which we offer, not by way of ostentation, but because it may be useful."

The obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge from want of means he through life deeply felt, and he never omitted an opportunity earnestly to express his hope that it would be diminished or destroyed by such a collection of natural history as would show the world, not as man has made it, not as it exists only in imagination, but as it really exists, as God has made it.

Anxious to lay the true foundation of philosophy, he, in the Novum Organum, availed himself of the power with which he was intrusted, to induce the king to form such a collection of natural history as he had measured out in his mind, and such as really ought to be procured; "a great and royal work, requiring the purse of a prince and the assistance of a people." He, therefore, in the dedication, and in his presentation letter, urged the king to imitate Solomon, by procuring the compilation and completion of such a natural and experimental history as should be serviceable for raising the superstructure of philosophy: that, at length, after so many ages, philosophy and the sciences may no longer be unsettled and speculative, but fixed on the solid foundation of a varied and well-considered experience: and in his reply to the king's acknowledgment of the receipt of the Novum Organum, he repeats his hope that the king will aid him in employing the community in collecting a natural and experimental history, as "basis totius negotii; for who can tell, now this mine of truth is opened, how the veins go, and what lieth higher, and what lieth lower?"

Such were the hopes in which he indulged. So difficult is it to love and be wise. The king complimented him upon his work, saying, that, "like the peace of God, it passeth all understanding;" but of a collection of natural history, "*ne verbum quidem.*"

Annexed to this doctrine of idols, there are some inquiries into the signs of false philosophy; the causes of the errors in philosophy; and the grounds of hope that knowledge must be progressive; hopes which he had beautifully stated in the conclusion of his Advancement of Learning.

After having thus cleared the way by considering the modes by which we are warped from the truth; by which, formed to adore the true God, we fall down and worship an idol: after having admonished us, that, in the conduct of the understanding, a false step may be fatal, that a cripple in the right will beat a racer in the wrong way, erring in proportion to his fleetness, he expresses his astonishment that no mortal should have taken care to open and prepare a way for the human understanding, from sense and a well-conducted experience, but that all things should be left either to the darkness of tradition, the giddy agitation and whirlwind of argument, or else to the uncertain waves of accident, or a vague and uninformed experience. To open this way, to discover how our reason shall be guided, that it may be right, that it be not a blind guide, but direct us to the place where the star appears, and point us to the very place where the babe lieth, is the great object of this inquiry.

As our opinions are formed by impressions made upon our senses, by confidence in the communications of others, and by our own meditations, man, in the infancy of his reason, is unavoidably in error: for, although our senses never deceive us, the communications made by others, and our own speculations must, according to the ignorance of our teachers, and the liveliness of our own imaginations, teem with error.

Bacon saw the evil, and he saw the remedy: he saw and taught his contemporaries and future ages, that reasoning is nothing worth, except as it is founded on facts.

In his Sylva Sylvarum, he thus speaks: "The philosophy of Pythagoras, which was full of superstition, did first plant a monstrous imagination, which afterwards was, by the school of Plato and others, watered and nourished. It was, that the world was one entire, perfect, living creature; that the ebbing and flowing of the sea was the respiration of the world, drawing in water as breath, and putting it forth again. They went on and inferred, that if the world were a living creature, it had a soul and spirit. This foundation being laid, they might build upon it what they would; for in a living creature, though never so great, as, for example, in a great whale, the sense, and the effects of any one part of the body, instantly make a transcursion throughout the whole body: so that by this they did insinuate that no distance of place, nor want or indisposition of matter, could hinder magical operation; but that, for example, we might here in Europe have sense and feeling of that which was done in China. With these vast and bottomless follies, men have been in part entertained. But we that hold firm to the works of God, and to the sense, which is God's lamp, *Lucerna Dei Spiraculum Hominis*, will inquire, with all sobriety and severity, whether there is to be found, in the footsteps of nature, any such transmission and influx of immateriate virtues."

In this state of darkness was society involved, when Bacon formed his Art of Invention, which consists in collecting all bodies that have any affinity with the nature sought; and in a systematic examination of the bodies collected.

To discover facts is, therefore, his first object;

but, as natural and experimental history is so copious and diffusive as to confound and distract the understanding, unless digested in proper order, tables are formed and so digested, that the understanding may commodiously work upon them.

TABLE I.

The first, or Affirmative Table, consists of a general collection of all the known analogous instances which agree in the nature sought, from subjects however dissimilar or sordid they may be supposed to be, and without being deterred by the apparent number of particulars.

If, for instance, the nature sought be heat or light, these tables may be thus conceived:

Heat.	*Light.*
The Sun's direct Rays.	The Heavenly Bodies.
Forked Lightning.	Rotten Wood.
Flame.	Putrid scales of Fish.
Blood of Terrestrial Animals.	Glow Worms.
Living Animals.	Sugar scraped.
Pepper masticated, &c. &c.	Eyes of certain Animals.
	Drops of Salt Water from ours.
	Silk Stockings rubbed, &c. &c.

Such is the object of his first or affirmative table, which, he warns his reader, is not to raise the edifice, but merely to collect the materials, and which is, therefore, to be made without any hasty indulgence of speculation, although the mind may, in proportion to its ingenuity, accidentally, from an inspection of affirmative instances, arrive at a just conclusion.

TABLE II.

The second, or Negative Table, consists of a collection of all the known instances of similar bodies, which do not agree in the same nature. Thus, let the nature sought be heat.

Affirmative Table.	*Negative Table.*
The Sun's direct Rays.	The Moon's Rays.
Blood of Terrestrial Animals.	Blood of Fish.
Living Animal	Dead Animals.
Boiling Water &c. &c.	Ice, &c. &c.

By observing this table, it appears that the blood of all animals is not hot. This table, therefore, prevents hasty generalization: "As if Samuel should have rested in those sons of Jesse which were brought before him in the house, and should not have sought David, who was absent in the field."

By observing the table, it also appears, that boiling water is hot; ice is cold:—living bodies are hot; dead bodies are cold;—but in boiling water and in living bodies there is motion of parts: in ice and dead bodies they are fixed.

Another use, therefore, of this table is to discover the nature sought by observing its qualities which are absent in the analogous nature, "like the images of Cassius and Brutus, in the funeral of Junia;" of which, not being represented as many others were, Tacitus saith, "*Eo ipso præfulgebant quod non visebantur.*"

TABLE III.

The third, or Table of Comparisons, consists of comparison of quantity of the nature sought in the same bodies and in different bodies. Thus,

COMPARISONS OF HEAT.

In different bodies.	*In the same body.*
There is no solid body naturally hot.	*In Animals.*
All bodies are in different degrees capable of heat.	Animal heat varies from minute perceptibility to about the heat of the hottest day. It is always endurable. It is increased by food, venery, exercise, fever, &c.
There is no whole vegetable hot to the external touch.	In some fevers the heat is constant, in others intermittent, &c.
Living animals.	Heat varies in different parts of the same body.
Flame.	Animals differ in heat, &c.
Anvil struck by hammer.	*Flame.*
The continuance of a body in heat.	1. The lambent flame, related by historians to have appeared on the heads of children, gently playing about the hair.
Boiling water.	2. The coruscations seen in a clear night on a sweating horse.
Pepper masticated.	3. Of the glow-worm.
Boiling lead.	4. Of the ignis fatuus.
Gas.	5. Of spirits of wine.
Lightning.	6. Of vegetables, straw, dry leaves.
Acids, &c. &c.	7. Of boiling metals.
	8. Of blast furnaces.

By observing in this table the cause of the different quantities of the nature sought, some approximation may be made to the nature itself. Thus, vegetables, or common water, do not exhibit heat to the touch, but masticated pepper or boiling water are hot. Flame is hotter than the human body: boiling water than warm. Is there any difference except in the motion of the parts?

TABLE IV.

Or of Exclusions, is of a more complicated nature. Bacon assumes that the quality of any nature can be ascertained by its being always present when the sought nature is present: is always absent when the sought nature is absent: increases always with its increase, and decreases with its decrease.

Upon this principle his table of exclusion is formed, by excluding, 1st, Such particular natures as are not found in any instances where the given nature is present; or, 2d, Such as are found in any instances where that nature is absent; and, 3d

Such as are found to increase in any instance when the given nature decreases; or, 4th, To decrease when that nature increases. Thus,

Natures not always present with the sought nature.		*Nature varying according to some inverse law of the sought nature.*	
Which may be absent when the sought nature is present	Which may be present when the sought nature is absent.	Which may increase as the sought nature decreases.	Which may decrease as the sought nature increases.
Light. Quiescence of parts, &c.	Fluidity. Motion of the whole body. Quiescence of parts.	Quiescence of parts, &c.	Light. Iron may be heated to a greater heat than the flame of spirit of wine. Quiescence of parts, &c.

The object of this exclusion is to make a perfect resolution and separation of nature, not by fire, but by the mind, which is, as it were, the divine fire: that, after this rejection and exclusion is duly made, the affirmative, solid, true, and well-defined form will remain as the result of the operation, whilst the volatile opinions go off in fume.

TABLE V.

The fifth table of Results, termed the first vintage or dawn of doctrine, consists of a collection of such natures as always accompany the sought nature, increase with its increase, and decrease with its decrease.

It appears, that, in all instances, the nature of heat is motion of parts;—flame is perpetually in motion;—hot or boiling liquors are in continual agitation;—the sharpness and intensity of heat is increased by motion, as in bellows and blasts;—existing fire and heat are extinguished by strong compression, which checks and puts a stop to all motion;—all bodies are destroyed, or at least remarkably altered, by heat; and, when heat wholly escapes from the body, it rests from its labours; and hence it appears, that heat is motion, and nothing else.

Having collected and winnowed, by the various tables, the different facts presented to the senses, he proposed to examine them by nine different processes: of which he has investigated only the first, or PREROGATIVE INSTANCES, those instances by which the nature sought is most easily discovered. They may be thus exhibited:

- 1. Contracting the inquiries within narrow limits.
  - 1. Exclusion of irrelevants.
    - 1. Solitary.
    - 2. Travelling.
    - 3. Journeying.
    - 4. Nature in motion.
    - 5. Constituent
  - 2. Nature conspicuous.
    - 1. Patent and Latent.
    - 2. Maxima. Minima.
    - 3. Frontier.
    - 4. Singular.
    - 5. Divorce.
    - 6. Deviating.
- 2. Reality and Appearances.
- 3. Resemblances and Differences.

1. EXCLUSION OF IRRELEVANTS.

Solitary Instances.—If the inquiry be into the nature of colour: a rainbow and a piece of glass in a stable window, differ in every thing except in the prismatic colours; they are therefore solitary in *resemblance*. The different parts of the same piece of marble, the different parts of a leaf of a variegated tulip, agree in every thing, save the colour; they are, therefore, solitary in *difference*.

By thus contracting the limits of the inquiry, may it not possibly be inferred, that colour depends upon refraction of the rays of light?

Nature in motion.—Observe nature in her processes. If any man desired to consider and examine the contrivances and industry of a certain artificer, he would not be content to view only the rude materials of the workman, and then immediately the finished work, but covet to be present whilst the artist prosecutes his labour, and exercises his skill. And the like course should be taken in the works of nature.

Travelling Instances.—In inquiring into any nature, observe its progress in approaching to or receding from existence. Let the inquiry be into the nature of whiteness. Take a piece of clear glass and a vessel of clear water, pound the glass into fine dust and agitate the water, the pulverised glass and the surface of the water will appear white; and this whiteness will have travelled from non-existence into existence. Again, take a vessel full of any liquor with froth at the top, or take snow, let the froth subside and the snow melt; the whiteness will disappear, and will have travelled from existence to non-existence.

Journeying Instances.—In inquiring into any nature, observe its motions gradually continued or contracted. An inquirer into the vegetation of plants should have an eye from the first sowing of the seed, and examine it almost every day, by taking or plucking up a seed after it had remained for one, two, or three days in the ground; to observe with diligence when, and in what manner the seed begins to swell, grow plump, and be filled or become turgid, as it were, with spirit; next, how it bursts the skin, and strikes its fibres with some tendency upwards, unless the earth be very stubborn; how it shoots its fibres in part, to constitute roots downwards; in part, to form stems upwards, and sometimes creeping sideways, if it there find the earth more open, pervious, and yielding, with many particulars of the same kind. And the like should be done as to eggs during their hatching, where the whole process of vivification and organization might be easily viewed; and what becomes of the yolk, what of the white, &c. The same is also to be attempted in inanimate bodies; and this we have endeavoured after, by observing the ways

wherein liquors open themselves by fire; for water opens one way, wine another, verjuice another, and milk, oil, &c., with a still greater difference.

Constituent Instances.—In inquiring into any nature, separate complex into simple natures. Let the nature sought be memory, or the means of exciting and helping the memory: the constituent instances may be thus exhibited:

- 1. The art of making strong impressions.
  - 1. The patient:
    - 1. The mind free.
    - 2. The mind agitated.
  - 2. The agent.
    - 1. Variety of impression.
    - 2. Slowness of impression.
- 2. The art of recalling impressions.
  - 1. Cutting off infinity.
    - 1. Order.
    - 2. Places for artificial memory.
    - 3. Technical memory.
  - 2. Reducing intellectual to sensible things.

Such are specimens of his mode of excluding *irrelevant* natures.

2. OBSERVING THE NATURE WHERE MOST CONSPICUOUS, OR INSTANCES OF EXTREMES.

Patent and Latent Instances. In inquiring into any nature, observe where the nature, in its usual state, appears most conspicuous, and where it appears in its weakest and most imperfect state. The loadstone is a glaring instance of attraction. The thermometer is a glaring instance of the expansive nature of heat. Flame exhibits its expansive nature to the sense, but it is momentary and vanishes. Again, let the inquiry be into the nature of solidity, the contrary of which is fluidity. Froth, snow, bubbles, whether of soap and water, blown by children, or those which may be seen occasionally on the surface of a fluid or on the side of a vessel, or the looking-glasses made of spittle by children in a loop of a single hair or a rush, where we see a consistent pellicule of water, like infant ice, exhibit solidity in its most feeble states.

Maxima and Minima. In inquiring into any nature, observe it in its extremes, or its maxima and minima. Gold in weight; iron in hardness; the whale in bulk of animal bodies; the hound in scent; the explosion of gunpowder in sudden expansion, are instances of maxima. The minute worms in the skin is an instance of minimum in animal bulk.

Frontier Instances. Observe those species of bodies which seem composed of two species; as moss, which is something betwixt putrefaction and a plant; flying fishes, which are a species betwixt birds and fish; bats, which are betwixt birds and quadrupeds; the beast so like ourselves, the ape; the biformed births of animals; the mixtures of different species, &c.

Singular Instances. In inquiring into any nature, observe those instances which, in regular course, are solitary amidst their own natures. Quicksilver amongst metals; the power of the carrier pigeon to return to the place from whence it was carried; the scent of the bloodhound; the loadstone amongst stones; that species of flowers which do not die when plucked from the stalk, but continue their colours and forms unaltered through the winter. So with grammarians the letter G is held singular for the easiness of its composition with consonants, sometimes with double and sometimes with triple ones, which is a property of no other letter. So the number 9 amongst figures possesses the peculiar property, that the sum of the digits of all its multiples is 9.[1]

Instances of Divorce.—Observe the separation of such natures as are generally united. Light and heat are generally united; but in a cold moonlight night there is light without heat, and in hot water there is heat without light. The action of one body upon another is in general affected by the medium through which it acts; thus sound varies with the state of the atmosphere, and through a thick wall is scarcely perceptible. The magnetic attraction seems to be an instance of divorce, as it acts indifferently through all mediums.

Deviating Instances. Observe nature when apparently deviating from her accustomed course; as in all cases of monsters, prodigious births, &c. He who knows the ways of nature will the easier observe her deviations; and he who knows her deviations, will more exactly describe her ways. For the business in this matter is no more than by quick scent to trace out the footways of nature in her wilful wanderings, that so afterward you may be able at your pleasure to lead or force her to the same place and posture again. As a man's disposition is never well known till he be crossed, nor did Proteus ever change shapes till he was straitened and held fast.

Such are specimens of his modes of viewing nature where most conspicuous.

3. FIXING THE REAL, BETWEEN DIFFERENT APPARENT CAUSES.

Crucial Instances. When, in inquiring into any particular nature, the mind is in æquilibrio between two causes, observe if there is not some instance which marks the cause of the sought nature. Let the nature sought be gravity. Heavy bodies, having a tendency to the earth, must fall *ex mero motu*, from their own construction, or be attracted by the earth. Let two equal bodies fall through equal spaces at different distances from the earth, and if they fall through these equal spaces in unequal times, the descent is influenced by the attraction of the earth.

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[1] Thus $9\times2=18$ and $8+1=9$.
$9\times3=27$ and $2+7=9$.
$9\times11=99$ and $9+9=18$ and $1+8=9$

4. RESEMBLANCES AND DIFFERENCES.

Observe resemblances between apparent differences.—Are not gums of trees and gems produced in the same manner, both of them being only exudations and percolations of juices: gums being the transuded juices of trees, and gems of stones; whence the clearness and transparency of them both are produced by means of a curious and exquisite percolation?—Are not the hairs of beasts and the feathers of birds produced in the same manner, by the percolation of juices? and are not the colours of feathers more beautiful and vivid, because the juices are more subtilely strained through the substance of the quill in birds than through the skins of beasts? Do not the celestial bodies move in their orbits by the same laws which govern the motions of the bodies terrestrial.

From the conformity between a speculum and the eye, the structure of the ear and of the cavernous places that yield an echo, it is easy to form and collect this axiom,—that the organs of the senses, and the bodies that procure reflections to the senses, are of a like nature. And, again, the understanding being thus admonished, easily rises to a still higher and more noble axiom; viz., that there is no difference between the consents and sympathies of bodies endowed with sense, and those of inanimate bodies without sense, only that in the former an animal spirit is added to the body so disposed, but is wanting to the latter; whence, as many conformities as there are among inanimate bodies, so many senses there might be in animals, provided there were organs or perforations in the animal body, for the animal spirit to act upon the parts rightly disposed, as upon a proper instrument. And, conversely, as many senses as there are in animals, so many motions there may be in bodies inanimate, where the animal spirit is wanting; though there must, of necessity, be many more motions in inanimate bodies than there are senses in animate bodies, because of the small number of the organs of sense.

Real differences in apparent resemblances.—Do any two beings differ more from each other than two human beings? Men's curiosity and diligence have been hitherto principally employed in observing the variety of things, and explaining the precise differences of animals, vegetables, and fossils, the greatest part of which variety and differences are rather the sport of nature, than matters of any considerable and solid use to the sciences. Such things, indeed, serve for delight, and sometimes contribute to practice, but afford little or no true information, or thorough insight into nature; human industry, therefore, must be bent upon inquiring into, and observing the similitudes and analogies of things, as well in their wholes as in their parts; for these are what unite nature, and begin to build up the sciences.

Such are specimens, mere specimens, of this most valuable of all his works, and by him most highly valued. It is written in a plain, unadorned style, in aphorisms, invariably stated by him to be the proper style for philosophy, which, conscious of its own power, ought to go forth "naked and unarmed;" but, from the want of symmetry and ornament, from its abstruseness, from the novelty of its terms, and from the imperfect state in which it was published, it has, although the most valuable, hitherto been too much neglected: but it will not so continue. The time has arrived, or is fast approaching, when the pleasures of intellectual pursuit will have so deeply pervaded society, that they will, to a considerable extent, form the pleasures of our youth; and the lamentation in the Advancement of Learning will be diminished or pass away: "Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Æsop's cock, that preferred the barley-corn before the gem; or of Midas, that, being chosen judge between Apollo, president of the muses, and Pan, god of the flocks; judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love, against wisdom and power; or of Agrippina, 'occidat matrem, modo imperet,' that preferred empire with any condition, never so detestable; or of Ulysses, 'qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati,' being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency; or of a number of the like popular judgments. For these things must continue as they have been: but so will that also continue, whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: 'justificata est sapientia a filiis suis.'"

Copies of the work were sent to the king, the University of Cambridge, Sir Henry Wotton, and Sir Edward Coke.

The tranquil pursuits of philosophy he was now, (1620,) for a time, obliged to quit, to allay, if possible, the political storm in which the state was involved, and which he vainly thought that he had the power to calm. It is scarcely possible for any chancellor to have been placed in a situation of greater difficulty. He knew the work that must be done, and the nature of his materials.

The king, who was utterly dependent upon the people, was every day resorting to expedients which widened the breach between them: despotic without dignity, and profuse without magnificence, meanly grasping, and idly scattering neither winning their love, nor commanding their reverence, he seemed in all things the reverse of his illustrious predecessor, except in what could be well spared, the arbitrary spirit common to them both. While the people were harassed and pillaged by the wretches to whom the king had delegated his authority, he reaped only part of the spoil, but all the odium.

The chancellor had repeatedly assured the king

that his best interests, which consisted in a good understanding with his subjects, could be maintained only by calling frequent parliaments: advice not likely to be acceptable to a monarch who had issued a proclamation, commanding all his people, from the highest to the lowest, "not to intermeddle, by pen or speech, with state concernments and secrets of empire, at home or abroad, which were not fit themes for common meetings or vulgar persons;" but, whatever their secret dissatisfaction might be, the whole body of the nation manifested so much zeal for the recovery of the palatinate, that the juncture was deemed favourable for relieving the king's pecuniary difficulties, who consented with this view to summon a parliament.

This resolution was no sooner formed, than the chancellor was instructed to confer with the most proper persons as to the best means of carrying it into effect; and he accordingly availed himself of the assistance of the two chief justices, and of Serjeant Crew, who, after mature deliberation, agreed upon four points, which were immediately communicated to his majesty and to Buckingham.

Different days were fixed for the meeting of this eventful parliament, which was called with a full knowledge of the king's motive for summoning them; and that, had not the expedient respecting benevolence wholly failed, this council of the nation would never have been assembled; as the king considered the Commons "daring encroachers upon his prerogative; endeavouring to make themselves greater, and their prince less, than became either."

Previous to the meeting, the lord chancellor was raised to the dignity of Viscount St. Alban, by a patent which stated that the king had conferred this title because he thought nothing could adorn his government more or afford greater encouragement to virtue and public spirit, than the raising worthy persons to honour; and with this new dignity, he, on the 27th day of January, was with great ceremony invested at Theobalds, the patent being witnessed by the most illustrious peers of the realm, the Lord Carew carrying, and the Marquess of Buckingham supporting the robe of state before him, while his coronet was borne by the Lord Wentworth. The new viscount returned solemn thanks to the king for the many favours bestowed upon him.

The thirtieth of January, an ominous day to the family of the Stuarts, was at last fixed for the king to meet his people, writhing as they were under the intolerable grievances by which they were oppressed; grievances which, notwithstanding the warnings and admonitions addressed to the king when he ascended the throne, had most culpably increased. Power, not only tenacious in retaining its authority, but ever prone to increase its exactions, may disregard the progress of knowledge, but it is never disregarded with impunity. Truth, the daughter of time, not of authority, is constantly warning the community in what their interests consist, and that to protect, not to encroach upon these interests, all governments are formed.

Upon the opening of parliament the king addressed the Commons. He stated his opinion of their relative duties: that he was to distribute justice and mercy; and they, without meddling with his prerogative, were by petition to acquaint him with their distresses, and were to supply his pecuniary wants.

At first there appeared nothing but duty and submission on the part of the Commons. Determined, if possible, to maintain a good correspondence with their prince, they without one dissenting voice voted him two subsidies, and that too at the very beginning of the session, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by former parliaments. They then proceeded, in a very temperate and decided manner, to the examination of their oppressions, intimating that the supply of the king's distresses and the removal of their vexations were to advance hand in hand without precedency, as twin brothers.

Of their grievances the Commons loudly and justly complained. Under the pretext of granting patents, the creatures of Buckingham had rapaciously exacted large fees. These exactions can scarcely be credited. There were patents for every necessary and convenience of life; for gold and silver thread; for inns and ale-houses; for remitting the penalties of obsolete laws, and even for the price of horse-meat, starch, candles, tobacco-pipes, salt, and train-oil; and such traders as presumed to continue their business without satisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been severely punished by vexatious prosecutions, fine, and imprisonment. The outcries of the subject were incessant. "Monopolies and briberies were beaten upon the anvil every day, almost every hour." The complaints were so numerous that not less than eighty committees to redress abuses in the church, in the courts of law, and in every department of the state, were immediately nominated.

From the mass of evils under consideration, the House first directed its attention to the three great patents, of inns, of ale-houses, and of gold and silver thread. The chief actors were Sir Giles Mompesson, a man of property, and a member of the house, and Sir Francis Michell, his tool, a poor justice, who received annually £100 for issuing warrants to enforce his tyranny. The rage for punishment was not confined to Mompesson and Michell. Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, who had incurred the displeasure of Buckingham, was prosecuted and severely punished, for some irregularity respecting a patent for a charter for the city of London.

It appeared before a committee of the house, that the profits from these patents were shared by

all classes of society who were connected with Buckingham. Amongst the patentees were the Lord Harrington and the Countess of Bedford. Christopher Villiers, and Sir Edward Villiers, half-brother of the lord marquis, received £1,800 annually between them; and from one single patent the king's annual profit was £10,000.

These rumours reached and alarmed the king, who instantly caused a communication to be made to the lords, that the patent was sanctioned by divers of the judges for the point of law, and by divers lords for point of convenience.

Reform was now the universal cry of the nation. It was one of those periodical outcries, which ever has been and ever will be heard in England, till, by admitting the gradual improvement which the progress of knowledge requires, the current, instead of being opposed, is judiciously directed. The streams which for centuries roll on, and for centuries are impeded, at last break down or rush over the barriers and carry every thing before them. When in this deluge the ark itself is in danger, the patriot endeavours to confine the torrent within its proper banks, and to resist or direct its impetuosity, while the demagogue joins in the popular clamour, visiting on individuals the faults of the times, and sacrificing, as an atonement to injured feeling, the most virtuous members of the community.

When the complaints of the people could no longer be resisted, and public inquiry became inevitable, Buckingham, insensible to all other shame, appeared fully conscious of the infamy of exposure. The honour of a gentleman and the pride of nobility slept at ease upon the money-bags extorted from the sufferers, but he and his noble colleagues endured the utmost alarm at the prospect of discovery.

Conscious of his peril, disquieted, and robbed of all peace of mind, admonished "That the arrow of vengeance shot against his brother grazed himself," he consulted one of the ablest men in England, Williams, then Dean of Westminster, who, well versed in matters of state, soon saw the position in which all parties were placed. He recommended that Villiers should, without a moment's delay, be sent upon some foreign embassy; and, his guilt being less enormous or less apparent than of the other offenders, he was thus protected by the power of his brother. Villiers being safe, Williams advised compliance with the humour of the people, and suggested that in this state tempest Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir F. Michell "should be thrown overboard as wares that might be spared," quoting a wise heathen as a precedent, well knowing that his breviary contained no such doctrine: advice which was gratefully received by the marquis, who declared that, for the future, he would attend to no other counsellor.

It may, at first sight, appear remarkable, that, in matters of such moment, Buckingham should apply for counsel to Williams rather than to Bacon, by whose advice he professed to be always guided: it is, however, certain that he not only communicated privately with Williams, but that he carried him to the king, whom they found closeted with the prince, in much distress and perplexity, when the dean read to his royal master a document prepared at the suggestion of Buckingham, or the fruit of his own politic brain.

It is to be hoped that the fiend ambition did not so far possess him, as to recommend the greater sacrifice of Bacon, should Mompesson and Michell be deemed insufficient to allay the storm; but if ambition did influence this politic prelate, if the vision of the seals floated before him, and induced him to plot against the "gracious Duncan," he could not but foresee that the result of the inquiries would only convince the parliament that Mompesson and Michell were mere puppets moved for the profit and advantage of others, and that Buckingham, or one as highly placed, might be demanded.

On the 15th of March, 1620, Sir Robert Phillips reported from the committee appointed to inquire into the abuses of courts of justice, of which he was chairman, that two petitions had been presented for corruption against the lord chancellor, by two suitors in the court of chancery, the one named Aubrey, the other Egerton.

Aubrey's petition stated, "That having a suit pending before the lord chancellor, and being worn out by delays, he had been advised by his counsel to present £100 to the chancellor, that his cause might, by more than ordinary means, be expedited, and that in consequence of this advice he had delivered the £100 to Sir George Hastings and to Mr. Jenkins, of Gray's Inn, by whom it was presented to his lordship; but notwithstanding this offering, the chancellor had decided against him."

Egerton's complaint was, that "To procure my lord's favour, he had been persuaded by Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Young, to make some present to the chancellor; and that he accordingly delivered to Sir George and to Sir Richard £400, which was delivered by them to the chancellor as a gratuity, for that my lord, when attorney-general, had befriended him: and that, before this advice, Egerton had himself, either before or after the chancellor was intrusted with the great seal, presented to his lordship a piece of plate worth fifty guineas; but that, notwithstanding these presents, the lord chancellor, assisted by Lord Chief Justice Hobart, had decided against him.

If Bacon, instead of treating the charge with contempt, and indulging in imaginations of the friendship of Buckingham and of the king, thinking, as they were, only of their own safety, had

trusted to his own powerful mind, and met the accusation instantly and with vigour, he might at once, strong as the tide was against all authority, have stemmed the torrent, and satisfied the intelligent, that the fault was not in the chancellor, but the chancery.

Might he not have reminded the house that, although he knew the temporary power of custom against opinion, he, in resistance of the established practice, had exerted himself to prevent any interference, even by Buckingham or the king, in the administration of justice, by which the impartiality of the judges might be, or might appear to be disturbed.

Could he not have said that both petitions contained internal and unanswerable proof that it was not the corruption of the judge, but the fault of the times, in which the practice originated? Could he not have said that the presents were made openly, in the presence of witnesses?

How could these offerings have influenced his judgment in favour of the donor, when, in both cases, he decided against the party by whom the presents were made? In the case of Aubrey, he, to repeat the strong expressions which had been used, made "a killing decree against him:" and, with respect to Egerton, the decision was in favour of his opponent, Rowland, who did not make any present until some weeks after the judgment was pronounced.

But, not contenting himself by thus showing that the offerings were neither presented nor received as bribes, could he not have said, the petitions both state that the presents were recommended by counsel, and delivered by men of title and members of parliament? Did they then act in compliance with long established practice, or were they all bribed? Were the practitioners in this noble profession polluted by being accessory to the worst species of bribery? Why, when the charge was made, did the recorder instantly say, "If Egerton desired to congratulate him at his coming to the seal for his kindness and pains in former business, what wrong hath he done, if he hath received a present? And if there were a suit depending, who keeps a register in his heart of all causes? nay, who can, amongst such a multitude?"

Could he not have said that the custom of the chancellor's receiving presents had existed from the earliest periods? that a member had reminded the house of its existence, and said, "I think the chancellor took gratuities, and the lord chancellor before, and others before him? I have, amongst the muniments of my own estate, an entry of a payment to a former chancellor of a sum for the pains he had taken in hearing our cause."

This custom of judges receiving presents was not peculiar to England, but existed in the most enlightened governments; in the different states of Greece; in all feudal states; in France, where the suitors always presented the judge with some offering, in conformity with their established maxim, "*Non deliberetur, donec solventur species;*" and in England, from time immemorial. It existed before the time of King John, and during his reign; and notwithstanding the rights secured at Runnymede, it has ever continued. It existed in the reign of Henry the Fifth; and although, during the reign of Henry the Eighth, Sir Thomas More declined to receive presents, his very power of declining proves that it was customary to offer them, and, in conformity with this practice, the usual presents were made to Lord Bacon within a few hours after he had accepted the great seal, the only pecuniary compensation, except a very trifling salary, to which the lord keeper was entitled for labours never intended to be gratuitous.

What could have been said in answer to this statement, that the presents were made openly, that the decision was against the party by whom they were made, and that they were made by the advice of counsel, and delivered by men of eminence, and sanctioned by immemorial practice in this and in all countries?

Might he not have called upon the justice of the House for protection from the aspersions of two discontented suitors, who had no more cause of complaint against him than Wraynham, by whom he was slandered, or Lord Clifford, by whom he was threatened to be assassinated? Might he not have called upon the house for protection against these calumnies at a time when the excited people wished for some sacrifice, as a tribute to public opinions, an atonement for public wrongs, and a security for better times?

The people are often censured for their selection of a victim, but, where they contend for a principle, they lose sight of the individual. It is this dangerous indifference that enables bad men to direct, for private ends, a popular tumult. The Jewish people demanded merely their annual privilege; it was the priests who said, "Save Barrabas."

On the 17th of March the chancellor presided, for the last time, in the House of Lords. The charges which he had at first treated with indifference, were daily increasing, and could no longer be disregarded. From the pinnacle on which he stood, he could see the storm gathering round him: old complaints were revived, and new accusations industriously collected; and, though he had considered himself much beloved in both houses of parliament, he felt that he had secret enemies, and began to fear that he had false friends. He resolved, therefore, to meet his accusers; but his health, always delicate, gave way, and instead of being able to attend in person, he was obliged by writing to address the House of Peers.

To the Right Honourable his very good Lords, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the Upper House of Parliament assembled.

My very good Lords,—I humbly pray your lordships all to make a favourable and true construction of my absence. It is no feigning or fainting, but sickness both of my heart and of my back, though joined with that comfort of mind that persuadeth me that I am not far from heaven, whereof I feel the first-fruits. And because, whether I live or die, I would be glad to preserve my honour and fame, so far as I am worthy, hearing that some complaints of base bribery are coming before your lordships, my requests unto your lordships are:

First, that you will maintain me in your good opinion, without prejudice, until my cause be heard.

Secondly, that in regard I have sequestered my mind at this time in great part from worldly matters, thinking of my account and answers in a higher court, your lordships will give me convenient time, according to the course of other courts, to advise with my counsel and to make my answer; wherein, nevertheless, my counsel's part will be the least; for I shall not, by the grace of God, trick up an innocency with cavillations, but plainly and ingenuously (as your lordships know my manner is) declare what I know or remember.

Thirdly, that, according to the course of justice, I may be allowed to except to the witnesses brought against me; and to move questions to your lordships for their cross-examinations; and likewise to produce my own witnesses for the discovery of the truth.

And lastly, that if there be any more petitions of like nature, that your lordships would be pleased not to take any prejudice or apprehension of any number or muster of them, especially against a judge, that makes two thousand orders and decrees in a year, (not to speak of the courses that have been taken for hunting out complaints against me,) but that I may answer them according to the rules of justice, severally and respectively.

These requests I hope appear to your lordships no other than just. And so thinking myself happy to have so noble peers and reverend prelates to discern of my cause; and desiring no privilege of greatness for subterfuge of guiltiness, but meaning, as I said, to deal fairly and plainly with your lordships, and to put myself upon your honours and favours, I pray God to bless your counsels and persons. And rest your lordships' humble servant, Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

March 19, 1620.

This letter, which was delivered by Buckingham, the Lords immediately answered, by assuring the chancellor "that the proceedings should be according to the right rule of justice; that it was the wish of the House that his lordship should clear his honour from the different aspersions, and praying him to provide for his defence;" a courtesy which his lordship instantly acknowledged, with the expression of his intention to speak more fully at a future time.

Thus resolved to defend himself, there was some communication between the chancellor and Buckingham; whether it was confined to the favourite must be left to conjecture; but it appears to have had its full effect both upon him and upon the king, who, seeing the untoward events which might yet occur from the discussions of this inquiring parliament, sent a message to the Commons, expressing his comfort that the House was careful to preserve his honour; his wish that the parliament should adjourn to the 10th of April; and his assurance that the complaints against the lord chancellor should be carefully examined before a committee of six peers and twelve commoners; a proposal not very acceptable to Sir Edward Coke, who thought it might defeat the parliamentary proceedings which he was so anxious to prosecute.

On the 20th, the Commons proceeded to the examination of witnesses, and a further complaint was preferred in the cause of Wharton and Willoughby, by the Lady Wharton, against whom the chancellor had decided. It appeared that the presents were made openly at two several times, with the knowledge and in the presence of witnesses.

The cry having been raised, the lowest members of the profession, a common informer and a disgraced registrar were, with their crew, employed in hunting for charges; and, so ready was the community to listen to complaints, that it mattered not by whom they were preferred; "greatness was the mark, and accusation the game." One of his many faithful friends, Sir Thomas Meautys, rose to resist this virulence. He admonished the House of the misstatements that would be made by such accusers, men without character, under the influence of motives which could not be misunderstood. "I have known," he said, "and observed his lordship for some years: he hath sown a good seed of justice; let not the abandoned and envious choke it with their tares." He had as much prospect of success as if he had attempted to stop the progress of a volcano.

Additional charges, thus collected, and of the same nature, were preferred against him.

On the 26th of March, in conformity with the advice given by Williams, sentence was passed upon Mompesson and Michell, many patents were recalled, and the king, after having addressed the House, adjourned the parliament.

The king's speech abounded with that adroit flattery to the House, which he so frequently practised when he had any thing to gain or any thing to fear; he did not name the chancellor directly, and, when he glanced at the charge of bribery, while he cautioned them not to be carried away "by the impertinent discourses of those

who named the innocent as well as the guilty;" he contrived to praise Buckingham, and to turn the charge itself into a dexterous commendation both of his favourite and the prince.

The parliament was then adjourned to the 17th of April, with the hope that, during the recess, the favourite or his master might contrive some expedient to delay or defeat investigation; and that time might mitigate the displeasure which, in both Houses, seemed strong against the chancellor.

The proceedings within the House were suspended, but the chancellor's opponents, unchecked or secretly encouraged by his pretended friends, continued their exertions, actuated either by virtuous indignation at the supposition of his guilt, or by motives less pure,—the hope of gaining by his fall, or envy of the greatness which overshadowed them.

The state of the chancellor's mind during this storm has been variously represented; by some of his contemporaries he is said to have been depressed: by others that he was merry, and not doubting that he should be able to ride safely through the tempest. His playfulness of spirit never forsook him. When, upon the charge being first made, his servants rose as he passed through the hall, "Sit down, my friends," he said, "your rise has been my fall;" and when one of his friends said, "You must look around you," he replied, "I look above me." Playfulness in affliction is, however, only an equivocal test of cheerfulness; in a powerful mind grief rests itself in the exercise of the antagonist feelings, and, by a convulsive effort, throws off the load of despair.

Difficult as it may be to discover the real state of his mind, it cannot be supposed, accustomed as he was to active life, and well aware of the intrigues of courts, that, in this moment of peril, his sagacity slumbered, or that he was so little attentive to his own interests, as to be sheltered in the shades of Gorhambury, all meaner things forgotten, watching the progress of some chymical experiment, or wandering with Hobbes in the mazes of metaphysics.

His enemies, who were compassing his ruin, might imagine that he was thus indulging in the day-dreams of philosophy, but, so imagining, they were ignorant of his favourite doctrine, that "Learning is not like some small bird, as the lark, that can mount and sing, and please herself, and nothing else, but that she holds as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and at the right moment can stoop and seize upon her prey." The chancellor retired to prepare for his defence, to view the nature of the attack, and the strength of his assailants.

The charges, which were at first confined to Aubrey and Egerton, were now accumulated to twenty-three in number, by raking up every instance of an offering, even to the case of Wraynham, who had been punished for his scurrilous libel against the chancellor and the master of the rolls.

Of this virulence the chancellor thus complained to Buckingham: "Your lordship spoke of purgatory. I am now in it; but my mind is in a calm; for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart, and I hope a clean house for friends or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him, as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark, and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the king and your lordship will I hope put an end to these my straits, one way or other." And in a subsequent letter he said, "I perceive, by some speech that passed between your lordship and Mr. Meautys, that some wretched detractor hath told you, that it were strange I should be in debt; for that I could not but have received a hundred thousand pounds gifts since I had the seal, which is an abominable falsehood. Such tales as these made St. James say that the tongue is a fire, and itself fired from hell, whither when these tongues shall return, they will beg a drop of water to cool them. I praise God for it, I never took penny for any benefice or ecclesiastical living; I never took penny for releasing any thing I stopped at the seal; I never took penny for any commission, or things of that nature: I never shared with any servant for any second or inferior profit."

About the same period he thus wrote to the king, in a letter which he intrusted to the discretion of Buckingham to withhold or deliver:

It may please your most excellent majesty,—Time hath been when I have brought unto you "Gemitum Columbæ" from others, now I bring it from myself. I fly unto your majesty with the wings of a dove, which, once within these seven days, I thought would have carried me a higher flight. When I enter into myself, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is come upon me. I have been (as your majesty knoweth best) never author of any immoderate counsel, but always desired to have things carried "suavibus modis." I have been no avaricious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty, or intolerable, or hateful man in my conversation or carriage: I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good patriot born. Whence should this be; for these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the House of Commons, I began my credit there, and now it must be the place of the sepulture thereof. And yet this parliament, upon the message touching religion, the old love revived,

and they said, I was the same man still, only honesty was turned to honour.

For the Upper House, even within these days, before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity, which they took to be the true, straight line of nobleness, without crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times.

And therefore I am resolved, when I come to my answer, not to trick my innocency (as I writ to the lords) by cavillations or voidances, but to speak to them the language that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardness of heart do steal upon me, under show of more neatness of conscience, than is cause.

But not to trouble your majesty any longer, craving pardon for this long mourning letter, that which I thirst after, as the hart after the streams, is, that I may know by my matchless friend that presenteth to you this letter, your majesty's heart (which is an abyssus of goodness, as I am an abyssus of misery) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted myself but a usufructuary of myself, the property being yours. And now making myself an oblation, to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your justice, the honour of your mercy, and the use of your service, resting as clay in your majesty's gracious hands, FR. ST. ALBAN, Canc.

March 25, 1620.

To the preparation of his defence he now proceeded—a preparation which could scarcely to any advocate have been attended with difficulty, whether considering the general nature of the complaints, or the weight due to each particular charge.

There are circumstances attending these accusations, by which at this time the judgment may be warped, that did not exist two centuries since. We may be misled by transferring the opinions of the present to past times, and by supposing that the accusations were preferred by some or all of thes uitors whose names are mentioned, and on whose behalf the presents were offered after the termination of their causes; but it was then well known, that these suitors reluctantly attended, in obedience to the summons obtained in consequence of the petitions presented by the two discontented persons against whom the chancellor had decided, notwithstanding their supposition that his judgment was to be purchased.

It could not have escaped the notice of any advocate that the presents were made on behalf of the suitors, by men of character, counsellors, and members of parliament, Sir George Hastings, Sir Richard Young, Sir Henry Holmes, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Toby Matthew, and Sir Thomas Perrott; and that they were made openly, with the greatest publicity, both from the nature of the presents themselves, and from the manner in which they were presented; so openly, that even Sir Edward Coke admitted the fact, that they were delivered in the presence of witnesses; and the chancellor, in answer to the 21st charge, that, "upon a dispute between three public companies of the apothecaries and grocers, he had received presents from each of the companies," instantly said, "Could I have taken these presents in the nature of a bribe, when I knew it could not be concealed, because it must needs be put to the account of the three several companies, each of whom was jealous of the other?"

Who can suppose that, if secrecy had been the object, presents of articles constantly in sight would have been selected; gold buttons, tasters of gold, ambergrease, cabinets, and suits of hangings for furniture; they were made, as was notorious, according to the established custom, in this, and in all countries, a custom which, as the Chancellor l'Hôpital endeavoured to abolish in France, the Chancellor Bacon would most gladly have abolished in England, and demanded from the country a proper remuneration for the arduous labours of his high office.

No man felt more deeply the evils which then existed, of the interference by the crown and by statesmen to influence judges. How beautifully did he admonish Buckingham, regardless as he proved of all admonition, "By no means be you persuaded to interpose yourself, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending, in any court of justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it; and by all means dissuade the king himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends. If it should prevail, it perverts justice; but if the judge be so just and of such courage, as he ought to be, as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it; judges must be chaste as Cæsar's wife, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be unjust: and, sir, the honour of the judges in their judicature is the king's honour, whose person they represent."

Thus did he raise his voice in opposition to an inveterate practice. The first mode of correcting error, whether in individuals or in the community, is by proclaiming its existence; the next is, when ripe for action, by acting.

That the presents influenced the judgment of the chancellor was never for a moment supposed by any man. Fourteen out of the twenty-two

charges related to presents made long after the causes were terminated, and the complaints of his accusers were, not that the gratuities had, but that they had not influenced his judgment, as he had decided against them.

Such topics would have occurred to any advocate. With what force would they have been urged by the chancellor? In his Novum Organum, which he had published in the previous year, he had warned society, that "at the entrance of every inquiry our first duty is to eradicate any idol by which the judgment may be warped; as the kingdom of man can be entered only as the kingdom of God, in the simplicity of little children." How powerfully, then, would he have called upon the lovers of truth and of justice to divest their minds of all prejudice; to be, when sitting in judgment upon a judge, themselves impartial. Knowing the nature of the high tribunal before whom he was to appear, there could, indeed, have been scarcely any necessity for such an appeal. He knew the joy which they "would feel, if he could clear his honour." He knew that, however grateful it may be to common minds to indulge in the vulgar pleasure of imaginary self-importance from the depression of superiority, a disinclination to condemn, even if truth call for conviction, is an attribute of every noble mind, always afflicted at the infirmities of genius. Knowing that, amongst the peers, many valued themselves upon ancient learning, he would have reminded them, that "the tree scathed with lightning, was with them of the olden time ever held sacred. Sure no tree of the forest, under Jove's favour, ever flourished more than myself; witness for me all those who, while the dews of heaven rested on me, were rejoiced to sheltor under my branches: and I the more readily, my lords, remind you of an ensample of heathen piety, because I would not in the presence of some of you speak of Christian charity, which, if it were not recorded by one who cannot lie, I have found so cold that I might suppose it to be only painted forth in books, but, indeed, without life, or heat, or motion."

He could not have thought it necessary to warn the lords, as he had apprized the king, that "when from private appetite it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with;" nor to have said to the lords, as he had said to the king, "For the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice: howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times." For such appeals there would not, before such a tribunal, have been any necessity.

Passing from these general observations, how easy would it have been to have examined each particular charge, by separating the bundle, and breaking it stick by stick?

In the case of Holman and Young, it was alleged that £1000 had been given to the chancellor by Young. Upon investigation it appeared, on this charge of a discontented suitor, that instead of £1000 having been advanced, the sum was £100, which was presented on behalf of Young after the decree, either by Young or Mr. Toby Matthew, a son of the Archbishop of York, through life an intimate friend and correspondent of the chancellor's, and in 1623 knighted by King James.

In the cause of Worth and Mainwaring, it was alleged that the chancellor had been bribed by £100. Upon examination it appeared, that some months after the decree, which was for a great inheritance, the successful party presented £100 to the chancellor.

In the case of Hody and Hody, the charge was, that £100 or £200 was presented to the chancellor. The fact was, that some time after the suit was terminated, Sir Thomas Perrot and Sir Henry Holmes presented the chancellor with some gold buttons, worth forty guineas.

In the case between Reynell and Peacock, the charge was, that there was much money given on both sides, and a diamond ring. The facts turned out to be that presents were given on both sides; that Sir George Reynell was a near ally of the chancellor's, and presented a gratuity as a new year's gift for former favours, when the great seal was first delivered to the lord keeper, and when presents were, as of course, presented by various persons; and that, by the intervention of a friend and neighbour at St. Alban's, he borrowed a sum of Peacock.

In the cause of Barker and Hill, the charge was, that the chancellor had been bribed by a present made by Barker. The fact was, that the sum was presented some time after the decree had been made.

In the case of Smithwick and Wyche, the charge was, that Smithwick had presented £600 to the chancellor, but he had decided against him, and the money was repaid. The fact was, that Smithwick had paid £200 to Hunt, one of the chancellor's servants, unknown to the chancellor; that the decision was against Smithwick, and that the chancellor, when he saw an entry of the sum in his servant's account, had defalced it, and ordered it to be returned.

He might, in the same manner, have decomposed all the charges. He might have selected the fourteen cases in which the presents were made after, and many of them long after judgment had been pronounced. He might have taken each particular case where the presents were before judgment, and the decrees against the donors He might have explained that, in some of the

cases, he acted only as arbitrator; and in others that the sums received were not gifts, but loans, and that he had decided against his creditor; and in others that the sums offered were refused and returned. And to the twenty-eighth charge, "that the lord chancellor hath given way to great exactions by his servants," he surely might have admitted that he was negligent in not looking better to his servants. Standing on a cliff, and surveying the whole intellectual world, he did not see every pebble on the shore.

Some defence of this nature could not but have occurred to the chancellor?

Whatever doubt may exist as to the state of his mind, there is none with respect either to the king or Buckingham. The king was disquieted, and Buckingham robbed of all peace. This was the very state of mental fusion favourable for experiment by a shrewd politician. "It is the doctrine of philosophy that to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous." This is not the politician's creed.

The king's fears, notwithstanding his pecuniary distresses, disposed him to dissolve the parliament, to which he had been advised, though by this measure he should lose his two subsidies. Williams dissuaded him from such an expedient. "There is," he said, "no colour to quarrel at this general assembly of the kingdom, for tracing delinquents to their form: it is their proper work, and your majesty hath nobly encouraged them to it. Your lordship," he said, turning to Buckingham, "is jealous, if the parliament continue imbodied, of your own safety. Follow it, swim with the tide: trust me and your other servants that have some credit with the most active members, to keep you clear from the strife of tongues; but if you break up this parliament, in pursuit of justice, only to save some cormorants who have devoured that which they must disgorge, you will pluck up a sluice which will overwhelm you all."

The king listened to the advice of Williams; and his determination not to dissolve the parliament was followed, of course, by the consideration how the charges were to be met, by resistance or by submission.

There cannot be any difficulty in following the train of Williams's reasoning in this conclave. "Resistance will be attended with danger to your lordship and to his majesty. These popular outcries thrive by opposition, and when they cease to be opposed, they cease to exist. The chancellor has been accused. He cannot escape unheard. He must be acquitted or convicted. He cannot, in this time of excitement and prejudgment, expect justice. His mind will easily be impressed by the fate of other great men, sacrifices to the blind ignorance of a vulgar populace, whom talent will not propitiate or innocence appease. Can it be doubted, that the prudent course will be the chancellor's submission, as an atonement for all who are under popular suspicion? The only difficulty will be to prevail upon him to submit. He has resolved to defend himself, and in speech he is all-powerful; but he is of a yielding nature, a lover of letters, in mind contemplative, although in life active; his love of retirement may be wrought upon; the king can remit any fine, and, the means once secured to him of learned leisure for the few remaining years of his life, he will easily be induced to quit the paradise of earthly honours."

So spoke the prelate; and the voice that promised present immunity to the king and his humbled favourite, seemed to them the voice of an angel: but the remedies of a state empiric, like those of all empirics, are only immediate relief; "they help at a pang, but soon leese their operation."

The king fatally resolved upon this concession, and Bacon's remarkable prediction fell upon him and his successor, "They who will strike at your chancellor will strike at your crown."

There was not any suggestion by Williams that the chancellor could not have anticipated, except the monstrous fact that the king and Buckingham were consenting to his downfall. Once convinced that his weak and cowardly master was not only willing but anxious to interpose him between an enraged people and his culpable favourite, his line of conduct became evident: he was as much bound to the stake as if already chained there; and, when the fate of Essex and of Somerset recurred to him, he must have felt how little dependence could be placed upon court favour, and how certain was the utter ruin of a man who attempts to oppose a despotic prince. He might well say, "he was become clay in the king's hand." He who is robbed of all that constitutes a man, freedom of thought and action, which is the breath of his nostrils, becomes nothing but a lifeless statue.

Before the 16th of April the king sent for the chancellor, who instantly prepared minutes for their conference, in which he says, "The law of nature teaches me to speak in my own defence. With respect to this charge of bribery, I am as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent's day: I never had bribe or reward in my eye or thought when pronouncing sentence or order. If, however, it is absolutely necessary, the king's will shall be obeyed. I am ready to make an oblation of myself to the king, in whose hands I am as clay, to be made a vessel of honour or dishonour."

That an interview between the king and Bacon took place is clear, from the following entry in the journals of the House of Lords of April 17:

"The lord treasurer signified, that in the interim of this cessation, the lord chancellor was an

humble suitor unto his majesty, that he might see his majesty and speak with him; and although his majesty, in respect of the lord chancellor's person, and of the place he holds, might have given his lordship that favour, yet, for that his lordship is under the trial of this house, his majesty would not on the sudden grant it.

"That on Sunday last, the king calling all the lords of this house which were of his council before him, it pleased his majesty to show their lordships what was desired by the lord chancellor, demanding their lordships' advice therein.

"The lords did not presume to advise his majesty; for that his majesty did suddenly propound such a course as all the world could not advise a better; which was, that his majesty would speak with him privately.

"That yesterday, his majesty admitting the lord chancellor to his presence, his lordship desired that he might have a particular of those matters wherewith he is charged before the lords of this house; for that it was not possible for him, who passed so many orders and decrees in a year, to remember all things that fell out in them; and that, this being granted, his lordship would desire two requests of his majesty. 1. That, where his answers should be fair and clear, to those things objected against him, his lordship might stand upon his innocency. 2. Where his answer should not be so fair and clear, there his lordship might be admitted to the extenuation of the charge; and where the proofs were full and undeniable, his lordship would ingenuously confess them, and put himself upon the mercy of the lords.

"Unto all which his majesty's answer was, he referred him to the lords of this house, and therefore his majesty willed his lordship to make report to their lordships.

"It was thereupon ordered, that the lord treasurer should signify unto his majesty, that the lords do thankfully acknowledge his majesty's favour, and hold themselves highly bound unto his majesty for the same."

At this interview the king, who had determined to sacrifice the "oracle of his counsel rather than the favourite of his affection," gave him his advice, as it was termed, "that he should submit himself to the House of Peers, and that upon his princely word he would then restore him again, if they in their honours should not be sensible of his merits."

How little this command accorded with the chancellor's intention to defend himself, may be gathered from his distress and passionate remonstrance. "I see my approaching ruin: there is no hope of mercy in a multitude, if I do not plead for myself, when my enemies are to give fire. Those who strike at your chancellor will strike at your crown." All remonstrance proving fruitless, he took leave of the king with these memorable words: "I am the first; I wish I may be the last sacrifice."

The parts were now cast, and the last act of the drama alone remained to be performed.

On the 17th of April, 1621, the House met, when some account of the king's interview with the chancellor was narrated by the lord treasurer, and ordered to be entered upon the journals of the House; and, a rumour having been circulated that Buckingham had sent his brother abroad to escape inquiry, he protested unto the lords, "that whereas the opinion of the world is, that his lordship had sent his brother, Sir Edward Villiers, abroad in the king's service, of purpose to avoid his trial touching some grievances complained of by the Commons, his lordship was so far from that, that his lordship did hasten his coming home; and, if any thing blameworthy can be objected against him, his lordship is as ready to censure him as he was Mompesson."

It was then moved by the Earl of Arundel, that the three several committees do make their report to-morrow morning of the examinations by them taken touching the lord chancellor.

On the 20th, the chancellor wrote to the king, to thank him for the goodness manifested in his access on the 16th, and expressing an assured hope, that, as the king imitated Christ, by not breaking the broken reed, or quenching the smoking flax, so would the lords of the Upper House in grace and mercy imitate their royal master: and on the 22d of April he addressed a letter to the House of Lords, which had, of course, been submitted to Buckingham and the king, and was in due time communicated to their lordships by the Prince of Wales.

In that letter, which can be understood only by those who are in possession of the facts now stated, he consented to desert his defence; and that word, used by a man so rich in language, so felicitous in every shade of expression, fully discloses what was passing in his mind. He praised the king, chiefly for his mercy, recommended him as an example to the lords, and reminded the prelates that they were the servants of Christ. He concluded his address by intimating what he hoped would be the measure of his punishment, but not till he had related some passages, from ancient history, in his usual manner, and considered the case and its results to society with a degree of philosophical calmness, which could not possibly contemplate the ruin that ensued, or any punishment beyond the loss of his office.

On the morning of the 24th, the king addressed the house in a speech, which showed his disposition to meet the wishes of the people by admitting, "that as many complaints are already made against courts of judicature, which are in examination, and are to be proceeded upon by the lords, his majesty will add some, which he thinks fit to be also complained of and redressed, viz.: That no

orders be made but in public court, and not in chambers; that excessive fees be taken away; that no bribery nor money be given for the hearing of any cause. These and many other things his majesty thought fit to be done this session. And his majesty added, that when he hath done this, and all that he can do for the good of his subjects, he confesseth he hath done but the duty whereunto he was born."—The house then adjourned till the afternoon.

In the afternoon the Prince of Wales "signified unto the lords that the lord chancellor had sent the following submission to their lordships:

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of Parliament, in the Upper House assembled.

"The humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor.

"It may please your lordships,—I shall humbly crave at your lordships' hands a benign interpretation of that which I shall now write. For words that come from wasted spirits and an oppressed mind are more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, than in being circled with any reserved caution.

"This being moved, and, as I hope, obtained, in the nature of a protection to all that I shall say, I shall now make into the rest of that wherewith I shall at this time trouble your lordships a very strange entrance. For, in the midst of a state of as great affliction as I think a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life,) I shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things.

"The first is, that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection of guiltiness, which (in few words) is the beginning of a golden world. The next, that, after this example, it is like that judges will fly from any thing that is in the likeness of corruption, (though it were at a great distance,) as from a serpent; which tendeth to the purging of the courts of justice, and the reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points, God is my witness, that though it be my fortune to be the anvil upon which these good effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort.

"But, to pass from the motions of my heart, whereof God is only judge, to the merits of my cause, whereof your lordships are judges, under God and his lieutenant, I do understand there hath been heretofore expected from me some justification; and therefore I have chosen one only justification instead of all other, out of the justifications of Job. For, after the clear submission and confession which I shall now make unto your lordships, I hope I may say and justify with Job, in these words: 'I have not hid my sins as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom.' This is the only justification which I will use.

"It resteth, therefore, that without fig-leaves I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge that, having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient and full both to move me to desert the defence, and to move your lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your lordships by singling those particulars, which I think may fall off.

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

Neither will I prompt your lordships to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the credits of the witnesses; neither will I represent unto your lordships how far a defence might, in divers things, extenuate the offence, in respect of the time or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but only leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge, here and there, as God shall put into your mind, and so submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.

"And now that I have spoken to your lordships as judges, I shall say a few words to you as peers and prelates, humbly commending my cause to your noble minds and magnanimous affections.

"Your lordships are not simple judges, but parliamentary judges; you have a further extent of arbitrary power than other courts; and, if your lordships be not tied by the ordinary course of courts or precedents, in points of strictness and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation.

"And yet, if any thing which I shall move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy ends to introduce a reformation, I should not seek it. But herein I beseech your lordships to give me leave to tell you a story. Titus Manlius took his son's life for giving battle against the prohibition of his general; not many years after, the like severity was pursued by Papirius Cursor, the dictator, against Quintus Maximus, who being upon the point to be sentenced, by the intercession of some principal persons of the senate, was spared; Whereupon Livy maketh this grave and gracious observation: *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miscrabili supplicio Titi Manlii.* The discipline of war was no less established by the questioning of Quintus Maximus than by the punishment of Titus Manlius; and the same reason is of the reformation of justice; for the questioning of men of eminent place hath the same terror, though not the same rigour with the punishment.

"But my case standeth not there. For my humble desire is, that his majesty would take the seal into his hands, which is a great downfall: and may serve, I hope, in itself, for an expiation of my faults. Therefore, if mercy and mitigation be in your power, and do no ways cross your ends, why should I not hope of your lordships' favour and commiseration?

"Your lordships will be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the king, our sovereign, a king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness. Your lordships will remember that there sat not these hundred years before a prince in your house, and never such a prince whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and justice; yourselves are either nobles (and compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood) or reverend prelates, who are the servants of Him that would not break the bruised reed, nor quench smoking flax. You all sit upon one high stage; and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the changes of the world, and of the fall of any of high place. Neither will your lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis* as well as *vitia hominis*, and that the beginning of reformations hath the contrary power of the pool of Bethesda; for that had strength to cure only him that was first cast in, and this hath commonly strength to hurt him only that is first cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

"Lastly, I assure myself your lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body, and one that, in this very session, had some taste of your loving affections, which, I hope, was not a lightening before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace, which now in the conclusion will more appear.

"And therefore my humble suit to your lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, and the loss of the seal my punishment; and that your lordships will spare any further sentence, but recommend me to his majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. God's Holy Spirit be amongst you. Your lordships' humble servant and suppliant,

"Fr. St. Alban, Canc."

April 22, 1621.

Although the king and Buckingham hoped that this general submission would be satisfactory, the agitation was too great to be thus easily quieted. It was, after deliberation, resolved that the lord chancellor's submission gave not satisfaction to their lordships, for that his lordship's confession therein was not fully nor particularly set down, and for many other exceptions against the submission itself, the same in sort extenuating his confession, and his lordship seeming to prescribe the sentence to be given against him by the house.

Their lordships resolved, that the lord chancellor should be charged particularly with the briberies and corruptions complained of against him, and that his lordship should make a particular answer thereunto. It was, therefore, ordered that the particulars of the charge be sent to the lord chancellor, and that the lords do expect his answer to the same with all convenient expedition. They were sent accordingly.

This fatal result was instantly communicated to the chancellor by his faithful attendant, Bushel. He proceeded, therefore, to a minute answer to each particular charge, which he so framed that future ages might see the times when the presents were made, and the persons by whom they were offered.

On the 30th of April, the lord chief justice signified that he had received from the lord chancellor a paper roll, sealed up, which was delivered to the clerk; and being opened, and found directed to their lordships, it was read:

"To the Right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the High Court of Parliament assembled,

"The Confession and Humble Submission of me, the Lord Chancellor.

"Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your lordships.

"The particulars I confess and declare to be as followeth:

"1. To the first article of the charge, viz. in the cause between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, the lord chancellor received five hundred pounds on the part of Sir Rowland Egerton, before he decreed the cause: I do confess and declare, that upon a reference from his majesty of all suits and controversies between Sir Rowland Egerton and Mr. Edward Egerton, both parties submitted themselves to my award, by recognisance reciprocal in ten thousand marks apiece. Thereupon, after divers hearings, I made my award, with advice and consent of my Lord Hobart. The award was perfected and published to the parties, which was in February; then, some days after, the five hundred pounds mentioned in the charge was delivered unto me. Afterwards Mr. Edward Egerton fled off from the award; then, in midsummer term following, a suit was begun in chancery by Sir Rowland, to have the award confirmed; and upon that suit was the decree made which is mentioned in the article.

"2. To the second article of the charge, viz. in the same cause he received from Edward Egerton four hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that

soon after my first coming to the seal, (being a time when I was presented by many,) the four hundred pounds mentioned in the charge was delivered unto me in a purse, and I now call to mind, from Mr. Edward Egerton; but, as far as I can remember, it was expressed by them that brought it to be for favours past, and not in respect to favours to come.

"3. To the third article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Hody and Hody, he received a dozen of buttons, of the value of fifty pounds, about a fortnight after the cause was ended: I confess and declare, that, as it is laid in the charge, about a fortnight after the cause was ended, (it being a suit of a great inheritance,) there were gold buttons about the value of fifty pounds, as is mentioned in the charge, presented unto me, as I remember, by Sir Thomas Perient and the party himself.

"4. To the fourth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between the Lady Wharton and the co-heirs of Sir Francis Willoughby, he received of the Lady Wharton three hundred and ten pounds: I confess and declare, that I received of the Lady Wharton, at two several times, (as I remember,) in gold, two hundred pounds and a hundred pieces, and this was certainly *pendente lite;* but yet I have a vehement suspicion that there was some shuffling between Mr. Shute and the register, in entering some orders, which afterwards I did distaste.

"5. To the fifth article of the charge, viz., in Sir Thomas Monk's cause, he received from Sir Thomas Monk, by the hands of Sir Henry Helmes, a hundred and ten pounds; but this was three-quarters of a year after the suit was ended: I confess it to be true, that I received a hundred pieces; but it was long after the suit ended, as is contained in the charge.

"6. To the sixth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Sir John Treavor and Ascue, he received, on the part of Sir John Treavor, a hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that I received at new year's-tide a hundred pounds from Sir John Treavor; and because it came as a new year's gift, I neglected to inquire whether the cause was ended or depending; but since I find, that though the cause was then dismissed to a trial at law, yet the equity is reserved, so as it was in that kind *pendente lite.*

"7. To the seventh article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Holman and Young, he received of Young a hundred pounds, after the decree made for him; I confess and declare, that, as I remember, a good while after the cause ended, I received a hundred pounds, either by Mr. Tobie Matthew, or from Young himself; but whereas I understood that there was some money given by Holman to my servant Hatcher, with that certainly I was never made privy.

"8. To the eighth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Fisher and Wrenham, the lord chancellor, after the decree passed, received from Fisher a suit of hangings, worth a hundred and sixty pounds and better, which Fisher gave by advice of Mr. Shute: I confess and declare, that some time after the decree passed, I being at that time upon remove to York House, I did receive a suit of hangings of the value, I think, mentioned in the charge, by Mr. Shute, as from Sir Edward Fisher, towards the furnishing of my house, as some others that were no way suitors did present me the like about that time.

"9. To the ninth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Kennedey and Vanlore, he received a rich cabinet from Kennedey, prized at eight hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that such a cabinet was brought to my house, though nothing near half the value; and that I said to him that brought it, that I came to view it, and not to receive it; and gave commandment that it should be carried back, and was offended when I heard it was not; and some year and a half after, as I remember, Sir John Kennedey having all that time refused to take it away, as I am told by my servant, I was petitioned by one Pinckney, that it might be delivered to him, for that he stood engaged for the money that Sir John Kennedey paid for it. And thereupon Sir John Kennedey wrote a letter to my servant Shereborne with his own hand, desiring that I would not do him that disgrace as to return that gift back, much less to put it into a wrong hand; and so it remains yet ready to be returned to whom your lordships shall appoint.

"10. To the tenth article of the charge, viz., he borrowed of Vanlore a thousand pounds, upon his own bond, at one time, and the like sum at another time, upon his lordship's own bill, subscribed by Mr. Hunt, his man: I confess and declare, that I borrowed the money in the article set down, and that this is a true debt. And I remember well that I wrote a letter from Kew, above a twelvemonth since, to a friend about the king, wherein I desired that, whereas I owed Peter Vanlore two thousand pounds, his majesty would be pleased to grant me so much out of his fine set upon him in the Star Chamber.

"11. To the eleventh article of the charge, viz., he received of Richard Scott two hundred pounds, after his cause was decreed, (but upon a precedent promise,) all which was transacted by Mr. Shute: I confess and declare, that some fortnight after, as I remember, that the decree passed, I received two hundred pounds, as from Mr. Scott, by Mr. Shute; but, for any precedent promise or transaction by Mr. Shute, certain I am I knew of none.

"12. To the twelfth article of the charge, viz., he received in the same cause, on the part of Sir John Lentall, a hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that some months after, as I remember,

that the decree passed, I received a hundred pounds by my servant Shereburne, as from Sir John Lentall, who was not the adverse party to Scott, but a third person, relieved by the same decree, in the suit of one Powre.

"13. To the thirteenth article of the charge, viz., he received of Mr. Wroth a hundred pounds, in respect of the cause between him and Sir Arthur Maynewaringe; I confess and declare, that this cause, being a cause for inheritance of good value, was ended by my arbitrament, and consent of parties; and so a decree passed of course. And some month after the cause thus ended, the hundred pounds mentioned in the article was delivered to me by my servant Hunt.

"14. To the fourteenth article of the charge, viz., he received of Sir Raphe Hansby, having a cause depending before him, five hundred pounds; I confess and declare, that there were two decrees, one, as I remember, for the inheritance, and the other for goods and chattels, but all upon one bill; and some good time after the first decree, and before the second, the said five hundred pounds were delivered me by Mr. Tobie Matthew, so as I cannot deny but it was upon the matter, *pendente lite*.

"15. To the fifteenth article of the charge, viz., William Compton being to have an extent for a debt of one thousand and two hundred pounds, the lord chancellor stayed it, and wrote his letter, upon which part of the debt was paid presently, and part at a future day. The lord chancellor hereupon sends to borrow five hundred pounds; and because Compton was to pay four hundred pounds to one Huxley, his lordship requires Huxley to forbear it six months, and thereupon obtains the money from Compton. The money being unpaid, suit grows between Huxley and Compton in chancery, where his lordship decrees Compton to pay Huxley the debt, with damages and costs, when it was in his own hands: I declare, that in my conscience, the stay of the extent was just, being an extremity against a nobleman, by whom Compton could be no loser. The money was plainly borrowed of Compton upon bond with interest; and the message to Huxley was only to entreat him to give Compton a longer day, and in no sort to make me debtor or responsible to Huxley; and, therefore, though I were not ready to pay Compton his money, as I would have been glad to have done, save only one hundred pounds, which is paid; I could not deny justice to Huxley, in as ample manner as if nothing had been between Compton and me. But, if Compton hath been damnified in my respect, I am to consider it to Compton.

"16. To the sixteenth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Sir William Bronker and Awbrey, the lord chancellor received from Awbrey a hundred pounds: I do confess and declare, that the money was given and received; but the manner of it I leave to the witnesses.

"17. To the seventeenth article of the charge, viz., in the Lord Mountague's cause, he received from the Lord Mountague six or seven hundred pounds; and more was to be paid at the ending of the cause: I confess and declare, there was money given, and (as I remember) by Mr. Bevis Thelwall, to the sum mentioned in the article after the cause was decreed; but I cannot say it was ended, for there have been many orders since, caused by Sir Frauncis Englefeild's contempts; and I do remember that, when Thelwall brought the money, he said, that my lord would be further thankful if he could once get his quiet; to which speech I gave little regard.

"18. To the eighteenth article of he charge, viz., in the cause of Mr. Dunch, he received of Mr. Dunch two hundred pounds; I confess and declare, that it was delivered by Mr. Thelwall to Hatcher my servant, for me, as I think, some time after the decree; but I cannot precisely inform myself of the time.

"19. To the nineteenth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Reynell and Peacock, he received from Reynell two hundred pounds, and a diamond ring worth five or six hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that, at my first coming to the seal, when I was at Whitehall, my servant Hunt delivered me two hundred pounds, from Sir George Reynell, my near ally, to be bestowed upon furniture of my house; adding further, that he received divers former favours from me; and this was, as I verily think, before any suit begun. The ring was received certainly *pendente lite*; and, though it were new year's-tide, yet it was too great a value for a new year's gift, though, as I take it, nothing near the value mentioned in the article.

"20. To the twentieth article of the charge, viz., he took of Peacock a hundred pounds, and borrowed a thousand pounds, without interest, security, or time of payment: I confess and declare, that I received of Mr. Peacock a hundred pounds at Dorset House, at my first coming to the seal, as a present; at which time no suit was begun; and that, the summer after, I sent my then servant Lister to Mr. Rolf, my good friend and neighbour, at St. Albans, to use his means with Mr. Peacock (who was accounted a moneyed man) for the borrowing of five hundred pounds; and after, by my servant Hatcher, for borrowing of five hundred pounds more, which Mr. Rolf procured, and told me, at both times, that it should be without interest, script, or note; and that I should take my own time for payment of it.

"21. To the one-and-twentieth article of the charge, viz., in the cause between Smithwick and Wyche, he received from Smithwick two hundred pounds, which was repaid: I confess and declare, that my servant Hunt did, upon his accompt, being my receiver of the fines of original writs, charge himself with two hundred pounds,

formerly received of Smithwick, which, after that I had understood the nature of it, I ordered him to repay it, and to default it of his accompt.

"22. To the two-and-twentieth article of the charge, viz., in the cause of Sir Henry Russwell, he received money from Russwell; but it is not certain how much: I confess and declare, that I received money from my servant Hunt, as from Mr. Russwell, in a purse; and, whereas the sum in the article is indefinite, I confess it to be three or four hundred pounds; and it was about some months after the cause was decreed, in which decree I was assisted by two of the judges.

"23. To the three-and-twentieth article of the charge, viz., in the cause of Mr. Barker, the lord chancellor received from Barker seven hundred pounds: I confess and declare, that the money mentioned in the article was received from Mr. Barker, some time after the decree passed.

"24. To the four-and-twentieth article, five-and-twentieth, and six-and-twentieth articles of the charge, viz., the four-and-twentieth, there being a reference from his majesty to his lordship of a business between the Grocers and the Apothecaries, the lord chancellor received of the Grocers two hundred pounds. The five-and-twentieth article; in the same cause, he received of the Apothecaries that stood with the Grocers, a taster of gold, worth between forty and fifty pounds, and a present of ambergrease. And the six-and-twentieth article: he received of the New Company of the Apothecaries that stood against the Grocers, a hundred pounds: To these I confess and declare, that the several sums from the three parties were received; and for that it was no judicial business, but a concord, or composition between the parties, and that as I thought all had received good, and they were all three common purses, I thought it the less matter to receive that which they voluntarily presented; for if I had taken it in the nature of a corrupt bribe, I knew it could not be concealed, because it must needs be put to accompt to the three several companies.

"27. To the seven-and-twentieth article of the charge, viz., he took of the French merchants a thousand pounds, to constrain the vintners of London to take from them fifteen hundred tuns of wine; to accomplish which, he used very indirect means, by colour of his office and authority, without bill or suit depending; terrifying the vintners, by threats and imprisonments of their persons, to buy wines, whereof they had no need or use, at higher rates than they were vendible: I do confess and declare, that Sir Thomas Smith did deal with me in the behalf of the French company; informing me that the vintners, by combination, would not take off their wines at any reasonable prices. That it would destroy their trade, and stay their voyage for that year; and that it was a fair business, and concerned the state; and he doubted not but I should receive thanks from the king, and honour by it; and that they would gratify me with a thousand pounds for my travel in it; whereupon I treated between them, by way of persuasion, and (to prevent any compulsory suit) propounding such a price as the vintners might be gainers six pounds per tun, as it was then maintained to me; and after, the merchants petitioning to the king, and his majesty recommending the business unto me as a business that concerned his customs and the navy, I dealt more earnestly and peremptorily in it; and, as I think, restrained in the messengers' hands for a day or two some that were the more stiff; and afterwards the merchants presented me with a thousand pounds out of their common purse; acknowledging themselves that I had kept them from a kind of ruin, and still maintaining to me that the vintners, if they were not insatiably minded, had a very competent gain. This is the merits of the cause, as it then appeared unto me.

"28. To the eight-and-twentieth article of the charge, viz., the lord chancellor hath given way to great exactions by his servants, both in respect of private seals, and otherwise for sealing of injunctions: I confess, it was a great fault of neglect in me, that I looked no better to my servants.

"This declaration I have made to your lordships with a sincere mind; humbly craving, that if there should be any mistaking, your lordships would impute it to want of memory, and not to any desire of mine to obscure truth, or palliate any thing: for I do again confess, that in the points charged upon me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry, and submit myself to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the court.

"For extenuation, I will use none concerning the matters themselves; only it may please your lordships, out of your nobleness, to cast your eyes of compassion upon my person and estate. I was never noted for an avaricious man. And the apostle saith, that covetousness is the root of all evil. I hope also, that your lordships do the rather find me in the state of grace; for that, in all these particulars, there are few or none that are not almost two years old, whereas those tha have a habit of corruption do commonly wax worse and worse; so that it hath pleased God to prepare me, by precedent degrees of amendment, to my present penitency. And for my estate, it is so mean and poor, as my care is now chiefly to satisfy my debts.

"And so, fearing I have troubled your lordships too long, I shall conclude with an humble suit unto you, that, if your lordships proceed to sentence, your sentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious, and mixed with mercy; and not only so, but that you would be noble intercessors for me

to his majesty likewise, for his grace and favour. Your lordships' humble servant and suppliant,

"Fr. St. Alban, Canc."

This confession and submission being read, it was agreed that certain lords do go unto the lord chancellor, and show him the said confession; and tell him that the lords do conceive it to be an ingenuous and full confession, and demand whether it be his own hand that is subscribed to the same; and their lordships being returned, reported, that the lord chancellor said, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships, be merciful unto a broken reed."

On the 2d of May, the seals having been sequestered, the House resolved to proceed to judgment on the next day.

In this interval, on the evening of the 2d of May, the chancellor wrote to the king, "to save him from the sentence, to let the cup pass from him; for if it is reformation that is sought, taking the seals will, with the general submission, be sufficient atonement."

These his last hopes were vain: the king did not, he could not interpose.

On the 3d of May the Lords adjudged, "that, upon his own confession, they had found him guilty: and therefore that he shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds; be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; be forever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state or commonwealth; and shall never sit in parliament, nor come within the verge of the court."

Thus fell, from the height of worldly prosperity, Francis, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.

The cause of his having deserted his defence he never revealed. He patiently endured the agony of uncommunicated grief. He confidently relied upon the justice of future ages. There are, however, passages in his writings where his deep feeling of the injury appear.

In the Advancement of Learning we are admonished that, "Words best disclose our minds when we are agitated,

Vino tortus et ira;

for, as Proteus never changed shapes till he was straitened and held fast with cords, so our nature appears most fully in trials and vexations."

By observing his words in moments of agitation, the state of his mind is manifest.

When imprisoned in the Tower, he instantly wrote to Buckingham, saying, "However I have acknowledged that the sentence is just, and for reformation sake fit, I have been a trusty, and honest, and Christ-loving friend to your lordship, and the justest chancellor that hath been in the five changes since my father's time."

In another letter, "God is my witness, that, when I examine myself, I find all well, and that I have approved myself to your lordship a true friend, both in the watery trial of prosperity, and in the fiery trial of adversity:" "I hope his majesty may reap honour out of my adversity, as he hath done strength out of my prosperity."

"For the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the time," was his expression in the midst of his agony.

In a collection of his letters in the Lambeth Library there is the following passage in Greek characters; Οφ μγ οφενσ, φαρ βε ιτ φρομ με το σαγ, δαν νενιαμ κορνις; νεξατ πενσυρα κολυμβασ: βυτ ι ωιλλ σαγ θατ ι αυε γοοδ ωαρραντ φορ: θεγ ωερε νοτ θε γρεατεστ οφφενδερς ιν Ισραελ υπον ωηομ θε ωαλλ φελλ.

In his will, he says, "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages."

These words, not to be read till he was at rest from his labours, were cautiously selected, with the knowledge which he, above all men, possessed of the power of expression, and of their certain influence, sooner or later, upon society.

The obligation to silence, imposed upon Bacon, extended to his friends after he was in the grave.

Dr. Rawley, his first and last chaplain, says, "Some papers touching matters of estate, tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned."

Archbishop Tennison says, "The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James: 'I wish that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times:' and when, from private appetite, it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with."

From these observations it may be seen, that there was a conflict in the minds of these excellent men between their inclination to speak and their duty to be silent. They did not violate this duty; but one of his most sincere and grateful admirers, who, although he had painfully, but sacredly, preserved the secret from his youth to his old age, at last thus spoke:

"Before this could be accomplished to his own content, there arose such complaints against his lordship, and the then favourite at court, that for some days put the king to this quere, whether he should permit the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his council, to sink in his service; whereupon his lordship was sent for by the king, who, after some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to his House of Peers, and that, upon his princely word, he would then

restore him again, if they, in their honours, should not be sensible of his merits. Now, though my lord saw his approaching ruin, and told his majesty there was little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were to give fire, if he did not plead for himself: yet such was his obedience to him from whom he had his being, that he resolved his majesty's will should be his only law; and so took leave of him with these words: Those that will strike at your chancellor, it is much to be feared, will strike at your crown; and wished, that as he was then the first, so he might be the last of sacrifices.

"Soon after, according to his majesty's commands, he wrote a submissive letter to the House, and sent me to my Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loath, at my return, to acquaint him with; for, alas! his sovereign's favour was not in so high a measure, but he, like the phœnix, must be sacrificed in flames of his own raising, and so perished, like Icarus, in that his lofty design: the great revenue of his office being lost, and his titles of honour saved but by the bishops' votes, whereto he replied, that he was only bound to thank his clergy.

"The thunder of which fatal sentence did much perplex my troubled thoughts as well as others, to see that famous lord, who procured his majesty to call this parliament, must be the first subject of their revengeful wrath, and that so unparalleled a master should be thus brought upon the public stage, for the foolish miscarriage of his own servants, whereof, with grief of heart, I confess myself to be one. Yet, shortly after, the king dissolved the parliament, but never restored that matchless lord to his place, which made him then to wish the many years he had spent in state policy and law study had been solely devoted to true philosophy: for, said he, the one, at the best, doth but comprehend man's frailty in its greatest splendour; but the other, the mysterious knowledge of all things created in the six days' work."

On the 11th of July the great seals were delivered to Williams, who was now Lord Keeper of England and Bishop of Lincoln, with permission to retain the deanery of Westminster, and to hold the rectory of Waldegrave in commendam.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HIS FALL TO HIS DEATH.

1621 to 1626.

Such was the storm in which he was wrecked. "Methinks," says Archbishop Tennison, "they are resembled by those of Sir George Summers, who being bound by his employment to another coast, was by tempest cast upon the Bermudas: and there a shipwrecked man made full discovery of a new, temperate, fruitful region, where none had before inhabited; and which mariners, who had only seen as rocks, had esteemed an inaccessible and enchanted place."

This temperate region was not unforeseen by the chancellor.

In a letter to the king, on the 20th March, 1622, he says, "In the beginning of my trouble, when in the midst of the tempest, I had a kenning of the harbour, which I hope now by your majesty's favour I am entering into: now my study is my exchange, and my pen my practice for the use of my talent."

It is scarcely possible to read a page of his works without seeing that the love of knowledge was his ruling passion; that his real happiness consisted in intellectual delight. How beautifully does he state this when enumerating the blessings attendant upon the pursuit and possession of knowledge:

"The pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning far surpasseth all other nature: for, shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner; and must not, of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceed the pleasures of the affections? we see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used their verdure departeth, which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy; but of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly,

Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.

'It is a view of delight, to stand or walk upon the shore-side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain; but it is a pleasure incomparable for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth; and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.'"

Happy would it have been for himself and society, if, following his own nature, he had passed his life in the calm but obscure regions of philosophy.

He now, however, had escaped from worldly turmoils, and was enabled, as he wrote to the king, to gratify his desire "to do, for the little time God shall send me life, like the merchants of London, which, when they give over trade, lay out their money upon land: so, being freed

from civil business, I lay forth my poor talent upon those things, which may be perpetual, still having relation to do you honour with those powers I have left."

In a letter to Buckingham, on the 20th of March, 1621, he says, "I find that, building upon your lordship's noble nature and friendship, I have built upon the rock, where neither winds nor waves can cause overthrow:" and, in the conclusion of the same year, "I am much fallen in love with a private life, but yet I shall so spend my time, as shall not decay my abilities for use."

And in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, in which, after having considered the conduct in their banishments, of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, he proceeds thus: "These examples confirmed me much in a resolution, whereunto I was otherwise inclined, to spend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent, or half-talent, or what it is that God hath given me, not as heretofore to particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity, which will not break. Therefore having not long since set forth a part of my Instauration, which is the work that, in mine own judgment, *si nunquam fallit imago*, I may most esteem, I think to proceed in some new parts thereof; and although I have received from many parts beyond the seas testimonies touching that work, such as beyond which I could not expect at the first in so abstruse an argument, yet, nevertheless, I have just cause to doubt that it flies too high over men's heads. I have a purpose, therefore, though I break the order of time, to draw it down to the sense by some patterns of a natural story and inquisition. And, again, for that my book of Advancement of Learning may be some preparative or key for the better opening of the Instauration, because it exhibits a mixture of new conceits and old; whereas the Instauration gives the new unmixed, otherwise than with some little aspersion of the old, for taste's sake, I have thought good to procure a translation of that book into the general language, not without great and ample additions and enrichment thereof, especially in the second book, which handleth the partition of sciences, in such sort, as I hold it may serve in lieu of the first part of the Instauration, and acquit my promise in that part.

"Again, because I cannot altogether desert the civil person that I have borne, which if I should forget, enough would remember, I have also entered into a work touching laws, propounding a character of justice in a middle term, between the speculative and reverend discourses of philosophers and the writings of lawyers, which are tied, and obnoxious to their particular laws; and although it be true that I had a purpose to make a particular digest, or recompilement of the laws of mine own nation, yet because it is a work of assistance, and that I cannot master by my own forces and pen, I have laid it aside. Now, having in the work of Instauration had in contemplation the general good of men in their very being, and the dowries of nature; and in my work of laws, the general good of men likewise in society, and the dowries of government: I thought in duty I owed somewhat to my country, which I ever loved; insomuch, as, although my place hath been far above my desert, yet my thoughts and cares concerning the good thereof were beyond and over and above my place: so now, being as I am, no more able to do my country service, it remained unto me to do it honour; which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the reign of King Henry VII. As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature; I count them but as the recreation of my other studies, and in that sort I purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement, perhaps, yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand. But I count the use that a man should seek of the publishing his own writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him."

The sentence now remained to be executed. On the last day of May, Lord St. Albans was committed to the Tower; and, though he had placed himself altogether in the king's hands, confident in his kindness, it is not to be supposed that he could be led to prison without deeply feeling his disgrace. In the anguish of his mind he instantly wrote to Buckingham and to the king, submitting, but maintaining his integrity as chancellor.

"Good my lord,—Procure the warrant for my discharge this day. Death, I thank God, is so far from being unwelcome to me, as I have called for it (as Christian resolution would permit) any time these two months. But to die before the time of his majesty's grace, and in this disgraceful place, is even the worst that could be; and when I am dead, he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no, (I will say it,) not unfortunate counsel; and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty, and honest, and Christ-loving friend to your lordship: and, howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, the justest chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time. God bless and prosper your lordship, whatsoever become of me.

"Your lordship's true friend, living and dying,
Tower, 31st May, 1621. "Fr. St. Alban."

After two days' imprisonment he was liberated; and, the sentence not permitting him to come within the verge of the court, he retired, with the

king's permission, to Sir John Vaughan's house at Parson's Green, from whence, although anxious to continue in or near London, he went, in compliance with his majesty's suggestion, for a temporary retirement to Gorhambury, where he was obliged to remain till the end of the year, but with such reluctance, that, with the hope of quieting the king's fears, he at one time intended to present a petition to the House of Lords to remit this part of his sentence.

In the month of July he wrote, both to Buckingham and to the king, letters in which may be seen his reliance upon them for pecuniary assistance, his consciousness of innocence, a gleam of hope that he should be restored to his honours, and occasionally allusions to the favours he had conferred. To these applications he received the following answer from Buckingham:

To the Lord St. Alban.

My noble lord:—The hearty affection I have borne to your person and service hath made me ambitious to be a messenger of good news to you, and an eschewer of ill; this hath been the true reason why I have been thus long in answering you, not any negligence in your discreet, modest servant you sent with your letter, nor his who now returns you this answer, ofttimes given me by your master and mine; who, though by this may seem not to satisfy your desert and expectation, yet, take the word of a friend who will never fail you, hath a tender care of you, full of a fresh memory of your by-past service. His majesty is but for the present, he says, able to yield unto the three years' advance, which if you please to accept, you are not hereafter the farther off from obtaining some better testimony of his favour, worthier both of him and you, though it can never be answerable to what my heart wishes you, as your lordship's humble servant,

G. Buckingham.

That he was promised some compensation for the loss of his professional emoluments seems probable, not only from his letters to the king, and from the aid received, but from his having lived in splendour after his fall, although his certain annual income seems not to have exceeded £2500. With this income he, with prudence, might, although greatly in debt, have enjoyed worldly comfort: but in prudence he was culpably negligent. Thinking that money was only the baggage of virtue, that this interposition of earth eclipsed the clear sight of the mind, he lived not as a philosopher ought to have lived, but as a nobleman had been accustomed to live. It is related that the prince, coming to London, saw at a distance a coach followed by a considerable number of people, on horseback; and, upon inquiry, was told it was the Lord St. Albans, attended by his friends; on which his highness said, with a smile, "Well, do what we can, this man scorns to go out like a snuff."

Unmindful that the want of prudence can never be supplied, he was exposed, in the decline of life, not only to frequent vexation, and his thoughts to continual interruption, but was frequently compelled to stoop to degrading solicitations, and was obliged to encumber Gorhambury and sell York House, dear to him from so many associations, the seat of his ancestors, the scene of his former splendour. These worldly troubles seem, however, not to have affected his cheerfulness, and never to have diverted him from the great object of his life, the acquisition and advancement of knowledge. When an application was made to him to sell one of the beautiful woods of Gorhambury, he answered, "No, I will not be stripped of my feathers."

In September the king signed a warrant for the release of the parliamentary fine, and, to prevent the immediate importunities of his creditors, assigned it to Mr. Justice Hutton, Mr. Justice Chamberlain, Sir Francis Barnham, and Sir Thomas Crew, whom Bacon, in his will, directed to apply the funds for the payment and satisfaction of his debts and legacies, having a charitable care that the poorest creditors or legatees should be first satisfied.

This intended kindness of the king the Lord Keeper Williams misunderstood, and endeavoured to impede by staying the pardon at the seal, until he was commanded by Buckingham to obey the king's order. In October the pardon was sealed.

He had scarcely retired to Gorhambury, in the summer of 1621, when he commenced his History of Henry the Seventh.

During the progress of the work considerable expectation of his history was excited: in the composition of which he seems to have laboured with much anxiety, and to have submitted his manuscript to the correction of various classes of society; to the king, to scholars, and to the uninformed. Upon his desiring Sir John Danvers to give his opinion of the work, Sir John said, "'Your lordship knows that I am no scholar.' 'Tis no matter,' said my lord, 'I know what a scholar can say: I would know what you can say.' Sir John read it, and gave his opinion what he misliked, which my lord acknowledged to be true, and mended it. 'Why,' said he, 'a scholar would never have told me this;'" but, notwithstanding this labour and anxiety, the public expectation was not realized.

If, however, in the History of Henry the Seventh, it is vain to look for the vigour or beauty with which the Advancement of Learning abounds: if the intricacies of a court are neither discovered nor illustrated with the same happiness as the intricacies of philosophy: if, in a work written when the author was more than

sixty years of age, and if, after the vexations and labours of a professional and political life, the varieties and sprightliness of youthful imagination are not to be found, yet the peculiar properties of his mind may easily be traced, and the stateliness of the edifice be seen in the magnificence of the ruins.

His vigilance in recording every fact tending to alleviate misery, or to promote happiness, is noticed by Bishop Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society, where he says, "I shall instance in the sweating sickness. The medicine for it was almost infallible: but, before that could be generally published, it had almost dispeopled whole towns. If the same disease should have returned, it might have been again as destructive, had not the Lord Bacon taken care to set down the particular course of physic for it in his History of Henry the Seventh, and so put it beyond the possibility of any private man's invading it."

One of his maxims of government for the enlargement of the bounds of the empire is to be found in his comment upon the ordinance, stated in the treatise "De Augmentis." "Let states and kingdoms that aim at greatness by all means take heed how the nobility, and grandees, and those which we call gentlemen, multiply too fast; for that makes the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect nothing else but the nobleman's bondslaves and labourers. Even as you may see in coppice-wood, if you leave your studdles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes: so in a country, if the nobility be too many, the commons will be base and heartless, and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for a helmet, especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population, and little strength."

His love of familiar illustration is to be found in various parts of the history: as when speaking of the commotion by the Cornish men, on behalf of the impostor Perkin Warbeck: "The king judged it his best and surest way to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom; according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise."

And his kind nature and holy feeling appear in his account of the conquest of Granada. "Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors; but the king would not by any means in person enter the city until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the great tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground; and, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of the Almighty; nor would he stir from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians, that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption."

The work was published in folio, in 1622: and is dedicated to Prince Charles. Copies were presented to the king, to Buckingham, to the Queen of Bohemia, and to the lord keeper.

It had scarcely been published when he felt and expressed anxiety that it should be translated into Latin, "as these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books; and, since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity:" a wish which was more than gratified, as it was published, not only in various editions, in England, but was soon translated into French and into Latin.

Such was the nature of his literary occupations in the first year after his retirement, during which he corresponded with different learned foreigners upon his works; and great zeal having been shown for his majesty's service, he composed a treatise entitled, "An Advertisement touching a Holy War," which he inscribed to the Bishop of Winchester.

In the beginning of this year, (1623,) a vacancy occurred in the Provostship of Eton college, where, in earlier years, he had passed some days with Sir Henry Savile, pleasant to himself and profitable to society. His love of knowledge again manifested itself.

Having, in the spirit of his father, unfortunately engaged, in his youth, in active life, he now, in the spirit of his grandfather, the learned and contemplative Sir Anthony Cooke, who took more pleasure to breed up statesmen than to be one, offered himself to succeed the provost: as a fit occupation for him in the spent hour-glass of his life, and a retreat near London to a place of study.

The objection which would, of course, be made from what we, in our importance, look down upon as beneath his dignity, he had many years before anticipated in the Advancement of Learning, when investigating the objections to learning from the errors of learned men, from their fortunes; their manners; and the meanness of their employments: upon which he says, "As for meanness of employment, that which is most traduced to contempt is, that the government of youth is commonly allotted to them; which age, because it is the age of least authority, it is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conversant, and which are conversant about youth. But how unjust this traducement is, if you will reduce things from

popularity of opinion to measure of reason, may appear in that, we see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel than into a vessel seasoned; and what mould they lay about a young plant, than about a plant corroborate; so as the weakest terms and times of all things used to have the best applications and helps; and, therefore, the ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint, that states were too busy with their laws, and too negligent in point of education: which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived of late times, by the colleges of the Jesuits; of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, *quo meliores, eo deteriores*; yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said to his enemy, Pharnabasus, *Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses.*"

His application was not successful; the king answered that it had been designed for Sir William Beecher, but that there was some hope that, by satisfying him elsewhere, his majesty might be able to comply with the request. Sir William was satisfied by the promise of £2500, but the provostship was given to Sir Henry Wotton, "who had for many years, like Sisyphus, rolled the restless stone of a state employment; knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business," and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which he much required from his age, being now almost threescore years, and from his urgent pecuniary wants; for he had always been as careless of money as though our Saviour's words, 'Care not for tomorrow,' were to be literally understood." He, therefore, upon condition of releasing a grant, which he possessed, of the mastership of the rolls, was appointed provost.

At this disappointment Bacon could not be much affected. One day, as he was dictating to Dr. Rawley some of the experiments in his Sylva, he had sent a friend to court, to receive for him a final answer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred; and he was desirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed, one way or other, from the suspense of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly that he must thenceforth despair of that grant, how much soever his fortunes needed it. "Be it so," said his lordship; and then he dismissed his friend very cheerfully, with thankful acknowledgments of his service. His friend being gone, he came straightway to Dr. Rawley, and said thus to him, "Well, sir, yon business won't go on, let us go on with this, for this is in our power:" and then he dictated to him afresh, for some hours, without the least hesitancy of speech, or discernible interruption of thought.

He proceeded with his literary labours, and, during this year, published in Latin his celebrated treatise, "De Augmentis Scientiarum," and his important "Historia Vitæ et Mortis."

Between the year 1605, when the Advancement was published, and the year 1623, he made great progress in the completion of the work, which, having divided into nine books, and subdivided each book into chapters, he caused to be translated into Latin by Mr. Herbert, and some other friends, and published in Latin in 1623, in a volume entitled De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum.

This treatise De Augmentis is an improvement, by expunging, enlarging, and arranging, of the Advancement of Learning.

In the first part there are scarcely any alterations, except the omission of his beautiful praise of Elizabeth, not, perhaps, very acceptable to her successor. The material alterations are in the analysis of Natural History and Natural Philosophy; in his expansion of a small portion of the science of "Justitia Universalis;" in that part of human philosophy under the head of Government, which relates to man as a member of society; and in his arrangement of the important subject of revealed religion.

In the annexed outline of the work the parts marked in italics exhibit the material alterations:

- 1. Preliminary.
  - 1. Objections.
    - 1. By Divines.
    - 2. By Politicians.
    - 3. From the errors of learned men.
  - 2. Advantages.
    - 1. Divine.
    - 2. Human.
- 2. What done and omitted.
  - 1. Promotion of knowledge.
    - 1. General.
    - 2. Particular.
      - 1. Colleges.
      - 2. Libraries.
      - 3. Lectures.
  - 2. Division.
    - 1. History, relating to the Memory.
      - 1. Different histories.
        - 1. Nature.
          - 1. Subject.
            - 1. *Generations.*
              - *Heavens, Earth, Elements, Meteors, Sea.*
              - Monsters.
              - Marvels.
              - Magic, &c.
            - 2. Preter generations.
            - 3. Arts.
          - 2. *Use.*
            - 1. Narrative.
            - 2. Induction.
        - 2. Civil.
          - 1. Fragments.
            - 1. Memorials.
            - 2. Antiquities.
          - 2. Perfect.
            - 1. Simple.
              - 1. Chronicles.
              - 2. Lives.
              - 3. Relations.
            - 2. Mixed.
        - 3. Ecclesiastical.
          - 1. The Church.
          - 2. Prophecy.
          - 3. Providence.
        - 4. Literary.
      - 2. Appendices.
        - 1. Orations.
        - 2. Epistles.
        - 3. Apophthegms.
    - 2. Poetry, relating to the Imagination.
      - 1. Narrative.
      - 2. Representative.
      - 3. Parabolical.
    - 3. Philosophy, relating to Reason.
      - 1. Natural.
        - 1. General.
        - 2. Particular.
          - 1. Religion.
          - 2. *Philosophy.*
          - 3. Man.
            - 1. As an individual.
            - 2. In society.
              - 1. Conversation.
              - 2. Negotiation.
              - 3. Government.
                - 1. Enlarging a state.
                - 2. *Justitia Universalis.*
      - 2. *Revealed.*
        - 1. *Limits of Reason.*
        - 2. *Unity in Religion.*
        - 3. *Scriptural Emanations.*
          - 1. *Errors in Interpretation.*
          - 2. *Desiderata.*

Of this extraordinary work various editions and translations have been since published.[1]

[1] Different editions of the treatise De Augmentis.

1. The first edition is thus described by Tenison: "The fairest and most correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio, printed at London, 1623; and whoever would understand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him consult that accurate edition: for, in some other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the mystery consisteth, is not observed, but the roman and italic shapes of them are confounded." The following is a copy of the title page: "Francisci Baconi Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Libri IX. Ad Regem svvm. Londini, in Officina Joannis Haviland, MDCXXIII." There is a copy at Cambridge and in the British Museum, and I have a copy.

2. The work had scarcely appeared in England, when an edition was published in France: it appeared in 1624. The following is a copy of the title page: Francisci Baronis de Verulamio Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, de Dignitate et Augmentis Scienciarum. Libri IX. Ad Regem svvm. Iuxta exemplar Londini impressum. Parisiis, typis Petri Metayer, typographi Regij. M.DC XXIV." I have a copy.

3. In 1638 an edition was published by Dr. Rawley, in a folio entitled, "Francisci Baconi Baronis de Verulamio Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani tractatus de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum qui est Instaurationis magne pars prima. Ad regem svvm. Londini, typis Ioh. Haviland. Prostant ad insignia Regia in Cæmeterio D. Pauli, apud Iocosam Norton et Richardum Whitakerum. 1638."

4. In the year 1645 an edition in 12mo. was published in Holland. The following is the title page: Francisci Baconis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Libri IX. Ad Regem suum. Editio nova, cum Indice rerum et verborum locupletissimo. Lugd. Batav. apud Franciscum Moyardum et Adrianum Wijngaerde. Anno 1645."—The title page of this Dutch edition is adorned with an engraving, not undeserving the attention of our students in England: it is of a youth aspiring to the attainment of knowledge.

5. In 1652 another edition in 12mo. was published in Holland: the engraving prefixed to the edition of 1645 is also prefixed to this edition; but the descriptive title is omitted, and the address to the reader is at the back of the engraving. The following is the title page: "Fr. Baconis de Verviam Angliæ Cancellarii de Avgmentis Scientiarvm. Lib. IX. Lvgd. Batavorvm, ex officina Adriani Wijngaerden. Anno 1652."

6. In 1662 another edition was published in 12mo. in Holland. The following is a copy of the title page: "Fr. Baconis de Verviam Angliæ Cancellarii de Avgmentis Scientiarum. Lib. IX. Amstelædami, sumptibus Joannis. Ravesteinij. 1662." At the back of which, as in the edition of 1652, there is the address to the reader: "Amice Lector. Hoc opus de Augmentis Scientiarum, novo ejusdem autoris organo si præmittatur, non modo necessarium ei lucem præbet; sed et partitiones continet scientiarum quæ primam Instaurationis magnæ partem constituunt quas id circo auctor in ipso organi limine retractare noluit. Hæc te scire volebam."

7. In 1765 an edition in 8vo. was published at Venice. The following is the title page: "Francisci Baronis de Verulamio, Angliæ Cancellarii de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Pars prima. Lugani, MDCCLXIII. Expensis Gasparis Girardi, Bibliopolæ Veneti." I have a copy.

8. In 1779 an edition was published on the continent. The following is the title page: "Francisci Baconi Baronis de Verulamio de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Tomus I. Wirceburgi, apud Jo. Jac. Stahel. 1779."

9. In 1829 another edition was published on the continent, in two vols., of which the following is the title page: "Francisci Baconis de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum. Libri IX. Ad fidem optimarum editionum edidit vitamque auctoris adjecit Philippus Mayer, Philosophiæ Doctor et Gymnasii Norimbergensis Collega. Norimbergæ, sumptibus Riegelii et Wiessneri. MDCCCXXIX."

Such are the different editions of which I have any knowledge. I understand that editions have been published in Germany, for which I have sent, and hope to be able to procure.

Copies were presented to the king, to whom it was dedicated, the Prince, the Duke of Bucking-

Is it not rather extraordinary that not an edition has been published in either of the universities of England

Translations.

In the year 1640 a translation into English was published at Oxford, with a portrait of the philosopher writing his Instauratio, and the following inscriptions prefixed and subjoined: "Tertius a Platone philosophiæ princeps. Quod feliciter vortat reip. literariæ V. C. Fran. de Verulamio philosoph. libertates assertor avdax, scientiaru' reparator felix mundi mentisq. magnus arbiter inclytis max. terrarum orbis Acad. Oxon. Contab. Q. hanc suam Instavr. voto suscepto vivus decernebat oblit v. non. Aprll. II. D. N. Caroli I. Pp. Aug. CIↃ IↃC XXVI"—Appended is another engraving of two spheres, the one of the visible, the other of the intellectual world, and supported by two fixed pillars, the one Oxford and the other Cambridge, with a vessel sailing between them, with the following inscription: "Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning, or the Partitions of Sciences, IX Bookes. Written in Latin by the most illustrious and famous Lord Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Vicont St. Alban, Counsilour of Estate and Lord Chancellor of England. Interpreted by Gilbert Wats. Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia. Oxford, printed by Leon. Lichfield, printer to the University for Rob. Young, and Ed. Forrest. CIↃIↃC XL."

In the year 1674 another edition of the translation by Wats was published in London, but instead of the engravings which were prefixed to the edition of 1640, there is prefixed to the annexed title page only a portrait of Lord Bacon. The following is the title page: "Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning: or the Partitions of Sciences. Nine Books. Written in Latin by the most eminent, illustrious and famous Lord Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, Counsellor of Estate, and Lord Chancellor of England. Interpreted by Gilbert Wats. London, printed for Thomas Williams, at the Golden Ball in Osier lane, 1674."

Of these translations Archbishop Tenison thus speaks in the Baconiana: "The whole of this book was rendered into English by Dr. Gilbert Wats, of Oxford, and the translation has been well received by many: but some there were, who wished that a translation had been set forth, in which the genius and spirit of the Lord Bacon had more appeared. And I have seen a letter written by certain gentlemen to Dr. Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate version, by his own hand. 'It is our humble suit to you, and we do earnestly solicit you to give yourself the trouble to correct the too much defective translation of De Augmentis Scientiarum, which Dr. Wats hath set forth. It is a thousand pities that so worthy a piece should lose its grace and credit by an ill expositor; since those persons who read that translation, taking it for genuine, and upon that presumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of that benefit which, if you would please to undertake the business, they might receive. This tendeth to the dishonour of that noble lord, and the Advancement of Learning.' "

Of the correctness or incorrectness of these observations, some estimate may be formed from the following specimens;

The Instauratio Magna thus begins: "Franciscus de Verulamio sic cogitavit."—Translation by Wats: "Francis Lord Verulam consulted thus."

Another specimen: Advancement of Learning.—"We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used their verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures, and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious men turn melancholy; but of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable, and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident."

Wats's Translation.—"In all other pleasures there is a finite variety, and after they grow a little stale, their flower and verdure fades and departs; whereby we are instructed that they were not indeed pure and sincere pleasures, but shadows and deceits of pleasures, and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; wherefore voluptuous men often turn friars, and the declining age of ambitious

ham, Trinity College, Cambridge, the University of Cambridge, and the University of Oxford.—The present was gratefully acknowledged by the different patrons to whom it was presented, and by all the learning of England.

Fifty years after its publication it was included at Rome in the list "Librorum Prohibitorum," in which list it is now included in Spain.

The vanity of these attempts to resist the progress of knowledge might, it should seem, by this time be understood even at the Vatican.

How beautifully are the consequences of this intolerance thus stated by Fuller: "Hitherto the corpse of John Wickliffe had quietly slept in his grave about forty-one years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust. For though the earth in the chancel of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he was interred, hath not so quick a digestion with the earth of Aceldama, to consume flesh in twenty-four hours, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other English graves, to leave small reversions of a body after so many years. But now such the spleen of the council of Constance, as they not only cursed his memory as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered that his bones (with this charitable caution,—if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people) be taken out of the ground, and thrown far off from any Christian burial. In obedience hereunto, Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, Diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his officers, vultures with a quick sight scent at a dead carcass, to ungrave him. Accordingly to Lutterworth they come; summer, commissary, official, chancellor, proctors, doctors, and their servants, so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone amongst so many hands, take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

princes is commonly more sad and besieged with melancholy; but of knowledge there is no satiety, but vicissitude, perpetually and interchangeably returning of fruition and appetite; so that the good of this delight must needs be simpler, without accident or fallacy."

In the year 1632 a translation into French was published in Paris. The following is a copy of the title page: "Neve Livres de la Dignité et de l'Accroissement des Sciences, composez par Francois Bacon, Baron de Verulam et Vicomte de Saint Aubain, et traduits de Latin en Francois par le Sieur de Golefer, Conseiller et Historiographe du Roy. A Paris, chez Jaques Dugast, rue Sainct Jean de Beauvais, a l'Olivier de Robert Estienne et en sa boutique au bas de la rue de la Harpe. M.DC.XXXII. avec privilege du Roy."—Of this edition Archbishop Tenison says, "This work hath been also translated into French, upon the motion of the Marquis Fiat; but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly mistaken, and some things, especially such as relate to religion, wilfully perverted. Insomuch that, in one place, he makes his lordship to magnify the Legend: a book sure of little credit with him, when he thus began one of his essays, 'I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind.'" I have a copy of this edition.

A letter of the Lord Bacon's, in French, to the Marquess Fiat, relating to his Essays.

Monsieur l' Ambassadeur mon Fiie,—Voyant que vostre excellence faict et trait mariages, non seulement entre les princes d'Angletere et de France, mais aussi entre les langues (puis que faictes traduire non liure de l'Advancement des Sciences en Francois) i' ai bien voulu vous envoyer, &c.

There is a translation into French in the edition of Lord Bacon's works, published in the eighth year of the French Republic. The following is the title page of this edition: "Œuvres de François Bacon, Chancelier d'Angletaire; traduites par Ant. La Salle; avec des notes critiques, historiques et litteraires. Tome premier. A Dijon, de l'Imprimerie de L. N. Frantin, an 8 de la Republique Française."

De Augmentis—Latin.

1623	Folio	Haviland	London	1st edit.
1624	4to.	Mettayer	Paris	2d edit.
1633	Folio	Haviland	London	3d edit.
1645	12mo	Moirardum	Dutch	4th edit.
1652	12mo	Wynyard	Dutch	5th edit.
1662	12mo	Ravestein	Dutch	6th edit.
1765	8vo	Gerard	Venice	7th edit.
1779	8vo	Stahel	Wirceburgi	8th. 2 vols.
1829	8vo	Riegelii	Nuremberg	9th. 2 vols.

Translations.

1640	English. G. Wats		Oxford	Folio.
1674	English. G. Wats		London	Folio.
1632	French. Dugast		Paris	4to.
8th year Rep.	French	Frantin	Dijon	8vo.

If Bacon had completed his intended work upon "Sympathy and Antipathy," the constant antipathy of ignorance to intellect, originating sometimes in the painful feeling of inferiority, sometimes in the fear of worldly injury, but always in the influence of some passion more powerful than the love of truth, would not have escaped his notice.

In this year he also published his History of Life and Death, which, of all his works, is one of the most extraordinary, both for the extent of his views, and the minute accuracy with which each part is investigated. It is addressed, not, to use his own expression, "to the Adonises of literature, but to Hercules's followers; that is, the more severe and laborious inquirers into truth."

Upon his entrance, in the Advancement of Learning, on the science of human nature, he says, "The knowledge of man, although only a portion of knowledge in the continent of nature, is to man the end of all knowledge:" and, in furtherance of this opinion, he explains that the object of education ought to be knowledge and improvement of the body and the mind.

Of the importance of knowledge of the body, that, "while sojourning in this wilderness, and travelling to the land of promise, our vestments should be preserved," he is incessant in his observations. He divides the subject into

- 1. Health.
  - 1. The preservation of Health.
  - 2. The cure of Diseases.
  - 3. The prolongation of Life.
- 2. Strength.
- 3. Beauty.
- 4. Pleasure.

His History of Life and Death may be regarded as a treatise upon the art of Preservation of Health, and Prolongation of Life.

As a foundation of his investigations he considers,

- 1st. The causes of the *consumption* of the body.
- 2dly. The modes of *reparation*.

Of *consumption* he says there are two causes: the depredation of vital spirit and the depredation of ambient air; and if the action of *either* of these agents can be destroyed, the decomposition is more or less retarded, as in bodies enclosed in wax or coffins, where the action of the external air is excluded: and when the action of *both* these causes can be prevented, the body defies decomposition, as in bricks and burnt bodies, where the vital air is expelled by exposure of the clay to the ambient air, and afterwards by fire; or as a fly in amber, more beautifully entombed than an Egyptian monarch.

In making the *agents* less predatory, and the *patients* less depredable, the science of the retardation of consumption consequently consists.

He proceeds, therefore, with his usual accuracy, to consider how these objects are to be attained; and, having considered them, he proceeds to the doctrine of *reparation*, both of the *whole* frame and the decayed *parts*.

His History of Life and Death contains his favourite doctrine of vital spirit, or excitability, or life, which he notices in various parts of his works.

In this place more cannot be attempted than, as a specimen of the whole of this important subject, to explain one or two of the positions.

The foundation position is, that "All tangible bodies contain a spirit enveloped with the grosser body. There is no known body, in the upper parts of the earth, without its spirit, whether it be generated by the attenuating and concocting power of the celestial warmth, or otherwise; for the pores of tangible bodies are not a vacuum, but either contain air, or the peculiar spirit of the substance; and this not a vis, an energy, or a fiction, but a real, subtile, and invisible, and, therefore, neglected body, circumscribed by place and dimension."

This doctrine is thus stated in the Excursion:

> To every form of being is assigned
> An *active* principle, howe'er removed
> From sense and observation; it subsists
> In all things, in all natures, in the stars
> Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
> In flower and tree, and every pebbly stone
> That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
> The moving waters and the invisible air.
> Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
> Beyond itself, communicating good,
> A simple blessing or with evil mixed:
> Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
> No chasm, no solitude: from link to link
> It circulates, the soul of all the worlds."
>
> *Excursion*, book 9.

As another specimen, the mode of explaining the condensation of spirit by *flight* may be selected.

The spirit, he says, is condensed by flight,—cold,—appeasing, and quelling. The condensation by *flight* is when there is an antipathy between the spirit and the body upon which it acts; as, in opium, which is so exceedingly powerful in condensing the spirit, that a grain will tranquillize the nerves, and by a few grains they may be so compressed as to be irrecoverable. The touched spirit may retreat into its shell for a time or forever: or it may, when fainting, be recalled, by the application of a stimulant, as surprise from a sudden impulse; a blow, or a glass of water thrown on the face; or the prick of a pin, or the action of mind on mind.

> "I am not sick, if Brutus have in hand
> Any exploit worthy the name of honour."

As another specimen, his sentiments upon death, the decomposition of compounds, may be selected.

In his doctrine of motion, he says, "The political motion is that by which the parts of the body are restrained, from their own immediate appetites or tendencies, to unite in such a state as may preserve the existence of the whole body. Thus, the spirit, which exists in all living bodies, keeps all the parts in due subjection; when it escapes, the body decomposes, or the similar parts unite—as metals rust, fluids turn sour; and, in animals, when the spirit which held the parts together escapes, all things are dissolved, and return to their own natures or principles: the oily parts to themselves, the aqueous to themselves, &c., upon which necessarily ensues that odour, that unctuosity, that confusion of parts, observable in putrefaction." So true is it, that in nature all is beauty; that, notwithstanding our partial views and distressing associations, the forms of death, misshapen as we suppose them, are but the tendencies to union in similar natures.

The knowledge of this science Bacon considers of the utmost importance to our well-being:—that the action of the spirit is the cause of consumption and dissolution;—is the agent which produces all bodily and mental effects;—influences the will in the production of all animal motions, as in the whale and the elephant;—and is the cause of all our cheerfulness or melancholy:—that the perfection of our being consists in the proper portion

of this spirit properly animated, or the proper portion of excitability properly excited;—that its presence is life, its absence death.

This subject, deemed of such importance by Bacon, has been much neglected, and occasionally been supposed to be a mere creature of the imagination.

Although the History of Life and Death is apparently a separate tract, it is the last portion of the third of the six books into which the third part of the Instauration is divided, which are the histories of

1st. The Winds.
2d. Density and Rarity.
3d. Heavy and Light.
4th. Sympathy and Antipathy.
5th. Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt.
6th. Life and Death.

His reason for the publication of this tract, he thus states: "Although I had ranked the History of Life and Death as the last among my six monthly designations; yet I have thought fit, in respect of the prime use thereof, in which the least loss of time ought to be esteemed precious, to invert that order."

The History, which was published in Latin, is inscribed "To the present age and posterity, in the hope and wish that it may conduce to a common good, and that the nobler sort of physicians will advance their thoughts, and not employ their times wholly in the sordidness of cures, neither be honoured for necessity only, but that they will become coadjutors and instruments of the divine omnipotence and clemency in prolonging and renewing the life of man, by safe, and convenient, and civil ways, though hitherto unassayed."

This was the last of his philosophical publications during his life; but they were only a small portion of his labours, which are thus recorded by Dr. Rawley:—"The last five years of his life, being withdrawn from civil affairs and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies: a thing whereof his lordship would often speak during his active life, as if he affected to die in the shadow, and not in the light. During this time he composed the greatest part of his books and writings, both in English and Latin, which I will enumerate, as near as I can, in the just order wherein they were written.

The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh.
Abecedarium Naturæ; or a Metaphysical Piece.
Historia Ventorum.
Historia Vitæ et Mortis.
Historia Densi, et Rari.
Historia Gravis et Levis.
A discourse of a war with Spain.
A dialogue touching a Holy War.
The fable of the New Atlantis.
A preface to a Digest of the Laws of England.
The beginning of the History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.
De Augmentis Scientiarum; or the Advancement of Learning: put into Latin, with several enrichments and enlargements.
Counsels, civil and moral; or his book of Essays, likewise enriched and enlarged.
The conversion of certain Psalms into English verse.
The translation into Latin of the History of King Henry the Seventh; of the Counsels, civil and moral; of the dialogue of the Holy War; of the fable of the New Atlantis; for the benefit of other nations.
His revising of his book De Sapientia Veterum.
Inquisitio de Magnete.
Topica Inquisitionis; de Luce, et Lumine.
Lastly, Sylva Sylvarum; or the Natural History.

"He also designed, upon the motion and invitation of his late majesty, to have written the Reign of King Henry the Eighth; but that work perished in the designation merely, God not lending him life to proceed further upon it than only in one morning's work: whereof there is extant an Ex Ungue Leonem."

Such were his works during the short period, when, between sixty and seventy years of age, he, fortunately for himself and society, was thrown from active into contemplative life; into that philosophical seclusion, where he might turn from calumny, from the slanders of his enemies, to the admiration of all civilized Europe; from political rancour and threats of assassination, to the peaceful safety of sequestered life; from the hollow compacts which politicians call union, formed by expediency and dissolved at the first touch of interest, to the enduring joys of intellectual and virtuous friendship, and the consolations of piety.

These blessings he now enjoyed. Eminent foreigners crossed the seas on purpose to see and discourse with him.

Gondomar, who was in Spain, wrote to express his regard and respect, with lamentations that his public duties prevented his immediate attendance upon him in England.

When the Marquis d'Effiat accompanied the Princess Henrietta-Maria, wife to Charles the First, to England, he visited Lord Bacon; who, being then sick in bed, received him with the curtains drawn. "You resemble the angels," said that minister to him: "we hear those beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to mankind, and we never have the consolation to see them." "Your kindness," he answered, "may compare me to an angel, but my infirmities tell me that I am a man." In this interview a friendship originated which continued during their lives, and is recorded in his will, where,

amongst his legacies to his friends, he says, "I give unto the right honourable my worthy friend, the Marquis Fiatt, late lord ambassador of France, my books of orisons or psalms curiously rhymed." As a parent he wrote to the marquis, who esteemed it to be the greatest honour conferred upon him to be called his son. He caused his Essays and treatise De Augmentis to be translated into French; and, with the affectionate enthusiasm of youth, upon his return to France, requested and obtained his portrait.

His friendship with Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, continued to his death.

Selden, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, expressed his respect, with the assurance that "never was any man more willing or ready to do your lordship's service than myself."

Ben Jonson, not in general too profuse of praise, says, "My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his works one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages: in his adversity, I ever prayed that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want; neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

Sir Thomas Meautys stood by him to his death with a firmness and love which does honour to him and to human nature.

His exclusion from the verge of the court had long been remitted; and, in the beginning of the year 1624, the whole of the parliamentary sentence was pardoned, by a warrant which stated that, "calling to mind the former good services of the Lord St. Albans, and how well and profitably he hath spent his time since his trouble, we are pleased to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remaineth upon him, of incapacity and disablement; and to remit to him all penalties whatsoever inflicted by that sentence. Having therefore formerly pardoned his fine, and released his confinement, these are to will and require you to prepare, for our signature, a bill containing a pardon of the whole sentence."

This was one of the last of the king's acts, who thus faithfully performed, to the extent of his ability, all his promises. He died at Theobalds, on the 27th of March, 1625.

His lordship was summoned to parliament in the succeeding reign, but was prevented, by his infirmities, from again taking his seat as a peer.

Though Lord Bacon's constitution had never been strong, his temperance and management of his health seemed to promise old age, which his unbounded knowledge and leisure for speculation could not fail to render useful to the world and glorious to himself. The retirement, which in all the distractions of politics refreshed and consoled him, was once more his own, and nature, whom he worshipped, spread her vast untrodden fields before him, where, with science as his handmaid, he might wander at his will; but the expectations of the learned world and the hopes of his devoted friends were all blighted by a perceptible decay of his health and strength in the beginning of the sickly year of 1625.

During this year his publications were limited to a new edition of his Essays, a small volume of Apophthegms, the production, as a recreation in sickness, of a morning's dictation, and a translation of a few of the Psalms of David into English verse, which he dedicated to a divine and poet, his friend, the learned and religious George Herbert. This was the last exercise, in the time of his illness, of his pious mind; and a more pious mind never existed.

There is scarcely a line of his works in which a deep, awful, religious feeling is not manifested. It is perhaps, most conspicuous in his Confession of Faith, of which Dr. Rawley says, "For that treatise of his lordship's, inscribed, A Confession of the Faith; I have ranked that in the close of this whole volume; thereby to demonstrate to the world that he was a master in divinity, as well as in philosophy or politics, and that he was versed no less in the saving knowledge than in the universal and adorning knowledges; for though he composed the same many years before his death, yet I thought that to be the fittest place, as the most acceptable incense unto God of the faith wherein he resigned his breath; the crowning of all his other perfections and abilities; and the best perfume of his name to the world after his death. This confession of his faith doth abundantly testify that he was able to render a reason of the hope which was in him."

It might be said of him, as one of the most deep thinking of men said of himself, "For my religion, though there be several circumstances that might persuade the world I have none at all, yet, in despite thereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable style of a Christian; not that I merely owe this title to the font, my education, or clime wherein I was born, but having, in my riper years and confirmed judgment, seen and examined all, I find myself bound by the principles of grace and the law of mine own reason to embrace no other religion than this."

From his Prayers, found after his death, his piety cannot be mistaken. They have the same glory around them, whether they are his supplications as a student, as an author, or as a preserver, when chancellor, of the religious sentiments of the country.

As a student, he prays, that he may not be inflated or misled by the vanity which makes man wise in his own conceit: "To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we put forth

most humble and hearty supplications, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine; neither that, from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, any thing of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries."

As an author he prays in the same spirit: "Thou, O Father, who gavest the visible light as the first-born of thy creatures, and didst pour into man the intellectual light as the top and consummation of thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work, which, coming from thy goodness, returneth to thy glory."

The same spirit did not forsake him when chancellor: "Most gracious Lord God, my merciful Father from my youth up, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter. Remember, O Lord, how thy servant hath walked before thee: remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy assemblies: I have mourned for the divisions of thy church: I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine, which thy right-hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might have the first and the latter rain; and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods. Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more. I have sought thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found thee in thy temples."

The same holy feeling appears in all his important works. The preface to his Instauratio Magna opens and concludes with a prayer. The treatise "De Augmentis Scientiarum" abounds with religious sentiments, contains two tracts, one upon natural, the other upon revealed religion, "the Sabbath and port of all men's labours," and concludes, "Attamen, quoniam etiam res quæque maximæ initiis suis debentur, mihi satis fuerit sevisse posteris et Deo immortali: cujus numen supplex precor, per filium suum et servatorem nostrum, ut has et hisce similes intellectus humani victimas, religione tanquam sale respersas, et gloriæ suæ immolatas, propitius accipere dignetur." In the midst of his profound reasoning in the Novum Organum, there is a passage in which his opinion of our incorporeal nature is disclosed. And the third part of the Instauration concludes thus: "Deus Universi Conditor, Conservator, Instaurator, hoc opus, et in ascensione ad gloriam suam, et in descensione ad bonum humanum pro sua erga homines, benevolentia, et misericordia, protegat et regat, per Filium suum unicum, nobiscum Deum."

In his minor publications the same piety may be seen. It appears in the Meditationes Sacræ; in the Wisdom of the Ancients; in the fables of Pan, of Prometheus, of Pentheus, and of Cupid: in various parts of the Essays, but particularly in the Essay on Atheism and Goodness of Nature: in the New Atlantis: in his tract "De principiis," and the tract, entitled "The Conditions of Entities."

There is a tract entitled "The Characters of a believing Christian, in paradoxes and seeming contradictions," which is spurious.

Such are his religious sentiments in different parts of his works: but they are not confined to his publications. They appear where, according to his own doctrine, our opinions may always be discovered, in his familiar letters, in the testimony of his friends, in his unguarded observations, and in his will.

In a letter to Mr. Mathew, imprisoned for religion, he says, "I pray God, who understandeth us all better than we understand one another, contain you, even as I hope he will, at the least, within the bounds of loyalty to his majesty, and natural piety towards your country." In the decline of his life, in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester, he says, "Amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamity in others. In this kind of consolation I have not been wanting to myself, though, as a Christian, I have tasted, through God's great goodness, of higher remedies."

In his essay on Atheism there is an observation, which may appear to a superficial observer hasty and unguarded, inconsistent with the language of philosophy, and at variance with his own doctrines. It was written, not in prostration to any idol, but from his horror of the barren and desolate minds that are continually saying, "There is no God," and his preference, if compelled to elect, of the least of two errors. "I had rather," he says, "believe all the fables in the Legend and the Talmud and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind."

As knowledge consists in understanding the sequence of events, or cause and effect, he knew that error must exist, not only from our ignorance, but from our knowledge of immediate causes.

In the infancy of his reason, man ascribes events to chance, or to a wrong natural cause, or to the immediate interference of a superior benevolent or malevolent being; and, having formed an opinion, he entrenches himself within its narrow boundaries, or is indolently content without seeking for any remote cause, but philosophy endeavours to discover the antecedent in the chain of events, and looks up to the first cause.

This stopping at second causes, the property of animals and of ignorance, always diminishes as knowledge advances. Great intellect cannot be severed from piety. It was reserved for the wisest of men to raise a temple to the living God.

The philosopher who discovered the immediate cause of lightning was not inflated by his beautiful discovery: he was conscious of the power "which dwelleth in thick darkness, and sendeth out lightning like arrows."

The philosopher who discovered the immediate cause of the rainbow did not rest in the proximate cause, but raised his thoughts to Him who placeth his bow in the heavens. "Very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof: it compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hand of the Most High hath bended it."

Hence, therefore, Bacon said in his youth, and repeated in his age, "It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of Providence; then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair."

The testimony of his friends is of the same nature. His chaplain and biographer, Dr. Rawley, says, "That this lord was religious and conversant with God, appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings. He repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the church; to hear sermons; to the administration of the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ; and died in the true faith established in the Church of England."

His will thus opens: "I bequeath my soul and body into the hands of God by the blessed oblation of my Saviour; the one at the time of my dissolution, the other at the time of my resurrection."—Such are the proofs of his religious opinions.

His version of the Psalms was the last of his literary labours.

In the autumn, he retired to Gorhambury.

In the latter end of October he wrote to Mr. Palmer.

Good Mr. Palmer:—I thank God, by means of the sweet air of the country, I have obtained some degree of health. Sending to the court, I thought I would salute you; and I would be glad, in this solitary time and place, to hear a little from you how the world goeth, according to your friendly manner heretofore. Fare ye well, most heartily.

Your very affectionate and assured friend,

Fr. St. Alban.

Gorhambury, Oct. 29, 1625.

In November he wrote to the Duke of Buckingham.

The severe winter which followed the infectious summer of this year brought him very low.

On the 19th of December he made his will.

In the spring of 1626 his strength and spirits revived, and he returned to his favourite seclusion in Gray's Inn, from whence, on the 2d of April, either in his way to Gorhambury, or when making an excursion into the country, with Dr. Witherbone, the king's physician, it occurred to him, as he approached Highgate, the snow lying on the ground, that it might be deserving consideration, whether flesh might not be preserved as well in snow as in salt; and he resolved immediately to try the experiment. They alighted out of the coach, and went into a poor woman's house at the bottom of Highgate Hill, and bought a hen, and stuffed the body with snow, and my lord did help to do it himself. The snow chilled him, and he immediately fell so extremely ill, that he could not return to Gray's Inn, but was taken to the Earl of Arundel's house, at Highgate, where he was put into a warm bed, but it was damp, and had not been slept in for a year before.

Whether Sir Thomas Meautys or Dr. Rawley could be found does not appear; but a messenger was immediately sent to his relation, the Master of the Rolls, the charitable Sir Julius Cæsar, then grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of the many poor whom he daily relieved. He instantly attended his friend, who, confined to his bed, and so enfeebled that he was unable to hold a pen, could still exercise his lively fancy. He thus wrote to Lord Arundel:

"My very good Lord,

"I was likely to have had the fortune of Cajus Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the Mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two, touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey between London and Highgate I was taken with such a fit of casting as I knew not whether it were the stone, or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me, which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your lordship's house was happy to me; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it.

"I know how unfit it is for me to write to your lordship with any other hand than my own; but, by my troth, my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen."

This was his last letter. He died in the arms of Sir Julius Cæsar, early on the morning of Easter Sunday, the 9th of April, 1626, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

On opening his will, his wish to be buried at St. Albans thus appears: "For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's church, near St. Albans: there was my mother buried, and it is the parish church of my mansion-house of Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian church within the walls of Old Verulam."

Of his funeral no account can be found, nor is there any trace of the site of the house where he died.

He is buried in the same grave with his mother, in St. Michael's church.

On his monument he is represented sitting in contemplation, his hand supporting his head.

FRANCISCUS BACON. BARO DE VERULA. S^TI: ALB^NI: VIC^MS:
SEU NOTIORIBUS TITULIS.
SCIENTIARUM LUMEN. FACUNDIÆ LEX.
SIC SEDEBAT:
QUI POSTQUAM OMNIA NATURALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATURÆ DECRETUM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTUR.
AN° DNI MDCCVI
ÆTAT^S LXVI
TANTI VIRI
MEM.
THOMAS MEAUTYS
SUPERSTITIS CULTOR
DEFUNCTI ADMIRATOR
H P

This monument, erected by his faithful secretary, has transmitted to posterity the image of his person; and, though no statue could represent his mind, his attitude of deep and tranquil thought cannot be seen without emotion.

No sculptured form gives the lineaments of Sir Thomas Meautys. A plain stone records the fact, that he lies at his master's feet. Much time will not pass away before the few letters which may now be seen upon his grave will be effaced. His monument will be found in the veneration of after times, in the remembrance of his grateful adherence to the fallen fortunes of his master, "that he loved and admired him in life, and honoured him when dead."

CONCLUSION.

In his analysis of human nature, Bacon considers first the general properties of man, and then the peculiar properties of his body and of his mind. This mode may be adopted in reviewing his life.

He was of a temperament of the most delicate sensibility: so excitable, as to be affected by the slightest alterations in the atmosphere. It is probable that the temperament of genius may much depend upon such pressibility, and that to this cause the excellences and failures of Bacon may frequently be traced. His health was always delicate, and, to use his own expression, he was all his life puddering with physic.

He was of a middle stature, and well proportioned; his features were handsome and expressive, and his countenance, until it was injured by politics and worldly warfare, singularly placid. There is a portrait of him when he was only eighteen now extant, on which the artist has recorded his despair of doing justice to his subject by the inscription "Si tabula daretur digna, animum mallem." His portraits differ beyond what may be considered a fair allowance for the varying skill of the artist, or the natural changes which time wrought upon his person; but none of them contradict the description given by one who knew him well, "that he had a spacious forehead and piercing eye, looking upward as a soul in sublime contemplation, a countenance worthy of one who was to set free captive philosophy."

His life of mind was never exceeded, perhaps never equalled. When a child,

"No childish play to him was pleasing."

While his companions were diverting themselves in the park, he was occupied in meditating upon the causes of the echoes and the nature of imagination. In after life he was a master of the science of harmony, and the laws of imagination he studied with peculiar care, and well understood. The same penetration he extended to colours, and to the heavenly bodies, and predicted the modes by which their laws would be discovered, and which, after the lapse of a century, were so beautifully elucidated by Newton.

The extent of his views was immense. He stood on a cliff, and surveyed the whole of nature. His vigilant observation of what we, in common parlance, call trifles, was, perhaps, more extraordinary: scarcely a pebble on the shore escaped his notice. It is thus that genius is, from its life of mind, attentive to all things, and, from seeing real union in the apparent discrepancies of nature, deduces general truths from particular instances.

His powers were varied and in great perfection. His senses were exquisitely acute, and he used them to dissipate illusions, by "holding firm to the works of God and to the sense, which is God's lamp, *Lucerna Dei, spiraculum hominis.*"

His imagination was fruitful and vivid; but he understood its laws, and governed it with absolute sway. He used it as a philosopher. It never had precedence in his mind, but followed in the train of his reason. With her hues, her forms, and the spirit of her forms, he clothed the nakedness of austere truth.

He was careful in improving the excellences, and in diminishing the defects of his understanding, whether from inability at particular times to acquire knowledge, or inability to acquire particular sorts of knowledge.

As to temporary inability, his golden rules were, "1st, Fix good, obliterate bad times. 2dly, In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set hours, for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves."—He so mastered and subdued his mind as to counteract disinclination to study; and he prevented fatigue by stopping in due time: by a judicious intermission of studies, and by never plodding upon books; for, although he read incessantly, he winnowed quickly. Interruption was only a diversion of study; and if necessary, he sought retirement.

Of inability to acquire particular sorts of knowledge he was scarcely conscious. He was interested in all truths, and, by investigations in his youth upon subjects from which he was averse, he wore out the knots and stonds of his mind, and made it pliant to all inquiry. He contemplated nature in detail and in mass: he contracted the sight of his mind and dilated it.—He saw differences in apparent resemblances, and resemblances in apparent differences.—He had not any attachment either to antiquity or novelty.—He prevented mental aberration by studies which produced fixedness, and fixedness by keeping his mind alive and open to perpetual improvement.

The theory of memory he understood and explained: and in its practice he was perfect. He knew much, and what he once knew he seldom forgot.

In his compositions his first object was clearness: to reduce marvels to plain things, not to inflate plain things into marvels. He was not attached either to method or to ornament, although he adopted both to insure a favourable reception for abstruse truths.

Such is a faint outline of his mind, which, "like the sun, had both light and agility; it knew no rest but in motion, no quiet but in activity: it did not so properly apprehend, as irradiate the object; not so much find, as make things intelligible. There was no poring, no struggling with memory, no straining for invention; his faculties were quick and expedite: they were ready upon the first summons, there was freedom and firmness in all their operations; his understanding could almost pierce into future contingents; his conjectures improving even to prophecy; he saw consequents yet dormant in their principles, and effects yet unborn, in the womb of their causes."

How much is it to be lamented that such a mind, with such a temperament, was not altogether devoted to contemplation, to the tranquil pursuit of knowledge, and the calm delights of piety.

That in his youth he should quit these pleasant paths for the troubels and trappings of public life would be a cause for wonder, if it were not remembered that man amongst men is a social being; and, however he may abstract himself in his study, or climb the hill above him, he must daily mingle with their hopes and fears, their wishes and affections. He was cradled in politics: to be lord keeper was the boundary of the horizon drawn by his parents. He lived in an age when a young mind would be dazzled, and a young heart engaged by the gorgeous and chivalric style which pervaded all things, and which a romantic queen loved and encouraged: life seemed a succession of splendid dramatic scenes, and the gravest business a well acted court masque; the mercenary place-hunter knelt to beg a favour with the devoted air of a knight errant; and even sober citizens put on a clumsy disguise of gallantry, and compared their royal mistress to Venus and Diana. There was nothing to revolt a young and ingenuous mind: the road to power was, no doubt, then as it is now; but, covered with tapestry and strewed with flowers, it could not be suspected that it was either dirty or crooked. He had also that common failing of genius and ardent youth, which led him to be confident of his strength rather than suspicious of his weakness; and it was his favourite doctrine, that the perfection of human conduct consists in the union of contemplation and action, a conjunction of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action; but he should have recollected that Jupiter dethroned Saturn, and that civil affairs seldom fail to usurp and take captive the whole man. He soon saw his error: how futile the end, how unworthy the means! but he was fettered by narrow circumstances, and his endeavours to extricate himself were vain.

Into active life he entered, and carried into it his powerful mind and the principles of his philosophy. As a philosopher he was sincere in his love of science, intrepid and indefatigable in the pursuit and improvement of it: his philosophy is, "discover—improve." He was patientissimus veri: He was a reformer, not an innovator. His desire was to proceed, not "in aliud," but "in melius." His motive was not the love of excelling, but the love of excellence. He stood on such a height that popular praise or dispraise could not reach him.

He was a *cautious* reformer; quick to hear, slow to speak. "Use Argus's hundred eyes before you raise one of Briareus's hundred hands," was his maxim.

He was a *gradual* reformer. He thought that reform ought to be, like the advances of nature, scarce discernible in its motion, but only visible in its issue. His admonition was, "Let a living spring constantly flow into the stagnant waters."

He was a *confident* reformer. "I have held up a light in the obscurity of philosophy, which will be seen centuries after I am dead. It will be seen amidst the erection of temples, tombs, pa-

laces, theatres, bridges, making noble roads, cutting canals, granting multitude of charters and liberties for comfort of decayed companies and corporations: the foundation of colleges and lectures for learning and the education of youth; foundations and institutions of orders and fraternities for nobility, enterprise, and obedience; but, above all, the establishing good laws for the regulation of the kingdom and as an example to the world."

He was a *permanent* reformer.—He knew that wise reform, instead of palliating a complaint, looks at the real cause of the malady. He concurred with his opponent, Sir Edward Coke, in saying, "Si quid moves a principio moveas. Errores ad principia referre est refellere." His opinion was, that he "who, in the cure of politic or of natural disorders, shall rest himself contented with second causes, without setting forth in diligent travel to search for the original source of evil, doth resemble the slothful husbandman, who moweth down the heads of noisome weeds, when he should carefully pull up the roots; and the work shall ever be to do again."

Cautious, gradual, permanent reform, from the love of excellence, is ever in the train of knowledge. They are the tests of a true reformer.

Such were the principles which he carried into law and into politics.

As a lawyer, he looked with micrescopic eye into its subtleties, and soon made great proficience in the science. He was active in the discharge of his professional duties: and published various works upon different parts of the law. In his offices of solicitor and attorney-general, "when he was called, as he was of the king's council learned, to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals, he was never of an insulting and domineering nature over them, but always tender-hearted, and carrying himself decently towards the parties, though it was his duty to charge them home, but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion."

As a judge, it has never been pretended that any decree made by him was ever reversed as unjust.

As a patron of preferment, his favourite maxim was, "Detur digniori, qui beneficium digno dat omnes obligat."

As a statesman, he was indefatigable in his public exertions. "Men think," he said, "I cannot continue if I should thus oppress myself with business; but my account is made. The duties of life are more than life; and if I die now, I shall die before the world is weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare."

His love of reform, his master passion, manifested itself both as a statesman and as a lawyer; but, before he attempted any change, he, with his usual caution, said, "There is a great difference between arts and civil affairs; arts and sciences should be like mines, resounding on all sides with new works, and further progress: but it is not good to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident; and well to beware that it is the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation."

The desire to change he always regarded with great jealousy. He knew that in its worst form it is the tool by which demagogues delude and mislead; and in its best form, when it originates in benevolence and a love of truth, it is a passion by which kind intention has rushed on with such fearless impetuosity, and wisdom been hurried into such lamentable excess: it is so nearly allied to a contempt of authority, and so frequently accompanied by a presumptuous confidence in private judgment: a dislike of all established forms, merely because they are established, and of the old paths, merely because they are old: it has such tendency to go too far rather than not far enough; that this great man, conscious of the blessings of society, and of the many perplexities which accompany even the most beneficial alterations, always looked with suspicion upon a love of change, whether it existed in himself or in others. In his advice to Sir George Villiers he said,—"Merit the admonition of the wisest of men: 'My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change.'"

As a statesman his first wish was, in the true spirit of his philosophy, to preserve; the next, to improve the constitution in church and state.

In his endeavours to improve England and Scotland he was indefatigable and successful. He had no sooner succeeded than he immediately raised his voice for oppressed Ireland, with an earnestness which shows how deeply he felt for her sufferings. "Your majesty," he said, "accepted my poor field-fruits touching the union, but let me assure you that England, Scotland, and Ireland, well united, will be a trefoil worthy to be worn in your crown. She is blessed with all the dowries of nature, and with a race of generous and noble people; but the hand of man does not unite with the hand of nature. The harp of Ireland is not strung to concord. It is not attuned with the harp of David in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, or the harp of Orpheus in casting out desolation and barbarism."

In these reforms he acted with his usual caution. He looked about him to discover the straight and right way, and so to walk in it. He stood on such an eminence, that his eye rested not upon small parts, but comprehended the whole. He stood on the ancient way. He saw this happy country, the mansion-house of liberty. He saw the order and beauty of her sacred buildings, the learning and piety of her priests, the sweet repose and holy quiet of her decent Sabbaths, and that best sacrifice of humble and simple devotion, more acceptable

than the fire of the temple, which went not out by day or by night. He saw it in the loveliness of his own beautiful description of the blessings of government. "In Orpheus's theatre all beasts and birds assembled, and, forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp, the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men: who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge, which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence, and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."

In gradual reform of the law, his exertions were indefatigable. He suggested improvements both of the civil and criminal law: he proposed to reduce and compile the whole law; and in a tract upon universal justice, "Leges Legum," he planted a seed which, for the last two centuries, has not been dormant, and is now just appearing above the surface. He was thus attentive to the ultimate and to the immediate improvement of the law: the ultimate improvement depending upon the progress of knowledge. "Veritas temporis filia dicitur, non authoritatis:" the immediate improvement upon the knowledge by its professors in power, of the local law, the principles of legislation, and general science.

So this must ever be. Knowledge cannot exist without the love of improvement. The French chancellors, D'Aguesseau and L'Hôpital, were unwearied in their exertions to improve the law; and three works upon imaginary governments, the Utopia, the Atlantis, and the Armata, were written by English chancellors.

So Sir William Grant, the reserved, intellectual master of the rolls, struck at the root of sanguinary punishment, when, in the true spirit of philosophy, he said, "Crime is prevented, not by fear, but by recoiling from the act with horror, which is generated by the union of law, morals, and religion. With us they do not unite; and our laws are a dead letter."

So, too, by the exertions of the philosophic and benevolent Sir Samuel Romilly, who was animated by a spirit public as nature, and not terminated in any private design, the criminal law has been purified; and, instead of monthly massacres of young men and women, we, in our noble times, have lately read that "there has not been one execution in London during the present shrievalty."—With what joy, with what grateful remembrance has this been read by the many friends of that illustrious statesman, who, regardless of the senseless yells by which he was vilified, went right onward in the improvement of law, the advancement of knowledge, and the diffusion of charity.

Such were Bacon's public exertions.—In private life he was always cheerful and often playful, according to his own favourite maxim, "To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting."

The art of conversation, that social mode of diffusing kindness and knowledge, he considered to be one of the valuable arts of life, and all that he taught he skilfully and gracefully practised. When he spoke, the hearers only feared that he should be silent, yet he was more pleased to listen than to speak, "glad to light his torch at any man's candle." He was skilful in alluring his company to discourse upon subjects in which they were most conversant. He was ever happy to commend, and unwilling to censure; and when he could not assent to an opinion, he would set forth its ingenuity, and so grace and adorn it by his own luminous statement, that his opponent could not feel lowered by his defeat.

His wit was brilliant, and when it flashed upon any subject, it was never with ill-nature, which, like the crackling of thorns, ending in sudden darkness, is only fit for a fool's laughter; the sparkling of his wit was that of the precious diamond, valuable for its worth and weight, denoting the riches of the mine.

He had not any children; but, says Dr. Rawley, "the want of children did not detract from his good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he prosecuted with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal, which she wore until her dying day, being twenty years and more after his death."

He was religious, and died in the faith estatablished in the church of England.

Bacon has been accused of servility, of dissimulation, of various base motives, and their filthy brood of base actions, all unworthy of his high birth, and incompatible with his great wisdom, and the estimation in which he was held by the noblest spirits of the age. It is true that there were men in his own time, and will be men in all times, who are better pleased to count spots in the sun than to rejoice in its glorious brightness. Such men have openly libelled him, like Dewes and Weldon, whose falsehoods were detected as soon as uttered, or have fastened upon certain ceremonious compliments and dedications, the fashion of his day, as a sample of his servility, passing over his noble letters to the queen, his lofty contempt for the Lord Keeper Puckering, his open dealing with Sir Robert Cecil, and with

others, who, powerful when he was nothing, might have blighted his opening fortunes forever, forgetting his advocacy of the rights of the people in the face of the court, and the true and honest counsels, always given by him, in times of great difficulty, both to Elizabeth and her successor. When was a "base sycophant" loved and honoured by piety such as that of Herbert, Tenison, and Rawley, by noble spirits like Hobbes, Ben Jonson, and Selden, or followed to the grave, and beyond it, with devoted affection, such as that of Sir Thomas Meautys.

Forced by the narrowness of his fortune into business, conscious of his own powers, aware of the peculiar quality of his mind, and disliking his pursuits, his heart was often in his study, while he lent his person to the robes of office; and he was culpably unmindful of the conduct of his servants, who amassed wealth meanly and rapaciously, while their careless master, himself always poor, with his thoughts on higher ventures, never stopped to inquire by what methods they grew rich. No man can act thus with impunity; he has sullied the brightness of a name which ought never to have been heard without reverence, injured his own fame, and has been himself the victim upon the altar which he raised to true science; becoming a theme to "point a moral or adorn a tale," in an attempt to unite philosophy and politics, an idol, whose golden head and hands of base metal form a monster more hideous than the Dagon of the Philistines.

His consciousness of the wanderings of his mind made him run into affairs with over-acted zeal and a variety of useless subtleties; and in lending himself to matters immeasurably beneath him, he sometimes stooped too low. A man often receives an unfortunate bias from an unjust censure. Bacon, who was said by Elizabeth to be without knowledge of affairs, and by Cecil and Burleigh to be unfit for business, affected through the whole of his life an over-refinement in trifles, and a political subtlety unworthy of so great a mind: it is also true that he sometimes seemed conscious of the pleasure of skill, and that he who possessed the dangerous power of "working and winding" others to his purpose, tried it upon the little men whom his heart disdained; but that heart was neither "cloven nor double." There is no record that he abused the influence which he possessed over the minds of all men. He ever gave honest counsel to his capricious mistress, and her pedantic successor; to the rash, turbulent Essex, and to the wily, avaricious Buckingham. There is nothing more lamentable in the annals of mankind than that false position, which placed one of the greatest minds England ever possessed at the mercy of a mean king and a base court favourite

LORD BACON'S WORKS

LORD BACON'S WORKS

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS,

CIVIL AND MORAL.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LO. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM HIS GRACE, LO. HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND.

EXCELLENT LO.

Salomon saies; A good name is as a precious oyntment; and I assure myselfe, such wil your Grace's name bee, with posteritie. For your fortune, and merit both, haue beene eminent. And you haue planted things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all other workes, have beene most currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to mens businesse, and bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in number, and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my affection, and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them (being in the Vniuersal Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My Instauration, I dedicated to the King: My Historie of Henry the Seventh, (which I haue now translated into Latine) and my Portions of Naturall History, to the Prince: And these I dedicate to your Grace: Being of the best Fruits, that by the good encrease, which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand. Your Graces most Obliged and Faithful Seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

EDITORS PREFACE

TO

1. The Essays.
2. Meditationes Sacræ.
3. The Colours of Good and Evil.
4. Miscellaneous Tracts upon Human Philosophy.
   1. In Praise of Knowledge.
   2. Valerius Terminus, or the Interpretation of Nature.
   3. Filum Labyrinthi.
   4. Sequela Chartarum.
5. Miscellaneous Tracts.
   1. Apophthegmes.
   2. Ornamenta Rationalia.
   3. Sentences.
   4. Notes for Conversation.
   5. An Essay on Death.

§ 1.

THE ESSAYS.

The first edition of the Essays was published in the year 1597. It is entitled[1]

"Essayes.
Religious Meditations.
Places of perswasion and
disswasion.
Seene and allowed.
AT LONDON,
Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are
to be sold at the blacke Beare
in Chauncery Lane.
1597."

[1] There is a copy of this edition at Cambridge, and in the Bodleian.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

" To M. Anthony Bacon his deare Brother.

" Louing and beloued brother I do now like some that haue an Orcharde il neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print: To labour the stay of them had bene troublesome, and subiect to interpretation: to let them passe had bin to aduentur the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment which it mought please any one that shold set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I heldo it best discretion to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen without any further disgrace, then the weakenes of the author. And as I did euer hold there mought be as great a vanitie in retyring and withdrawing mens conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrary, or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Onely I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late newe halfepence, which though the siluer were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their master, but wold needs trauel abroad, I haue preferred them to you, that are next myself, dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I somtimes wish your infirmities transslated upon my selfe, that her maiesty mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, and I mought bee with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest, so commende I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Grayes Inne, this 30. of Ianuary. 1597.

" Your entire louing brother, FRAN. BACON."

It consists of ten Essays.

1. Of Studie.
2. Of Discourse.
3. Of Ceremonies and Respects.
4. Of Followers and Friends.
5. Of Sutors.
6. Of Expence.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Honor and Reputation.
9. Of Faction.
10. Of Negotiating.

These Essays, which are very short, are in octavo, in thirteen double pages, and somewhat incorrectly printed.[1] They are annexed as Notes at the end of the Essays.[2]

Of this edition there is a manuscript in very ancient writing in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.[3]

The next edition was in the year 1606. It is entitled

" Essaies.
Religious Meditations.
Places of perswasion
and disswasion.
Seene and allowed.
Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard,
dwelling in Fleete streete at the
hand and Starre neere
Temple barre.
1606."

This edition, which is in 12mo,[4] and not paged, is, except a few literal variations, a transcript of the edition of 1597.[5]

[1] The Essay (for instance) in the table of contents is " Of Suters," in the body of the book it is " Of Sutes:"

[2] See note L.

[3] The reference to it is in vol. ii. of Catalogue, page 173, as follows:

" Essays by Lord Bacon, viz. on Studies, Discourses, Ceremonies, and Respects, Followers and Friends, Suitors, Expense, Regimen of Health, Honor and Reputation, Faction and Negotiating." The Catalogue then adds, " These Essays will be found to vary in some degree from the printed copies and especially from an expensive edition of Lord Bacon's works, in which the Essays appear to be greatly mutilated."

It is probable that this (although groundless) relates to the edition of 1730, published by Blackburn. It may, perhaps, be doubtful whether this is a MS. of the edition of 1597 or of 1606; but the first Essay in the edition of 1597 says, " if he conferre little, he had need of a present witt;" but the words " he had need of" are omitted in the edition of 1606. They are however in the MS. in the Museum. There is also in the Harleian MSS. 6797, a MS. of two Essays, of Faction and of Negotiating, with cross lines drawn through them.

[4] I have a copy in my possession, with a very bad engraving of Lord Bacon prefixed above the following lines:

" Bacon, his Age's Pride and Britann's Glory
Whose Name will still be famous in her story,
Hauing by's works Oblig'd all future Ages
To pay Him Thanks as many as His Pages,
Having well-weigh'd each Tittle of that Praise,
Found a great part arose from his ESAIES."

As this volume, published 1606, (three years after the death of his brother Anthony,) contains the dedication to Anthony and these lines, and as I do not find the edition mentioned in any of his letters: query, was it published by the author or by some bookseller?

[5] For instance; the dedication in 1597 is to M. Anthony Bacon, and in 1606 it is to Maister Anthony Bacon: and the signature in 1597 is Fran. Bacon; in 1606 is Francis Bacon.

The next edition was in 1612. It is entitled,

"The Essaies
Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,
The King's Solliciter Generall.
Imprinted at London by
Iohn Beale,
1612."

It was the intention of Sir Francis to have dedicated this edition to Henry Prince of Wales, but he was prevented by the death of the prince on the 6th of November in that year. This appears by the following letter:

"To the most high and excellent prince, HENRY, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.

"It may please your Highness,

"Having divided my life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give his majesty and your highness of the fruits of both, simple though they be.

"To write just treatises, requireth leisure in the writer, and leisure in the reader, and therefore are not so fit, neither in regard of your highness's princely affairs, nor in regard of my continual service; which is the cause that hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays. The word is late, but the thing is ancient; for Seneca's epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but essays, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epistles. These labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my hope is, they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite, than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their persons are most conversant; yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in experience, and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies. But, however, I shall most humbly desire your highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive, that if I cannot rest, but must shew my dutiful and devoted affection to your highness in these things which proceed from myself, I shall be much more ready to do it in performance of any of your princely commandments. And so wishing your highness all princely felicity I rest

"1612. Your Highness's most humble servant, FR. BACON."

It was dedicated as follows:

"To my loving Brother Sr IOHN CONSTABLE Knight.[1]

"My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I myselfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next, in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your louing conference and judgment. So wishing you all good, I remaine Your louing brother and friend, FRA. BACON."

The Table of Essays is,

1. Of Religion.
2. Of Death.
3. Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature.
4. Of Cunning.
5. Of Marriage and single life.
6. Of Parents and Children.
7. Of Nobilitie.
8. Of Great place.
9. Of Empire.
10. Of Counsell.
11. Of Dispatch.
12. Of Loue.
13. Of Friendshippe.
14. Of Atheisme.
15. Of Superstition.
16. Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.
17. *Of Regiment of Health.*
18. *Of Expences.*
19. *Of Discourse.*
20. Of Seeming wise.
21. Of Riches.
22. Of Ambition.
23. Of Young men and age.
24. Of Beautie.

[1] Francis Bacon married Alice Burnham, and Sir John Constable married her sister Dorothy Burnham. In Lord Bacon's will, he says, Sir John Constable, Knight, my brother-in-law; and he nominates him as one of his executors.

25. Of Deformitie.
26. Of nature in Man.
27. Of Custome and Education.
28. Of Fortune.
29. *Of Studies.*
30. *Of Ceremonies and Respects.*
31. *Of Sutors.*
32. *Of Followers.*
33. *Of Negociating.*
34. *Of Fuction.*
35. Of Praise.
36. Of Iudicature.
37. Of vaine glory.
38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.
39. Of the publike.
40. Of Warre and peace.

It is an octavo of 241 pages; and the two last Essays "Of the Publique," and "Of War and Peace," although mentioned in the table of contents, are not contained in the body of the work.[1]

This edition contains all the Essays which are in the preceding editions, except the Essay "Of Honor and Reputation:" and the title in the former editions of the Essay "Of Followers and Friends," is in this edition "Of Followers," and there is a separate Essay "Of Friendship." The Essays in Italics are in the former editions.

These Essays are more extensive than the Essays in the preceding editions, according to the manner of the author, who says, "I always alter when I add; so that nothing is finished till all is finished."[2] As a specimen, the Essay "Of Study," in the first edition ends with the words "able to contend." The edition of 1612 is the same as the former edition, but it thus continues "Abeunt studia in mores;" "nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are 'Cymini sectores;' if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers cases; so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt."

The next edition was in 1613.[3] It is entitled,

"The Essaies
Of Sr Francis Bacon Knight,
The Kings Aturney Generall.
His Religious Meditations.
Places of Perswasion and Disswasion.
Seene and allowed.
Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard,[4]
dwelling at the Hand and Starre,
betweene the two Temple
Gates 1613."

It is a transcript of the edition of 1612, with the erroneous entries in the table of contents of the two Essays "Of the Publique" and "Of Warre and Peace," which are omitted in the body of the work; but it contains a transcript from the editions of 1597 and 1606, of the Essay "Of Honor and Reputation," which is omitted in the edition of 1612.

In the year 1622, in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester, concerning his published and intended writings, he says, "As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that manner purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and assiduity, perhaps yield more lustre and reputation to my name than the others I have in hand; but I judge the use a man should seek in publishing his writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow, and not to go along with him."

The next edition, which is a small quarto of 340 pages, was in 1625,[5] and, on the 9th of April, 1626, Lord Verulam died.

[1] There is a copy in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian; and I have a copy.

[2] "To Mr. Matthews: along with the Book De Sapientia Veterum. I Heartily thank you for your Letter, of the 24th of August, from Salamanca; and, in recompence, send you a little Work of mine, that has begun to pass the World. They tell me my Latin is turned into Silver, and become current. Had you been here, you shou'd have been my Inquisitor, before it came forth: but I think the greatest Inquisitor in Spain will allow it. One thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, that the World should be grown to such an Ecstasy, as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author dissents in Religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great Work goes forward; and after my manner, I always alter when I add: So that nothing is finish'd 'till all is finish'd. This I have wrote in the midst of a Term and Parliament; thinking no time so possess'd, but that I should talk of these Matters with so good and dear a Friend.—*Gray's-Inn, Feb.* 27, 1610."

[3] There is a copy in the Bodleian, and I have a copy.

[4] This is the same bookseller who published the edition of 1606.

[5] There is a copy in the British Museum and at Cambridge, and the copies are not uncommon.

It is entitled,

"The Essayes or Covnsels Civill and Morall,
Of Francis Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban.
Newly written.
London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for
Hanna Barret. 1625."

The Essays contained in the volume now published are an exact transcript of this edition of 1625, except that I have added the note in page 43.

Of this edition, Lord Bacon sent a copy to the Marquis Fiat.[1]

There is a Latin edition of the Essays consisting of the Essays in the edition of 1625, except the two Essays *of Prophecies*, and *of Masks and Triumphs*, which seem not to have been translated.

The nature of the Latin edition and of the Essays in general is thus stated by Archbishop Tenison.[2]

"The Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral, though a By-work also, do yet make up a Book of greater weight by far, than the Apothegms: And coming home to Men's Business and Bosomes, his Lordship entertain'd this persuasion concerning them, that the Latine Volume might last as long as Books should last. His Lordship wrote them in the English Tongue, and enlarged them as Occasion serv'd, and at last added to them the Colours of Good and Evil, which are likewise found in his Book De Augmentis. The Latine Translation of them was a Work performed by divers Hands; by those of Doctor Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield) Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recal them. To this Latine Edition, he gave the Title of Sermones Fideles, after the manner of the Jews, who call'd the words Adagies, or Observations of the Wise, Faithful Sayings: that is, credible Propositions worthy of firm Assent, and ready Acceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more particularly, in this Title, to a passage in Ecclesiastes, where the Preacher saith that he sought to find out Verba Delectabilia, (as Tremellius rendreth the Hebrew) pleasant Words, (that is, perhaps, his Book of Canticles;) and Verba Fidelia (as the same Tremellius) Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his Collection of Proverbs. In the next Verse, he calls them Words of the Wise, and so many Goads and Nails given 'Ab eodem Pastore,' from the same Shepherd [of the Flock of Israel."] And of this translation, Bacon speaks in the following letter.

"To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

"It is true, my labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of Advancement of Learning, that of Hen. VII. that of the Essays, being retractate, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupt with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity.

"For the Essay of Friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it."

In his letter[3] to Father Fulgentio, giving some account of his writings, he says, "The Novum Organum should immediately follow, but my Moral and Political writings step in between as being more finished. These are the History of King Henry the Seventh, and the small Book, which in your language you have called Saggi Morali, but I give it a graver title, that of Sermones Fideles, or Interiora Rerum, and these Essays will not only be enlarged in number but still more in substance."

[1] Baconiana, 201.—"A Letter of the Lord Bacon's, in French, to the Marquis Fiat, relating to his Essays."

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur mon Fils,

"Voyant que vostre Excellence faict et traite Mariages, non seulement entre les Princes d' Angleterre et de France, mais aussi entre les Langues (puis que faictes traduire non Liure de l' Advancement des Sciences en Francois) i' ai bien voulu vous envoyer mon Liure dernierement imprimé que i' avois pourveu pour vous, mais i' estois en doubte, de le vous envoyer, pour ce qu' il estoit escrit en Anglois. Mais a' cest' Heure poure la raison susdicte ie le vous envoye. C' est un Recompilement de mes Essays Morales et Civiles; mais tellement enlargiés et enrichiés, tant de Nombre que de Poix, que c' est de fait un Oeuvre nouveau. Ie vous baise les Mains, et reste,

"Vostre tres Affectionée Aml, ex tres humble Serviteur."

"The same in English, by the Publisher.

"My Lord Embassador, my Son,

"Seeing that your Excellency makes and treats of Marriages, not only betwixt the Princes of France and England, but also betwixt their Languages (for you have caus'd my Book of the Advancement of Learning, to be Translated into French) I was much inclin'd to make you a Present of the last Book which I published, and which I had in readiness for you.

"I was sometimes in doubt, whether I ought to have sent it to you, because it was written in the English Tongue. But now, for that very Reason, I send it to you. It is a Recompilement of my Essaies Moral, and Civil; but in such manner enlarged and enriched both in Number and Weight, that it is in effect, a new Work. I kiss your hands, and remain

Your most Affectionate friend and most humble Servant, &c.

[2] Baconiana, page 60.

[3] Ibid. page 196.

I have annexed an Appendix[1] containing "A fragment of an Essay of Fame," which was published by Dr. Rawley in his Resuscitatio: and "Of a King,"[2] which was published in 1648, in a volume entitled "Remains," which also contains an Essay "On Death." This Essay I have inserted in page 131 of this volume.[3]

During the life of Bacon, various editions of the Essays were published and in different languages: in 1618, in Italian:[4] in 1619, in French:[5] in 1621, in Italian,[6] and in French.[7]

Since Lord Bacon's death, the press has abounded with editions. In some of these editions the editors have substituted their own translations of the Latin for the beautiful English by Lord Bacon. How well they have succeeded the reader may judge by the following specimens. In a translation published by william H. Willymott, LL.D., A. D. 1720, he says, "Wanting an English Book for my Scholars to Translate, which might improve them in Sense and Latin at once, (Two Things which should never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing more proper for that purpose than Bacon's Essays, provided the English, which is in some Places grown obselete, were a little reformed, and made more fashionable. Accordingly having by me his Lordship's Latin Volume of the Essays, (which as it was a later, so seems to be a perfecter Book) I fell to Translating it, not tying myself strictly to the Latin, but comparing both Languages together, and setting down that Sense (where there was any Difference) that seem'd the fullest and plainest."

The following is a specimen:

Dr. Willymott.

"The principal Virtue of Prosperity, is Temperance; of Adversity, Fortitude; which in Morals is reputed the most heroical Virtue. Again, Prosperity belongs to the Blessings of the Old Testament; Adversity to the Beatitudes of the New, which are both in Reality greater, and carry a clearer Revelation of the Divine Favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's Harp, you'll find more lamentable Airs, than Triumphant ones."

Lord Bacon.

"But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many herse-like airs as carols."

So too Shaw has made a similar attempt, of which the following is a specimen, from the Essay "Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature."

Lord Bacon.

"The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them; if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot; if he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash."

Dr. Shaw.

"There are several parts and signs of goodness. If a man be civil and courteous to strangers, it shews him a citizen of the world, whose heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins them. If he be compassionate to the afflicted, it shews a noble soul, like the tree which is wounded when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and forgives offences, it shews a mind perched above the reach of injuries. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shews he values men's minds before their treasure."

§ 2.

MEDITATIONES SACRÆ.

The first and, I believe, the only edition of this tract which was published in Latin by Lord Bacon, appeared in 1597. During his life, and since his death, it has been frequently reprinted. If the reader will compare the Meditation upon Atheism, in page 70. with the Essay on Atheism, page 24 and his observation upon Atheism, in page 164, he will see that these Meditations are but the seeds

[1] See end of Essays.

[2] There is a manuscript of this Essay in the Lansdown Collection, B. Museum, 135, 136. In Blackburn's edition of Bacon's Works, published in 1640, he says, "I have inserted from the Remains, an Essay of a King: and my reason is, it is so collated and corrected by Archbishop Sancroft's well known hand, that it appears to be a new work; and though it consists of short propositions mostly, yet I will be so presumptuous as to say, that I think it now breathes the true spirit of our author; and there seems to be an obvious reason why it was omitted before."

[3] There is a MS. of this in the Harleian MS. Vol. ii. p. 196.

[4] Essays, Italice, 8vo. B. Museum and Oxford.

[5] Essays Moraux, par Gorges. B. Museum and Oxford.

[6] Saggi Morali, opera nuova de F. Bacon corretta a data en luce dal. Sig. Andr: Croli et un tributo, 24mo. B. Museum.

[7] Essais trad. en Francois par Bandouin, 16mo. Paris. B. Museum.

of his opinions upon this important subject. The sentiments and the very words are similar. In the Meditation, he says, "This I dare affirm in knowledge of nature, that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but on the other side, much natural philosophy and wading deep into it will bring about men's minds to religion; wherefore atheism every way seems to be joined and combined with folly and ignorance, seeing nothing can be more justly allotted to be the saying of fools, than this, 'There is no God.'"

In the Advancement of Learning, he says, "It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair."

§ 3.

THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

This tract was published by Lord Bacon in 1597,[1] and has been repeatedly published by different editors. It was incorporated in the treatise on rhetoric, in the Advancement of Learning,[2] and more extensively in the treatise "De Augmentis." The dedication, of which there is a MS.[3] in the British Museum, to the Lord Mountjoye, is copied from "The Remains," published by Stephens.[4]

§ 4.

PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE.

This tract "In Praise of Knowledge," of which there is a MSS. in the British Museum,[5] is a rudiment both of the "Advancement of Learning," and of the "Novum Organum." This will appear from the following extracts:

PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE, PAGE 79 OF THIS VOL.

"The truth of being, and the truth of knowing, is all one: and the pleasures of the affections greater than the pleasures of the senses. And are not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the pleasures of the affections? Is it not a true and only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind of all perturbations?"

ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, PAGE 183 OF THIS VOL.

"The pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning far surpasseth all other in nature; for, shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner; and must not, of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceed the pleasures of the affections? We see in all other pleasures there is a satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth; which sheweth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality: and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable."

PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE, PAGE 80 OF THIS VOL.

"Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before: what a change have these three things made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of the war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation?"

NOVUM ORGANUM, PART I. APH. 129.

"Rursus, vim et virtutem et consequentias Rerum inventarum notare juvat: quæ non in aliis manifestius occurrunt, quam in illis tribus, quæ Antiquis incognitæ, et quarum primordia, licet recentia, obscura et ingloria sunt: Artis nimirum Imprimendi, Pulveris Tormentarii, et Acus Nau-

1 "Of the Coulours of good and evill a fragment. 1597." At the end, and *after* the word "Finis," in this old edition is, "Printed at London by John Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1597."
2 See page 217.
3 Harleian 6797, and there is a page or two of the work itself.
4 But I do not find it prefixed to the work.
5 Harleian MSS. 6797.

tiæ. Hæc enim tria, rerum faciem et statum in Orbe terrarum mutaverunt: primum, in Re Literaria; secundum, in Re Bellica: tertium, in Navigationibus: Unde innumeræ rerum mutationes sequutæ sunt, ut non imperium aliquod, non Secta, non Stella majorem efficaciam et quasi influxum super res humanas exercuisse videatur, quam ista Mechanica exercuerunt."[1]

§ 5.

VALERIUS TERMINUS.

This too is clearly a rudiment of the "Advancement of Learning," as may be perceived almost in every page: for instance, by comparing, of this volume,

Page	- -	82 with page	- - 161.
Page	- -	85 with pages	- 172, 174.
Page	- -	85 with page	- - 173.

It is also a rudiment of the "Novum Organum." In page 89 of this volume, he says, "Let the effect to be produced be whiteness; let the first direction be, that if air and water be intermingled, or broken in small portions together, whiteness will ensue, as in snow, in the breaking of the waves[2] of the sea, and rivers, and the like."

In the "Novum Organum," under the head of travelling instances, he says, "To give an example of a travelling instance; suppose the nature inquired after were whiteness, an instance advancing to generation is glass, whole, and in powder; and again, simple water, and water beat into froth; for whole glass, and simple water, are transparent bodies, not white; but powdered glass, and the froth of water, are white, not transparent."

§ 6.

FILUM LABYRINTHI.

The tract entitled "Filum Labyrinthi,"[3] of which there is a MSS. in the British Museum,[4] seems to have been the rudiment of the tract in Latin in Gruter's collection, entitled "Cogitata et Visa,"[5] the three first sections containing the same sentiments in almost the same words.

That it is a rudiment of the "Advancement of Learning" is manifest, as will appear by comparing the beautiful passage in page 165 with the following sentence in page 97 of this volume, "He thought also, that knowledge is almost generally sought either for delight and satisfaction, or for gain or profession, or for credit and ornament, and that every of these are as Atalanta's balls, which hinder the race of invention."

It is also a rudiment of the Novum Organum. Speaking of universities, he says, in page 98 of this volume, "In universities and colleges men's studies are almost confined to certain authors, from which if any dissenteth or propoundeth matter of redargution, it is enough to make him thought a person turbulent; whereas if it be well advised, there is a great difference to be made between matters contemplative and active. For in government change is suspected, though the better; but it is natural to arts to be in perpetual agitation and growth. Neither is the danger alike of new light, and of new motion or remove."

In the Novum Organum he says, (Aph. 90,) "Again in the customs and institutions of schools, universities, colleges, and the like conventions, destined for the seats of learned men, and the promotion of knowledge, all things are found opposite to the advancement of the sciences; for the readings and exercises are here so managed, that it cannot easily come into any one's mind to think of things out of the common road. Or if here and there one should use a liberty of judging, he can only impose the task upon himself, without obtaining assistance from his fellows; and if he could dispense with this, he will still find his industry and resolution a great hindrance to the raising of his fortune. For the studies of men in such places are confined, and pinned down to the writings of certain authors; from which, if any man happens to differ, he is presently reprehended as a disturber and innovator. But there is surely a great difference between arts and civil affairs; for the danger is not the same from new light, as from new commotions. In civil affairs, it is true, a change even for the better is suspected, through fear of disturbance; because these affairs depend upon authority, consent, reputation, and opinion, and not upon demonstrations: but arts and sciences

[1] Shaw's translation:—
"Again, it may not be improper to observe the power, the efficacy, and the consequences of inventions, which appear no where plainer, than in those three particulars, unknown to the ancients, and whose origins, though modern, are obscure and inglorious, viz. the art of printing, gunpowder, and the compass, which have altered the state of the world, and given it a new face; 1. With regard to learning; 2. With regard to war; and, 3. With regard to navigation. Whence numberless vicissitudes of things have ensued, insomuch that no empire, no sect, no celestial body, could seem to have a greater efficacy, and, as it were, influence over human affairs than these three mechanical inventions have had."

[2] I have ventured in this preface to substitute "waves" for ways.

[3] "Scala Intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi," is the title of the fourth part of the "Instauratio."

[4] Catalogue Harleian, vol. iii. page 397. Art. 6797.

[5] These will be explained hereafter.

should be like mines, resounding on all sides with new works, and farther progress. And thus it ought to be, according to right reason; but the case, in fact, is quite otherwise. For the above-mentioned administration and policy of schools and universities generally opposes and greatly prevents the improvement of the sciences."

It is not the correctness of these opinions respecting universities, which is now attempted to be investigated. The only object is to explain the similarity of the sentiments in this tract, entitled "Valerius Terminus," and the "Novum Organum;" but it seems not undeserving observation that this opinion must have been entertained by him very early in life, probably when resident in Cambridge, which he quitted soon after he was sixteen years of age, when the torpor of university pursuits would ill accord with his active mind, anxious only to invent and advance. At this early period, he, without considering whether universities are not formed rather for diffusing the knowledge of our predecessors, than for the discovery of unexplored truths; without considering the evil of youthful attempts not to believe first what others know, would naturally feel "that in the universities of Europe they learn nothing but to believe: first, to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, themselves know that which they know not." He would naturally enough say, "They are like a becalmed ship; they never move but by the wind of other men's breath, and have no oars of their own to steer withal." But this opinion, thus early impressed upon his mind, seems to have been regulated in the year 1605, when he published the Advancement of Learning, and where, in his tract upon universities, after having enumerated many of their defects, he says, "The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken."[1]

§ 7.

DE CALORE ET FRIGORE.

This is obviously the rudiment of the Affirmative Table in the Novum Organum.

§ 8.

HELPS FOR INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

The tract entitled "Helps for Intellectual Powers," was published by Rawley in his Resuscitatio, in 1657.

In a letter from Gruter to Dr. Rawley, dated July 1, 1659, and thanking him for a present of Lord Bacon's Posthumous Works, in Latin, (probably Opuscula cum Vita, published in 1658,) he says, "one paper I wonder I saw not amongst them, 'The Epistle of the Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Savil, about the Helps of the Intellectual Powers,' spoken of long ago in your letters under that, or some such title, if my memory does not deceive me. If it was not forgotten and remains among your private papers, I should be glad to see a copy of it, in the use of which, my faithfulness shall not be wanting. But, perhaps, it is written in the English tongue, and is a part of that greater volume, which contains only his English works."[2]

§ 9.

THE APOPHTHEGMES.

In the Advancement of Learning, Bacon divides the Appendices to History into—1. Memorials. 2. Epistles. 3. Apophthegmes. And, after lamenting the loss of Cæsar's book of Apophthegmes, he says, "as for those which are collected by others, either I have no taste in such matters, or else their choice hath not been happy:" but yet it seems that he had stored his mind with a collection of these "Mucrones Verborum," as, for his recreation in his sickness in the year preceding his death, he fanned the old, and dictated what he thought worth preservation.

Archbishop Tenison, in his Baconiana, page 47, says,

"The Apophthegmes (of which the first[3] is the best Edition) were (what he saith also[4] of his Essays) but as the Recreations of his other Studies. They were dictated one morning, out of his memory; and if they seem to any, a birth too inconsiderable for the brain of so great a man; they may think with themselves how little a time he went with it, and from thence make some allowance. Besides, his lordship hath received much injury by late editions,[5] of which some have much enlarged, but not at all enriched the collection; stuffing it with tales and sayings, too infacetious for a ploughman's chimney-corner. And particularly, in the collection not long since published,[6] and

[1] See his New Atlantis.
[2] See the original in Latin, with the translation from which this extract is copied in the Baconiana, 239, 240, and note he was right in this supposition.
[3] Apoth. printed in Oct. Lon. 1625. The title page of this edition is "Apophthegmes, New and Old, collated by the Right Honorable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.—London: printed for Hanna Barret and Richard Whittaker, and are to be sold at the King's Head in Paul's Church, 1625."
[4] See his Epistle to Bishop Andrews. [5] Even by that added (but not by Dr. Rawley) to the Resuscitatio.—Baconiana.
[6] In Octavo. Lon. 1669.

call'd The Apothegms of King James, King Charles, the Marquess of Worcester, the Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moor; his Lordship is dealt with very rudely. For besides the addition of insipid tales, there are some put in which are beastly and immoral:[1] such as were fitter to be joyned to Aretine, or Aloysia, than to have polluted the chaste labours of the Baron of Verulam."

And Stephens, in the preface to the Memoirs, published in 1734, when speaking of Blackburn's edition of Bacon, says,

"Would any one, that had consulted the reputation of the Lord Bacon, or indeed his own, have published several Apophthegmes under his Lordship's Name, which he himself, as well as Dr. Tenison, allowed to be scandalous and spurious? Those which his Lordship compiled as an amusement, during his indisposition in the year 1625, were printed in the same year, amounting to the number of two hundred and eighty: And were not reprinted by Doctor Rawley in the first edition of the Resuscitatio in 1657: but, upon the republishing that work, with a dedication to King Charles the Second, the Bookseller contrived to insert them with some alteration and additions; which, instead of increasing, diminished the value of the whole."[2]

This volume contains a copy of the first edition of 1625,[3] with an appendix containing the Apophthegmes, published by Archbishop Tenison in his Baconia. I have, to use Bacon's own words, fanned the collection published under his name, and rejected the spurious additions. They are inserted in a note.[4]

The use which Lord Bacon made of these "Mucrones Verborum," may be seen by comparing Apophthegme 251, with the same anecdote as incorporated in the Advancement of Learning.

§ 10.

THE ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA, &c.

Are inserted from the Baconiana.—The short notes, of which there is a MS. in the British Museum,[5] are taken from the Remains published in 1645.—The Essay on Death, of which there is a Manuscript in the British Museum,[6] is inserted from the Remains.

I know not by what authority this fragment is ascribed to Lord Bacon. It appears not to be in his style; and, excepting the following passages, I do not find any similarity in this Essay with his general sentiments upon death;

PAGE 133 OF THIS VOLUME.

"There is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

"Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation."

PAGE 12 OF THIS VOLUME.

"A mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, 'Nunc dimittis,' when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations."

[1] Ex. gr. Apotheg. 183, 184.

[2] But note that this edition was published in 1661, during Rawley's life, who died in 1667.

[3] Amongst the Apophthegmes inserted in the note, the following, which, from its internal evidence, I can scarcely think spurious, would have admirably illustrated Bacon's favourite opinion, that all men should be engaged in active life; that, in this theatre of man's life, it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on.

"When his Lordship was newly advanced to the Great Seal, Gondomar came to visit him: My Lord said, 'That he was to thank God and the King for that honour; but yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly forbear the honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life.' Gondomar answered, that he would tell him a tale, 'Of an old rat that would needs leave the world: and acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days solitary; and would enjoy no more comfort: and commended them upon his high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto him. They forbore two or three days; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest, incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would venture to see how his father did; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese.' So he applied the fable after his witty manner."

[4] See end of Apophthegmes.

[5] Lansdowne Collection, No. 205, fo. 217.

[6] Harleian, vol. ii. p. 196.

ESSAYS.

I. OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursive wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour, but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy "vinum dæmonum," because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason; and his Sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well: "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth, (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene,) and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests in the vale below:" so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clean and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man." Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed; as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon the earth."

II. OF DEATH.*

MEN fear death, as children fear to go into the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto na-

* See note A, at the end of the Essays.

ture, is weak. Yet in religious meditations, there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured; and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa." Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it: nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft and over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approach of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment: "Livia, conjugii nostra memor, vive et vale." Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, "Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a sentence, "Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimus Severus in despatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, "Nunc dimittis" when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the good fame, and extinguisheth envy: "Extinctus amabitur idem."

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.*

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "ecce in deserto," another saith, "ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heritics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "nolite exire,"—"go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them, "to sit down in the chair of the scorners." It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance of Heretics;" for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

* See Note A at the end of the Essays.

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?"—"What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is not the matter, but following, and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, "in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit," they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ." Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, "I will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, "I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod to damn, and send to hell forever, those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be prefixed, "Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei;" and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV. OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence." That which is past is gone and irrecoverable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?" and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V. OF ADVERSITY.

IT was a high speech of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoics,) that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: "Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia." Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen,) "It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God:"—"Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei." This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus, (by whom human nature is represented,) sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world." But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.*

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it; therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius:" these properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to

* See note C, at the end of the Essays.

be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it ca[illegible]pass that the former opinion spread a[illegible]ir good faith and clearness of deali[illegible]n almost invisible.

Th[illegible] degrees of this hiding and veiling [illegible]self; the first, closeness, reservation, a[illegible]cy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts, or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation, (which is this last degree,) a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves averse; but will fain let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a troth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even with the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the counsels of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men: and

surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

That difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is an harmful error, and makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo." Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.*

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard some talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another except to it. "Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;" as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their wives and children to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants, but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted, (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, "vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati." Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question when a man should marry:—"A young man not yet, an elder man not at all." It is often seen, that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against

* See note D, at the end of the Essays.

their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.*

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."

Men of noble birth, are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy; wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober sorts of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;" not

* See note E, at the end of the Essays.

that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and preeminences of their places; for by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so, it be without arrogancy and vain glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another; for which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great: and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection: for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions: for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "Invidia festos dies non agit:" for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE.*

The stage is more beholding to love, than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows, that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely,) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus;" as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are,) yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole, is comely in nothing but in love: neither is

* See note F at the end of the Essays.

it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward, or secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for other losses the poet's relation doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas;" for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more frequent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere." Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow: like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi." In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest; for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest: "Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;" and then the sabbath. In the discharge of the place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancienter time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy lure. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence, and "de facto," than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of the

in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access: keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption; therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent; severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, "To respect persons is not good, for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread." It is most true that was anciently spoken, "A place showeth the man; and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse;" "omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset," saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius;" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they looked not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

XII. OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, action: what next? action: what next again? action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness: And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part: yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times: therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold

persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

XIII OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall: the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had liked to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors indeed, in this virtue, of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto buon che val niente;" "So good, that he is good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing almost in plain terms, "That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law or sect or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth; therefore to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn.* The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his rain, and maketh the sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;" but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally; common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou hast and give it to the poor, and follow me;" but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side, there is a natural malignity; for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had; such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

* See note G, at the end of the Essays.

XIV. OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal; but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond,

and not respects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars and tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia; and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states;

> ——"Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
> Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella."

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:

> "Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
> Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
> Progenuit."

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, "conflata, magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: "Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi;" disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party and lean to a side: it is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile,"(according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, "liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "solvam cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened, (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure,) men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions, (concerning which,

nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth,) and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions, (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

"Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."

This same "multus utile bellum," is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi modus, timendi non item:" besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage: but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour, or fume, doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."

The causes and motions of seditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is, want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more; therefore the multiplying of nobility,* and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner, (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost,) there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the victure, or carriage; so that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that "materiam superabit opus," that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonality. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to take assure of the good will of common people.

* See note H, at the end of the Essays.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments; and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do: because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies: for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, "legi a se militem, non emi;" for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, "si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;" a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith, "atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:" but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion;* for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion; that is the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;" it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others: nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were

* See note I, at the end of the Essays.

were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum." Plato could have said no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the administration he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus, which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it: so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists; but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, "non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos;" a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beast by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he reateth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations; never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero saith, "Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus, gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus omnes, gentes nationesque superavimus."

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his children as soon as they were born:" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times: but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said, by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save phænomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms ar

orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing that, in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go: after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do; first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is the most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the country where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, "That the king's heart is inscrutable:" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellence in some art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for

playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Diocle-sian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consists of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; "Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ;" for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given, (the occasions are so variable,) save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, king of France, and Charles the Fifth emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforsa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his son, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but

where it hath a dependance of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;" and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "memento quod es homo," and "memento quod es Deus, or vice Dei;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. OF COUNSEL.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may

extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do: but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "plenus rimarum sum:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous: for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable showeth the remedy: nay the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council: neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependancies by his council, except where there hath been either an over greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "non inveniet fidem super terram," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

"Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours, therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, "secundum genera," as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "optimi consiliarii mortui:" "books will speak plain when counsellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "in nocte consilium:" so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "hoc agere." In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate, (as it is in Spain,) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitius manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end in effect sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king when he presides in council let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and, instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."

XXI. OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the prices will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks

in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them; nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows, (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back,) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom: and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, "Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis," doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances; yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not before that time been sad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be opposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught

up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen, whose hearing of a declination of monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and to say truth, it is not easy when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare."

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, then upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, "Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos."

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric, to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against the great good of the master's; and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, "sui amantes, sine rivali," are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldóm attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter all things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for—a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

XXV. OF DESPATCH.

Affected despatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not despatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as, in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so, in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth despatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of despatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

On the other side, true despatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small despatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small despatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;"—"Let my death come from Spain," for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for despatch, as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction in men's wills; for preoccupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of despatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business, the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection; whereof, if you look for despatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate despatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, "Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof;" so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: "magno conatu nugas." It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superfices to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere." Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "hominem delirum, qui verborum, minutiis rerum frangit pondera." Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god:" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides, the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: "magna civitas, magna solitudo;" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castareum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "participes curarum;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever

reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him "venefica,"—"witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "hæc pro amicitiâ nostra non occultavi;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plantianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plantianus, and would often maintain Plantianus in doing affronts to his son: and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark but true, "Cor ne edito,"—"eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship,) which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel, (they indeed are best,) but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a sta-

tue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best," and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment: which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that looks sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour:" as for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight: and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean, aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself: and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, "that a friend is another himself; for that a friend is far more than himself." Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart: the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estima

tion abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable, and the like; for he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being in too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city." These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay: and, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, "negotiis pares," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command: and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordinance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "he would not pilfer the victory;" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;" but, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point

of greatness, in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war, (as it is trivially said,) where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon said well to Crœsus, (when in ostentation he showed him his gold,) "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces, (which is the help in this case,) all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the exercises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it too that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are noways inferior under the yeomanry for arms; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization, (which they called "jus civitatis,") and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis;" but also, "jus suffragii," and "jus honorum;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth, at this in-

stant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by pragmatical sanction, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm) have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers, (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received,) and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign) sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point, is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue,) but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake, upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law; or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of sixscore years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, "Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples, where sea fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles; but thus much is certain, that he that

commands the sea is at [redacted]iberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of later ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect to the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great king of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, where things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith) "add a cubit to his stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great fame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease: and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not

to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

Suspicions among thoughts are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean, to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "Sospetto licentia fede;" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes, wherein they are good. and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridicu[illegible] The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

"Parce, puer, stimulés, et fortius utere loris."

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was want to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?" To which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeable to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good

reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn: as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer; for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand; as chestnuts, walnuts, pineapples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are which grow speedily and within the year: as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much: and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service before their eyes; let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain: let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast, company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss: and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then

it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory; of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man;" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "in studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri." Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; "Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons." The poets feign that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil, (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means,) they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn master, a great lead man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty; as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in sudore vultûs alieni;" and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are likely to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships, (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "testamenta et orbus tamquam indagine capi,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit

themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much, them, that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them: Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions: but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."*

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

"Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule;

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, "Philippis iterum me videbis." Tiberius said to Galba, "Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium." In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth out of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

"When hempe is sponne
England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth,) England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

"There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

"Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,"

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief: for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief: and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams.

* Homeri Ilias, Υ. 307–308.

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

These noble lines are there uttered by Neptune, but are happily transferred by Virgil to Apollo.

The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect; as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh a dust, and thereby malign and venomous: so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state: therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde, which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all: for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous; there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones: for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them is, to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way, is the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail to great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business; but yet, it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature, from a willing mind.

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied by some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing;) and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base and a tenor, no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which

I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing except the room be kept clean and neat.

For jousts, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts; as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse [illegible] nature less importune; but custom, only, [illegible] and subdue nature. He that seeketh [illegible] over his nature, let him not set himself [illegible] nor too small tasks; for the first will [illegible] him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailing: and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but, after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection, if the practise be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

"Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermission; but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely, at the board's end till a mouse ran before her; therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, "multum incola fuit anima mea," when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil-favoured instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a

man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet this rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as squeaking. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for their example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. "Faber quisque fortunæ suæ," saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors; "Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name "disemboltura" partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur,") falleth upon that that he had "versatile ingenium:" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the sky: which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note some of them, such as a wise man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw into his other conditions, that he hath "Poco di matto;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant;") but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them; and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, "Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ej[illegible]" Sylla chose the name of "Felix," and not "Magnus:" and it hath been noted, that they who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the ac-

count he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this fortune had no part," never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was "in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;" not "in sudore vultûs alieni;" that usurers should have orange tawny bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum propter duritiem cordis:" for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in a great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the "vena porta" of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandising: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread; the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising, or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of the trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus; that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers, in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at

sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a high rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever; let it be no bank, or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether dislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before, ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's moneys in the country; so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "juventutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;" and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list; but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent, than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them: but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unruly horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth; but, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid; a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age; so Tully saith of Hortensius, "Idem manebat, neque idem decebat;" the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as with Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, "Ultima primis cedebant."

XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful per-

sons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour, than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael, the sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times! In beauty, that of favour, is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty, is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; "pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being, for the most part, (as the Scripture saith,) "void of natural affection;" and so they have their revenge of natures. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: "ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:" but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries,) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat: but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing: too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great liv-

laid together, and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is as good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the farther end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own; for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel: and so much for the front; only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries; in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "antecamera," and "recamera," joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story, likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought

upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiworks; and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple-trees, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the gray; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweetbrier. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums, in fruit, genitings, codlins. In August come plums, of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberds, muskmelons, monkshoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum," as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweetbrier, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and watermints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens, (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings,) the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and, I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in

the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turnet, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the higher end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern: that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms, (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wished it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweetbrier and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole hills, (such as are in wild heaths,) to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweetwilliams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries, (but here and there, because, of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbrier, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter,

that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side-grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost; but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all; which a man can reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before: or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked, lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they

taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials: which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds; that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. "Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras," is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested: that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt studia in mores;" nay, there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are "Cymini sectores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyer's cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "optimates") held out a while against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time, but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune:" and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus ex

nobis;" as was to be seen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions, (as the astronomers speak,) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum mobile."

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real, had need of exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone hath need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains; for the proverb is true "That light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall loose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations. Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminish respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of society, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others, is good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue, but it is as the glass, or body, which giveth the reflection; if it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and "species virtutibus similes," serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture saith,) "Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;" it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, "spretâ conscientiâ." Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "laudando præcipere;" when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;" insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, "he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contra-

diction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business, for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sirrbirie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, "magnificabo apostolatum meum."

LIV. OF VAINGLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axletree of the chariot wheel, and said, "What a dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, "beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit;" "much bruit, little fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that something is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vainglory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory, one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: "Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt." Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vainglory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vainglory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny, very wittily, "In commending another you do yourself right;" for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them, he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: "Omnis fama a domesticis emanat." Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished, by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign

honour are these: in the first place are "conditores imperiorum," founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are "legislatores," lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "perpetui principes," because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the "Siete partidas:" in the third place are "liberatores," or "salvatores," such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii," such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders; and, in the last place, are "patres patriæ," which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "participes curarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are "duces belli," great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are "gratiosi," favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;" such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. OF JUDICATURE.

Judges ought to remember that their office is "jus dicere," and not "jus dare," to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith the law) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain; so saith Solomon, "Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario." The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. "There be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be, also, that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;" and where the winepress is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences, for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, "Pluet super eos laqueos;" for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people; therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution; "Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c. In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four; to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said, and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the

boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause halfway, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concern clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, "Grapes (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;" neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briers and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments; first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "parasiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to loose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of the court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, "Salus populi suprema lex;" and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is an happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: "Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime."

LVII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit "to be angry," may be attempted and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture exhorteth us "To possess our souls in patience;" whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

. . . . . "animasque in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives

of anger are chiefly three; first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, "telam honoris crassiorem." But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for "communia maledicta" are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth;" so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, "That all novelty is but oblivion:" whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day: and the three years' drought in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes, (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake,) but rather, that, it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have,) but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with

little heat, and the like, and they call it the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect: if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects; by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats, or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western, but we read but of two incursions of theirs; the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or, (which is most apparent,) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live, (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war; at the first, men

iested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy; as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

APPENDIX TO ESSAYS.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY OF FAME.*

The poets make Fame a monster; they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the daytime she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities: but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine: but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore speak of these points; what are false fames; and what are true fames: and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied: and how they may be checked and laid dead: and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand suchlike examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where; therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

[THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.]

* Published by Dr. Rawley in his Resuscitatio.

OF A KING.†

1. A king is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kind of men, God is the least beholden unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he

† See note K, at the end.

think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

4. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, —"Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin,—He is found too light, his kingdom shall be taken from him."

5. And that king that holds not religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a king.

6. He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events justify their counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a subject than a sovereign.

7. He is the fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste pipe, lest the courtiers sell the water, and then, as the papists say of their holy wells, it loses the virtue.

8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is "lex loquens" himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his subjects "præmio et pœna."

9. A wise king must do less in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous. It being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that "omnis subita immutatio est periculosa;" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful apprehension; for he that changeth the fundamental laws of a kingdom, thinketh there is no good title to a crown, but by conquest.

10. A king that setteth to sale seats of justice, oppresseth the people; for he teacheth his judges to sell justice; and "pretio parata pretio venditur justitia."

11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parsimonious: for store at home draweth not his contemplations abroad; but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a king herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That king which is not feared, is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble Him whose great name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live; for besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it: and sure where love is [ill] bestowed, fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.

15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public; should not be overstrained to any one particular; yet that his more special favour do reflect upon some worthy ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "infelix felicitas."

First, that "simulata sanctitas" be not in the church; for that is "duplex iniquitas."

Secondly, that "inutilis æquitas" sit not in the chancery: for that is "inepta misericordia."

Thirdly, that "utilis iniquitas" keep not the exchequer: for that is "crudele latrocinium."

Fourthly, that "fidelis temeritas" be not his general: for that will bring but "seram pœnitentiam."

Fifthly, that "infidelis prudentia" be not his secretary; for that is "anguis sub viridi herba."

To conclude; as he is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

NOTES TO ESSAYS.

Note A.

Referring to page 11.

See also for similar sentiments by Lord Bacon, an Essay upon Death in the Remains, inserted *post*. See also in the Advancement of Learning. "For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus, who went forth one day and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken; and went forth the next day and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead: and thereupon said, 'Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori.' And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as 'concomitantia.'

'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.'"

See also the True philosophy of death in the Novum Organum, under the head of Political Motion, where he says, "*The Political Motion*—Is that by which parts of the body are restrained from their own immediate appetites or tendencies, to unite in such a state as may preserve the existence of the whole body.—Thus the spirit which exists in all living bodies keeps all the parts in due subjection; when it escapes, the body decomposes, or the similar parts unite, as

metals rust; fluids turn sour; and in animals, when the spirit which held the parts together escapes, all things are dissolved, and return to their own natures or principles: the oily parts to themselves; the aqueous also to themselves, &c.; upon which necessarily ensues that odour, that unctuosity, that confusion of parts observable in putrefaction;" So true is it, that in nature all is beauty: that notwithstanding our partial views and distressing associations, the forms of death, mis-shapen as we suppose them, are but the tendencies to union in similar natures.—To the astronomer, the setting sun is as worthy of notice as its golden beams of orient light.

See lastly his epitaph upon the monument raised by his affectionate and faithful Secretary, who lies at his feet; and although only a few letters of his name, scarcely legible, can now be traced, he will ever be remembered for his affectionate attachment to his master and friend. Upon the monument which he raised to Lord Bacon, who appears sitting in deep but tranquil thought, he has inscribed this epitaph:

FRANCISCVS BACON . BARO DE VERVLĀ S^TI ALB^NI VIC^MS
SEV NOTORIBVS TITVLIS
SCIENTIARVM LVMEN FACVNDIÆ LEX
SIC SEDEBAT:
QVI POSTQVAM OMNIA NATVRALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATVRÆ DECRETVM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTVR.
AN̄: DNI: MDCXXVI.
ÆTATIS LXVI.
TANTI VIRI
MEM:
THOMAS MEAVTVS
SVPERSTITIS CVLTOR
DEFVNCTI ADMIRATOR
H. P.

Any person who is desirous to see the confirmation of these opinions upon death will find the subject exhausted in a noble essay, in Tucker's Light of Nature, vol. 7, in his inquiry whether we cannot help ourselves by the use of our reason, so as to brave looking death calmly and steadily in the face to contemplate all his features and examine fairly what there is of terrible and what of harmless in them.

Note B.

Referring to page 12.

See Bacon's Essay on Church Controversies.

Note C.

Referring to page 14.

See Advancement of Learning, as to the Art of Revealing a Man's Self, and the Art of covering Defects. And see the Analysis of this subject in the analysis.

Note D.

Referring to page 16.

On this subject, see Bishop's Taylor's sermon entitled "The Marriage Ring."

Note E.

Referring to page 17.

There are some observations upon Envy, in Taylor's Holy Living.

Note F.

Referring to page 18.

See Bishop Taylor's Holy Living, of Charity, or the Love of God.

It begins thus: "Love is the greatest thing that God can give us, for himself is love; and it is the greatest thing we can give to God, for it will also give ourselves, and carry with it all that is ours. The apostle calls it 'the band of perfection;' it is the old, and it is the new, and it is the great commandment, and it is all the commandments, for it is 'the fulfilling of the law.' It does the work of all other graces, without any instrument but its own immediate virtue. For as the love to sin makes a man sin against all his own reason, and all the discourses of wisdom, and all the advices of his friends, and without temptation, and without opportunity: so does the love of God; it makes a man chaste without the laborious acts of fasting and exterior disciplines, temperate in the midst of feasts, and is active enough to choose it without any intermedial appetites, and reaches at glory through the very heart of grace, without any other arms but those of love." Then see his magnificent discourse on Friendship in his polemical discourses. "Christian charity is friendship to all the world; and when friendships were the noblest things in the world, charity was little, like the sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the centre of a burning-glass; but Christian charity is friendship expanded, like the face of the sun when it mounts above the eastern hills; and I was strangely pleased when I saw something of this in Cicero; for I have been so push'd at by herds and flocks of people that follow any body that whistles to them, or drives them to pasture, that I am grown afraid of any truth that seems chargeable with singularity: but therefore I say, glad I was when I saw Lælius in Cicero discourse thus: 'Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipsa natura, contracta res est, et adducta in angustum; ut omnis charitas, aut inter duos, aut inter paucos jungeretur.' Nature hath made friendships and societies, relations and endearments; and by something or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing to make him become our friend; but when men contract friendships, they inclose the commons: and what nature intended should be every man's, we make proper to two or three. Friendship is like rivers, and the strand of seas, and the air,—common to all the world; but tyrants, and evil customs, wars, and want of love have made them proper and peculiar."

"The friendship is equal to all the world, and of itself hath no difference; but is differenced only by accidents, and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it. For thus the sun is the eye of the world; and he is indifferent to the Negro, or the cold Russian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that stand near the tropics, the scalded Indian or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphean hills. But the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the convenlency of abode, and the approaches to the north or south respectively change the emanations of his beams; not that they do not pass always from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can. And some have only a dark day and a long night from him, snows and white cattle, a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of cattarhes and consumptions, apoplexies and dead palsies. But some have splendid fires and aromatic spices, rich wines and well-digested fruits, great wit and great courage, because they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the east. Just so is it in friendships," &c.

Note G.

Referring to page 21.

"It was both pleasantly and wisely said, though I think very untruly, by a nuncio of the pope, returning from a certain nation where he served as lieger; whose opinion being asked touching the appointment of one to go in his place, he wished that in any case they did not send one that was too wise; because no very wise man would ever imagine what they in that country were like to do. And certainly it is an error frequent for men to shoot over, and to suppose deeper ends, and more compass-reaches than are; the Italian proverb being elegant, and for the most part true:

"Di danari, di senno, e di fede,
Ce ne manco che non credi."

(There is commonly less money, less wisdom, and less good faith than men do account upon.)

Note H.

Referring to page 23.

See the treatise de Augmentis, book viii. chapter 3, where the subject to which this note is annexed, is investigated.

"Let states and kingdoms that aim at greatness by all means take heed how the nobility and grandees, and that those which we call gentlemen, multiply too fast; for that makes the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain driven out of heart, and in effect nothing else but the nobleman's bondslaves and labourers. Even as you may see in coppice-wood, 'if you leave your studdles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes:' as in a country, if the nobility be too many, the commons will be base and heartless, and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth pole will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army, and so there will be a great population and little strength. This which I speak of, hath been in no nation more clearly confirmed than in the examples of England and France, whereof England, though far inferior in territory and population, hath been nevertheless always an overmatch in arms, in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of Henry the Seventh King of England, whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life, was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, or at least usufructuary, and not hirelings and mercenaries, and thus a country shall merit that character whereby Virgil expresses ancient Italy,

"Terra potens armis, atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that state which is almost peculiar to England, and for any thing I know, hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be perhaps in Poland, to be passed over, I mean the

state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen; of which sort even they of inferior condition, do not ways yield unto the yeomanry, for infantry. And therefore out of all question the magnificence and that hospitable splendour, the household servants, and great retinues of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom in England, doth much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas on the other side, the close, reserved and contracted living of noblemen, causeth a penury of military forces."

He is silent upon this subject in the Advancement of Learning, for a reason thus stated. "Considering that I write to a king that is master of this science, and is so well assisted, I think it decent to pass over this part in silence, as willing to obtain the certificate which one of the ancient philosophers aspired unto; who being silent, when others contended to make demonstration of their abilities by speech, desired it might be certified for his part, 'that there was one that knew how to hold his peace.'" But see the Essays upon the "True Greatness of Kingdoms and States."

See Goldsmith's Deserted Village.

> "A bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied," &c.

Note I.

Referring to page 24.

See, in this volume, page 70.

See also in the preface, *ante*, p. 6, under observations upon Meditationes Sacræ.

Note K

Referring to the letter prefixed, page 62.

"Sir,—Finding during parliament a willingness in you to conferre with me in this great service concerning the Union, I doe now take hold thereof to excuse my boldness to desire that now which you offred then for both the tyme as to leasure is more liberall and as to the service itself is more urgent whether it will like you to come to me to Graies In or to appoynt me whear to meete with you I am indifferent and leave it to your choise and accordingly desire to hear from you, so I remain yr very loving friend, F Bacon.

"Graies Inne this 8th of Sept. 1604.

"To Sir Robert Cotton."

Note L

Referring to preface, page 2.

OF STUDIES.

Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments, and for abilities. Their chiefe vse for pastime is in priuatenesse and retyring: for ornament is in discourse, and for ability is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

To spend too much time in them is sloth, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humor of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience. Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise-men vse them; for they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to beleeue, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and disgested. That is, some bookes are to be read only in parts: others to be read but cursorily, and some fewe to be read wholy and with dilligence and atention. Reading maketh a ful man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therfore if a man write little, he had need haue a great memory: if he confer little, haue a present wit, and if he read little, hee had need haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, Poets witty, the Mathematiks subtill, natural philosophy deep, Morall graue, Logick and Rhetoricke, able to contend.

OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to hold all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shold be thought. Some haue certain common-places and Theames wherein they are good, and want variety, which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous. The honorablest part of talke is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. It is good to vary and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with earnest. But some things are priuiledged from iest, namely religion, matters of state, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pitty. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much, specially if he apply his questions to the skill of the person of whom he asketh, for he shal giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledg of that you are thought to know, you shall bee thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, and there is but one case, wherein a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as wherevnto himselfe pretendeth. Discretion of speech is more than eloquence, and to speake agreeably to him, with whom we deale is more than to speake in good words or in good order. A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech without a good set speech sheweth shallowness and weaknesse, as we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne. To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to vse none at al is blunt.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is onely reall had neede haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the stone had neede be rich that is set without foyle. But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, "That light gaines make heauy purses," because they come thick, wheras great come but now and then, so it is as true that smal matters win great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of anye great vertue commeth but on holie daies. To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to dispise them, for so shal a man obserue them in others, and let him trust himselfe with the rest, for if he care to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be natural and vnaffected. Some mens behaviour is like a verse wherin euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his mind too much to small obseruations? Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect, especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and strange natures. Amongst a mans pieres a man shall be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is a good title to keep state: among a mans inferiors one shal be sure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he give another occasion of satiety, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another: yet to add somewhat of ones own, as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction. If you will follow his motion: let it be with condition: if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleadging further reason.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his trayne longer, he make his wings shorter: I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in sutes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation and protection from wrong.

Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, wher-vpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that wee many times see between great personages. The following by certain States answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, as of souldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuil and wel taken euen in Monarchies, so it bee without too much pompe or popularity. But the most honorable kind of following is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desert in all sorts of persons, and yet wher there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour. It is good not to make too much of any man at first because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be gouerned by one is not good, and to be distracted with many is worse: but to take aduice of friends is ever honorable: "For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, and the vale best discouereth the hill." There is little friendship in the world, and least of al between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

OF SUTORS.

Many ill matters are vndertaken, and manye good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to win a thanke, or take a second reward. Some take hold of sutes only for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise haue an apt pretext, without care what become of the sute, when that turn is serued. Nay some vndertake sutes with a ful purpose to let them fal, to the end to gratifie the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in sort a right in euery

sute, either a right of equity, if it be a sute of controuersie: or a right of desert, if it be a sute of petition. If affection lead a man to fauour the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affection lead a man to fauour the lesse worthy in desert, let him do it without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. In sutes a man doth not well vnderstand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and iudgment, that may report whether he may deale in them with honor. Sutors are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in sutes at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thanks then one hath deserued, is growen not only honorable, but also gratious. In sutes of fauor the first coming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the mater could not otherwise haue been had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note. To be ignorant of the value of a sute is simplicity, as wel as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in sutes is a great mean of obtaining, for voycing them to bee in forwardnesse may discourage some kind of autors, but doeth quicken and awake others. But tyming of the sutes is the principall, tyming I say not onely in respect of the person that should graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

OF EXPENCE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expence must bee limited by the worth of the ocasion, for voluntary vndoing may be as well for a mans country as for the kingdome of heauen, but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a man's estate, and gouerned with such regard as it be within his compasse and not subiect to decelte and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the billes may be lesse than the estimation abroad. It is no basenesse for the greatest to discend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into melancholy in respect they shall find it broken. "But wounds cannot bee cured without searching."

He that cannot looke into his own estate, had need both chuse wel those whom he employeth, yea and change them often. For newe are more timerous and lesse subtle. In clearing of a mans estate he may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it run on too long, for hasty selling is commonly as disaduantagable as interest. He that hath a state to repaire may not dispise smal things: and comonly it is lesse dishonorable to abridge petty charges then to stoupe to pettye gettinges. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may bee more magnificent.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

There is a wisedome in this beyond the rules of physicke. A mans own obseruation what hee findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it, then this, I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it. For strength of nature in youth passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discerne of the comming on of years, and thinke not to doe the same things still. Beware of any suddaine change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. To be free minded and chearefully disposed at houres of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting. If you fly physicke in health altogether, it will bee too strange to your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar it wil work no extraordinary effect when sicknes commeth. Despise no new accident in the body but aske opinion of it. In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodyes to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendring. Physitians are some of them so pleasing and comfortable to the humours of the patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease: and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art, for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, compound two of both sortes, and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honor is but the reuealing of a man's vertue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions doe affect honour and reputation, which sorte of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly litle admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valued in opinion. If a man performe that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath been atchiued, but not with so good circumstance, hee shall purchase more honor, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or vertue, wherin he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them he do content euery faction or combination of people, the Mvsicke will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honor that entreth into any action the failing wherin may disgrace him more, then the carrying of it through can honor him. Discreet followers help much to reputation. Envy which is the canker of honor is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his endes rather to seeke merite than fame, and by attributing a mans successes rather to deuine prouidence and felicity, then to his vertue or policy.

The true Marshaling of the degrees of Soueraigne Honour are these. In the first place are "Conditores," founders of states. In the second place are "Legislatores," Law-giuers, which are also called second founders, or "Perpetui principes," because they gouern by their ordinances after they are gone. In the third place are Liberatores, such as compounde the long miseries of ciuil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants. In the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii," such as in honorable wars inlarge their territories, or make Noble defence against inuaders. And in the last place are "Patres patriæ," which raigne justly, and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of honour in subiectes are first "Participes curarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affaires, their Right hands (as we call them.) The next are "Duces belli," great leaders, such as are Princes Lieutenantes, and do them notable services in the warres. The third are "Gratiosi," fauorites, such as exceed not this scantling to be solace to the Soveraigne, and harmles to the people. And the fourth "Negotys pares," such as have great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency.

OF FACTION.

Many have a newe wisedome indeed, a fond opinion: That for a prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principall part of policy. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisedome is eyther in ordering these things which are generall, and wherin men of several factions do neuertheles agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected. Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselves indifferent and neutral, yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderately, as hee be a man of the one faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth, which is good for a second. It is commonly seene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter. The traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth al the thanks.

OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a third then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an aunswere by Letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne Letter. To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiors. In choyce of instrumentes it is better to chuse men of a playner sort that are like to doe that that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other men's busines somewhat to grace themselues, and will help the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake.

It is better to sounde a person with whom one deales a far off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where they would be. If a man deale with another vpon conditions, the start or first performance is al, which a man cannot reasonably demaund, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before, or else a man can perswade the other party that he shal stil need him in some other thing, or els that he be counted the honester man. All practise is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnwares, and of necessity, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must eyther know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his endes, and so win him; or his weaknesse or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne him. In dealing with cunning persons wee must euer consider their ends to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

MEDITATIONES SACRÆ.

OF THE WORKS OF GOD AND MAN.

God beheld all things which his hands had made, and lo they were all passing good. But when man turned him about, and took a view of the works which his hands had made, he found all to be vanity and vexation of spirit: wherefore, if thou shalt work in the works of God, thy sweat shall be as an ointment of odours, and thy rest as the sabbath of God: thou shalt travail in the sweat of a good conscience, and shalt keep holy day in the quietness and liberty of the sweetest contemplations; but if thou shalt aspire after the glorious acts of men, thy working shall be accompanied with compunction and strife, and thy remembrance followed with distaste and upbraidings; and justly doth it come to pass towards thee, O man, that since thou, which art God's work, doest him no reason in yielding him well-pleasing service, even thine own works also should reward thee with the like fruit of bitterness.

OF THE MIRACLES OF OUR SAVIOUR.

"He hath done all things well."

A true confession and applause. God when he created all things saw that every thing in particular and all things in general were exceeding good; God, the Word, in the miracles which he wrought, (now every miracle is a new creation, and not according to the first creation,) would do nothing which breathed not towards men favour and bounty: Moses wrought miracles, and scourged the Egyptians with many plagues: Elias wrought miracles, and shut up heaven, that no rain should fall upon the earth; and again brought down from heaven the fire of God upon the captains and their bands: Elizeus wrought also, and called bears out of the desert to devour young children: Peter struck Ananias, the sacrilegious hypocrite, with present death; and Paul, Elymas, the sorcerer, with blindness; but no such thing did Jesus, the Spirit of God descended down upon him in the form of a dove, of whom he said, "You know not of what spirit you are." The spirit of Jesus is the spirit of a dove; those servants of God were as the oxen of God treading out the corn, and trampling the straw down under their feet; but Jesus is the Lamb of God, without wrath or judgments; all his miracles were consummate about man's body, as his doctrine respected the soul of man: the body of man needeth these things; sustenance, defence from outward wrongs, and medicine; it was he that drew a multitude of fishes into the nets, that he might give unto men more liberal provision: He turned water, a less worthy nourishment of man's body, into wine, a more worthy, that glads the heart of man: He sentenced the fig-tree to wither for not doing that duty whereunto it was ordained, which is, to bear fruit for men's food: He multiplied the scarcity of a few loaves and fishes to a sufficiency to victual an host of people: He rebuked the winds that threatened destruction to the seafaring men: He restored motion to the lame, light to the blind, speech to the dumb, health to the sick, cleanness to the leprous, a right mind to those that were possessed, and life to the dead. No miracle of his is to be found to have been of judgment or revenge, but all of goodness and mercy, and respecting man's body; for as touching riches he did not vouchsafe to do any miracle, save one only, that tribute might be given to Cæsar.

OF THE INNOCENCY OF THE DOVE, AND THE WISDOM OF THE SERPENT.

"The fool receiveth not the word of wisdom, except thou discover to him what he hath in his heart."

To a man of a perverse and corrupt judgment all instruction or persuasion is fruitless and contemptible, which begins not with discovery and laying open of the distemper and ill complexion of the mind which is to be recured, as a plaster is unseasonably applied before the wound be searched; for men of corrupt understanding, that have lost all sound discerning of good and evil, come possest with this prejudicate opinion, that they think all honesty and goodness proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and unacquaintance with the affairs of the world. Therefore, except they may perceive that those things which are in their hearts, that is to say, their own corrupt principles, and the deepest reaches of their cunning and rottenness to be thoroughly sounded, and known to him that goes about to persuade with them, they make but a play of the words of wisdom. Therefore it behoveth him which aspireth to a goodness (not retired or particular to himself, but a fructifying and begetting goodness which should draw on others) to know those points, which be called in the Revelation the deeps of Satan, that he may speak with authority and true insinuation. Hence

is the precept, "Try all things, and hold that which is good;" which endureth a discerning election out of an examination whence nothing at all is excluded: out of the same fountain ariseth that direction, "Be you wise as serpents and innocent as doves." There are neither teeth nor stings, nor venom, nor wreaths and folds of serpents, which ought not to be all known, and, as far as examination doth lead, tried: neither let any man here fear infection or pollution, for the sun entereth into sinks and is not defiled; neither let any man think that herein he tempteth God, for his diligence and generality of examination is commanded, and God is sufficient to preserve you immaculate and pure.

OF THE EXALTATION OF CHARITY.

"If I have rejoiced at the overthrow of him that hated me, or took pleasure when adversity did befall him."

The detestation or renouncing of Job. For a man to love again where he is loved, it is the charity of publicans contracted by mutual profit and good offices; but to love a man's enemies is one of the cunningest points of the law of Christ, and an imitation of the divine nature. But yet again, of this charity there be divers degrees; whereof the first is, to pardon our enemies when they repent: of which charity there is a shadow and image, even in noble beasts; for of lions, it is a received opinion that their fury and fierceness ceaseth towards any thing that yieldeth and prostrateth itself. The second degree is, to pardon our enemies, though they persist, and without satisfactions and submissions. The third degree is, not only to pardon and forgive, and forbear our enemies, but to deserve well of them, and to do them good: but all these three degrees either have or may have in them a certain bravery and greatness of the mind rather than pure charity; for when a man perceiveth virtue to proceed and flow from himself, it is possible that he is puffed up and takes contentment rather in the fruit of his own virtue than in the good of his neighbours; but if any evil overtake the enemy from any other coast than from thyself, and thou in the inwardest motions of thy heart be grieved and compassionate, and dost noways insult, as if thy days of right and revenge were at the last come; this I interpret to be the height and exaltation of charity.

OF THE MODERATION OF CARES.

"Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

There ought to be a measure in worldly cares, otherwise they are both unprofitable, as those which oppress the mind and astonish the judgment, and profane, as those which savour of a mind which promiseth to itself a certain perpetuity in the things of this world; for we ought to be day's men and not to-morrow's men, considering the shortness of our time; and as he saith, "Laying hold on the present day;" for future things shall in their turns become presents, therefore the care of the present sufficeth: and yet moderate cares (whether they concern our particular, or the commonwealth, or our friends) are not blamed. But herein is a twofold excess; the one when the chain or thread of our cares, extended and spun out to an over great length, and unto times too far off, as if we could bind the divine providence by our provisions, which even with the heathen, was always found to be a thing insolent and unlucky; for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready at hand to apprehend with alacrity the present occasions, have for the most part in their actions been happy; but they who in a compass, wisdom, have entered into a confidence that they had belayed all events, have for the most part encountered misfortune. The second excess is, when we dwell longer in our cares than is requisite for due deliberating or firm resolving; for who is there amongst us that careth no more than sufficeth either to resolve of a course or to conclude upon an impossibility, and doth not still chew over the same things, and tread a maze in the same thoughts, and vanisheth in them without issue or conclusion: which kind of cares are most contrary to all divine and human respects.

OF EARTHLY HOPE.

"Better is the sight of the eye, than the apprehension of the mind."

Pure sense receiving every thing according to the natural impression, makes a better state and government of the mind, than these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind; for the mind of man hath this nature and property even in the gravest and most settled wits, that from the sense of every particular, it doth as it were bound and spring forward, and take hold of other matters, foretelling unto itself that all shall prove like unto that which beateth upon the present sense; if the sense be of good, it easily runs into an unlimited hope, and into a like fear, when the sense is of evil, according as is said

"The oracles of hopes doth oft abuse."

And that contrary,

"A froward soothsayer is fear in doubts."

But yet of fear there may be made some use; for it prepareth patience and awaketh industry,

"No shape of ill, comes new or strange to me,
All sorts set down, yea, and prepared be."

But hope seemeth a thing altogether unprofitable; for to what end serveth this conceit of good. Consider and note a little if the good fall out less than thou hopest; good though it be, yet less because it is, it seemeth rather loss than benefit through thy excess of hope; if the good prove equal and proportionable in event to thy hope, yet

the flower thereof by thy hope is gathered; so as when it comes the grace of it is gone, and it seems used, and therefore sooner draweth on satiety; admit thy success prove better than thy hope, it is true a gain seems to be made: but had it not been better to have gained the principal by hoping for nothing, than the increase by hoping for less; and this is the operation of hope in good fortunes, but in misfortunes it weakeneth all force and vigour of the mind; for neither is there always matter of hope, and if there be, yet if it fail but in part, it doth wholly overthrow the constancy and resolution of the mind; and besides, though it doth carry us through, yet it is a greater dignity of mind to bear evils by fortitude and judgment, than by a kind of absenting and alienation of the mind from things present to things future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it was much lightness in the poets to fain hope to be as a counterpoison of human diseases, as to mitigate and assuage the fury and anger of them, whereas indeed it doth kindle and enrage them, and causeth both doubling of them and relapses. Notwithstanding we see that the greatest number of men give themselves over to their imaginations of hope and apprehensions of the mind in such sort, that ungrateful towards things past, and in a manner unmindful of things present, as if they were ever children and beginners, they are still in longing for things to come. "I saw all men walking under the sun, resort and gather to the second person, which was afterwards to succeed: this is an evil disease, and a great idleness of the mind."

But perhaps you will ask the question, whether it be not better, when things stand in doubtful terms, to presume the best, and rather hope well than distrust; especially seeing that hope doth cause a greater tranquillity of mind?

Surely I do judge a state of mind which in all doubtful expectations is settled and floateth not; and doth this out of a good government and composition of the affections, to be one of the principal supporters of man's life: but that assurance and repose of the mind, which only rides at anchor upon hope, I do reject as wavering and weak; not that it is not convenient to foresee and presuppose out of a sound and sober conjecture, as well the good as the evil, that thereby we may fit our actions to the probabilities and likelihoods of their event, so that this be a work of the understanding and judgment, with a due bent and inclination of the affection: but which of you hath so kept his hopes within limits, as when it is so, that you have out of a watchful and strong discourse of the mind set down the better success to be in apparency the more likely; you have not dwelt upon the very muse and forethought of the good to come, and giving scope and favour unto your mind, to fall into such cogitations as into a pleasant dream; and this it is which makes the mind light, frothy, unequal, and wandering; wherefore all our hope is to be bestowed upon the heavenly life to come: but here on earth the purer our sense is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and wiser soul.

"The sum of life to little doth amount,
And therefore doth forbid a longer count."

OF HYPOCRITES.

"I demand mercy, and not sacrifice."

All the boasting of the hypocrite is of the works of the first table of the law, which is of adoration and duty towards God; whereof the reason is double, both because such works have a greater pomp and demonstration of holiness, and also because they do less cross their affections and desires; therefore the way to convict hypocrites, is to send them from the works of sacrifice to the works of mercy, whence cometh that saying:

"This is pure and immaculate religion with God the Father, to visit orphans and widows in their tribulations:" and that saying, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen."

Now there is another kind of deeper and more extravagant hypocrisy; for some, deceiving themselves, and thinking themselves worthy of a more near access and conversation with God, do neglect the duties of charity towards their neighbour, as inferior matters, which did not indeed cause originally the beginning of a monastical life, (for the beginnings were good,) but brought in that excess and abuse which are followed after; for it is truly said, "That the office of praying is a great office in the church:" and it is for the good of the church that there be consorts of men freed from the cares of this world, who may with daily and devout supplications and observances solicit the Divine Majesty for the causes of the church. But unto this ordinance, that other hypocrisy is a nigh neighbour; neither is the general institution to be blamed, but those spirits which exalt themselves too high to be refrained; for even Enoch, which was said to walk with God, did prophesy, as is delivered unto us by Jude, and did endow the church with the fruit of his prophesy which he left: and John Baptist, unto whom they did refer as to the author of a monastical life, travelled and exercised much in the ministry both of prophesy and baptizing; for as to these others, who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question, "If thou do justly what is that to God, or what profit doth he take by thy hands?" Wherefore the works of mercy are they which are the works of distinction, whereby to find out hypocrites. But with heretics it is contrary; for as hypocrites, with their dissembling holiness towards God, do palliate and cover their injuries towards men; so heretics, by their morality and honest carriage towards men, insinuate and make a way with their blasphemies against God.

OF IMPOSTORS.

"Whether we be transported in mind it is to Godward; Or whether we be sober it is to youward."

This is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is God's faithful workman; his carriage and conversation towards God is full of passion, of zeal, and of tramisses; thence proceed groans unspeakable, and exultings likewise in comfort, ravishment of spirit and agonies; but contrariwise, his carriage and conversation towards men is full of mildness, sobriety, and appliable demeanour. Hence is that saying, "I am become all things to all men," and such like. Contrary it is with hypocrites and impostors, for they in the church, and before the people, set themselves on fire, and are carried as it were out of themselves, and becoming as men inspired with holy furies, they set heaven and earth together; but if a man did see their solitary and separate meditations and conversation whereunto God is only privy, he might, towards God, find them not only cold and without virtue, but also full of ill-nature and leaven; "Sober enough to God, and transported only towards men."

OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF IMPOSTURE.

"Avoid profane strangeness of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called."
"Avoid fond and idle fables."
"Let no man deceive you by high speech."

There are three forms of speaking, which are as it were the style and phrase of imposture: the first kind is of them, who as soon as they have gotten any subject or matter do straight cast it into an art, inventing new terms of art, reducing all into divisions and distinctions; thence drawing assertions or positions, and so framing oppositions by questions and answers. Hence issueth the cobwebs and clatterings of the schoolmen.

The second kind is of them, who out of the vanity of their wit (as church poets) do make and devise all variety of tales, stories, and examples; whereby they may lead men's minds to a belief, from whence did grow the legends and infinite fabulous inventions and dreams of the ancient heretics.

The third kind is of them who fill men's cares with mysteries, high parables, allegories, and illusions; which mystical and profound form many of the heretics also made choice of. By the first kind of these, the capacity and wit of man is fettered and entangled; by the second, it is trained on and inveigled; by the third, it is astonished and enchanted; but by every of them the while it is seduced and abused.

OF ATHEISM.

"The fool hath said in his heart there is no God."

First, it is to be noted, that the Scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, and not thought in his heart;" that is to say, he doth not so fully think it in judgment, as he hath a good will to be of that belief; for seeing it makes not for him that there should be a God, he doth seek by all means accordingly to persuade and resolve himself, and studies to affirm, prove, and verify it to himself as some theme or position: all which labour, notwithstanding that sparkle of our creation light, whereby men acknowledge a Deity burneth still within; and in vain doth he strive utterly to alienate it or put it out, so that it is out of the corruption of his heart and will, and not out of the natural apprehension of his brain and conceit, that he doth set down his opinion, as the comical poet saith, "Then came my mind to be of mine opinion," as if himself and his mind had been two divers things; therefore the atheist hath rather said, and held it in his heart, than thought or believed in his heart that there is no God; secondly, it is to be observed, that he hath said in his heart, and not spoken it with his mouth. But again you shall note, that this smothering of this persuasion within the heart cometh to pass for fear of government and of speech amongst men; for, as he saith, "To deny God in a public argument were much, but in a familiar conference were current enough:" for if this bridle were removed, there is no heresy which would contend more to spread and multiply, and disseminate itself abroad, than atheism: neither shall you see those men which are drenched in this frenzy of mind to breathe almost any thing else, or to inculcate even without occasion any thing more than speech tending to atheism, as may appear in Lucretius the epicure, who makes of his invectives against religion as it were a burden or verse of return to all his other discourses; the reason seems to be, for that the atheist not relying sufficiently upon himself, floating in mind and unsatisfied, and enduring within many faintings, and as it were fails of his opinion, desires by other men's opinions agreeing with his, to be recovered and brought again; for it is a true saying, "Whoso laboureth earnestly to prove an opinion to another, himself distrusts it:" thirdly, it is a fool that hath so said in his heart, which is most true; not only in respect that he hath no taste in those things which are supernatural and divine; but in respect of human and civil wisdom: for first of all, if you mark the wits and dispositions which are inclined to atheism, you shall find them light, scoffing, impudent, and vain; briefly of such a constitution as is most contrary to wisdom and moral gravity.

Secondly, amongst statesmen and politics, those which have been of greatest depths and compass, and of largest and most universal understanding, have not only in cunning made their profit in seeming religious to the people, but in truth have been touched with an inward sense of the knowledge of Deity, as they which you shall evermore note to have attributed much to fortune and providence.

Contrariwise, those who ascribed all things to their own cunning and practices, and to the immediate and apparent causes, and as the prophet saith, "Have sacrificed to their own nets," have been always but petty counterfeit statesman, and not capable of the greatest actions.

Lastly, this I dare affirm in knowledge of nature, that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but on the other side, much natural philosophy and wading deep into it, will bring about men's minds to religion; wherefore atheism every way seems to be combined with folly and ignorance, seeing nothing can can be more justly allotted to be the saying of fools than this, "There is no God."

OF HERESIES.

"You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God."

This canon is the mother of all canons against heresy; the causes of error are two; the ignorance of the will of God, and the ignorance or not sufficient consideration of his power; the will of God is more revealed by the Scriptures, and therefore the precept is, "Search the Scriptures;" the will of God is more revealed by the creatures, and therefore the precept is, "Behold and consider the creatures:" so is the fulness of the power of God to be affirmed, as we make no imputation to his will; so is the goodness of the will of God to be affirmed, as we make no derogation from his power: therefore true religion seated in the mean betwixt superstition, with superstitious heresies on the one side, and atheism with profane heresies on the other; superstition, rejecting the light of the Scriptures, and giving itself over to ungrounded traditions, and writings doubtful and not canonical, or to new revelations, or to untrue interpretations of the Scriptures, themselves do forge and dream many things of the will of God, which are strange and far distant from the true sense of the Scriptures; but atheism and theomachy rebelleth and mutinieth against the power of God, giving no faith to his word which revealeth his will, upon a discredit and unbelief of his power to whom all things are possible. Now, those heresies which spring out of this fountain seem more heinous than the other; for even in civil governments it is held an offence in a higher degree to deny the power and authority of a prince than to touch his honour and fame. Of these heresies which derogate from the power of God, beside plain atheism, there are three degrees, and they all have one and the same mystery; for all antichristianity worketh in a mystery, that is, under the shadow of good, and it is this, to free and deliver the will of God from all imputation and aspersion of evil. The first degree is of those who make and suppose two principles contrary and fighting one against the other, the one of good, the other of evil.

The second degree is of them to whom the majesty of God seems too much wronged, in setting up and erecting against him another adverse and opposite principle, namely such a principle as should be active and affirmative, that is to say, cause or fountain of any essence or being; therefore rejecting all such presumption, they do nevertheless bring in against God a principal negative and privative, that is a cause of not being and subsisting, for they will have it to be an inbred proper work, and nature of the matter and creature itself, of itself to turn again and resolve into confusion and nothing, not knowing that it is an effect of one and the same omnipotency to make nothing of somewhat as to make somewhat of nothing. The third degree is, of those who abridge and restrain the former opinion only to those human actions which partake of sin, which actions they will have to depend substantively and originally, and without any sequel or subordination of causes upon the will, and make and set down and appoint larger limits of the knowledge of God than of his power, or rather of that part of God's power, (for knowledge itself is a power whereby he knoweth,) than of that by which he moveth and worketh, making him foreknow some things idle, and as a looker on, which he doth not predestinate nor ordain: not unlike to that devise which Epicurus brought into Democritus' opinion, to take away destiny, and make way to fortune, to wit; the start and slip of Attemus, which always of the wiser sort was rejected as a frivolous shift: but whatsoever depends not of God, as author and principle by inferior links and degrees, that must needs be in place of God, and a new principle, and a certain usurping God; wherefore worthily is that opinion refused as an indignity and derogation to the majesty and power of God, and yet it is most truly affirmed, that God is not the author of evil, not because he is not author, but because not as of evil.

OF THE CHURCH AND THE SCRIPTURES.

"Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle from the tradition of tongues."

The contradiction of tongues doth everywhere meet with us out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whithersoever thou shall turn thyself thou shalt find no end of controversies except thou withdraw thyself into that tabernacle. Thou wilt say it is true, and that it is to be understood of the unity of the church; but hear and note; there was in the tabernacle the ark, and in the ark the testimony or tables of the law: what dost thou tell me of the husk of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimony: the tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and delivering over from hand to hand of the testimony. In like manner the custody and passing over of the Scriptures is committed unto the church, but the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.

OF THE

COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

A FRAGMENT.*—A.D. 1597.

TO THE LORD MOUNTJOYE.

I SEND you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who, as your lordship knoweth, goeth for the best author. But saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation, the man being a Grecian, and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, hath so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good house-hen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants' eggs. And yet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation, I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge, that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation, as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affectation to be subtile, as one that if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy, to keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive; nor to be a master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument, to make it pleasant and lightsome, pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the taste of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear to your lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues, and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your lordship after the ancient manner: choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceived the argument was agreeable.

OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

IN deliberatives the point is, what is good, and what is evil, and of good what is greater, and of evil what is less.

So that the persuader's labour is to make things appear good or evil, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be performed by true and solid reasons, so it may be represented also by colours, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinary judgment either of a weak man, or of a wise man not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subject in appearance, and so to lead to error, they are of no less use to quicken and strengthen the opinions and persuasions which are true: for reasons plainly delivered, and always after one manner, especially with fine and fastidious minds, enter but heavily and dully: whereas if they be varied and have more life and vigour put into them by these forms and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddenly win the mind to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgment, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the mind, than the discovering and reprehension of these Colours, showing in what cases they hold, and in

* See the "Advancement of Learning," and the treatise "De Augmentis," under the title Rhetoric.

what they deceive: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universal knowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth man's judgment and election, as it is the less apt to slide into any error.

A Table of the Colours or Appearances of Good and Evil, and their degrees, as places of persuasion and dissuasion, and their several fallacies and the elenches of them.

I.

"Cui cateræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent, melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere."*

So Cicero went about to prove the sect of Academics, which suspended all asseveration, for to be the best: for, saith he, ask a Stoic which philosophy is true, he will prefer his own. Then ask him which approacheth next the truth, he will confess the Academics. So deal with the Epicure, that will scant endure the Stoic to be in sight of him, so soon as he hath placed himself, he will place the Academics next him.

So if a prince took divers competitors to a place, and examined them severally, whom next themselves they would rarest commend, it were like the ablest man should have the most second voices.

The fallax of this colour happeneth oft in respect of envy, for men are accustomed after themselves and their own faction, to incline unto them which are softest, and are least in their way, in despite and derogation of them, that hold them hardest to it. So that this colour of meliority and pre-eminence is a sign of enervation and weakness.

II.

"Cujus excellentia vel exsuperantia melior, id toto genere melius."†

Appertaining to this are the forms: "Let us not wander in generalities: Let us compare particular with particular," &c. This appearance, though it seem of strength, and rather logical than rhetorical yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometime because some things are in kind very casual, which if they escape, prove excellent, so that the kind is inferior, because it is so subject to peril, but that which is excellent being proved is superior, as the blossom of March and the blossom of May, whereof the French verse goeth:

"Burgeon de Mars, enfans de Paris,
Si un eschape, il en vaut dix."

So that the blossom of May is generally better than the blossom of March, and yet the best blossom of March is better than the best blossom of May. Sometimes because the nature of some kinds is to be more equal, and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath been noted in the warmer climates, the people are generally more wise, but in the northern climates the wits of chief are greater. So in many armies, if the matter should be tried by duel between two champions, the victory should go on the one side, and yet if it be tried by the gross, it would go on the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kinds go by a more certain nature, as by discipline in war.

Lastly many kinds have much refuse, which countervail that which they have excellent, and therefore generally metal is more precious than stone; and yet a diamond is more precious than gold.

III.

"Quod ad veritatem refertur majus est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem et probatio ejus quod ad opinionem pertinet hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset."‡

So the Epicures say of the Stoics felicity placed in virtue; that it is like the felicity of a player, who if he were left of his auditory and their applause, he would straight be out of heart and countenance, and therefore they call virtue "bonum theatrale." But of riches the poet saith;

"Populus me sibilat,
At mihi plaudo."

And of pleasure,

"Grata sub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem."

The fallax of this colour is somewhat subtile, though the answer to the example be ready, for virtue is not chosen "propter auram popularem." But contrariwise, "maxime omnium teipsum revererе," so as a virtuous man will be virtuous in "solitudine," and not only in "theatro," though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heat which is doubled by reflection; but that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax, whereof the reprehension is: Allow that virtue, (such as is joined with labour and conflict,) would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not, that the chief motive of the election should not be real and for itself, for fame may be only "causa impulsiva," and not "causa constituens, or efficiens." As if there were two horses, and the one would do better without the spur than the other: but again, the other with the spur would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the spur also: yet the latter will be judged to be the better horse. And the form as to say, "Tush, the life of this horse is but in the spur," will not serve as to a wise judgment; for since the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the spur, and that it is no manner of impediment, nor burden, the horse is not to be accounted the

* "Since all parties or sects challenge the pre-eminence of the first place to themselves, that to which all the rest with one consent give the second place, seems to be better than the others: for every one seems to take the first place out of self-zeal but to give the second where it is really due."

† "That kind is altogether best, whose excellence or pre-eminence is best."

‡ "That which hath a relation to truth is greater than that which refers to opinion: but the measure and trial of that which belongs to opinion is this: It is that which a man would not do, if he thought it would not be known."

less of, which will not do well without the spur, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacy, than a virtue: so glory and honour are the spurs to virtue: and although virtue would languish without them, yet since they be always at hand to attend virtue, virtue is not to be said the less chosen for itself, because it needeth the spur of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, "nota ejus rei quod propter opinionem et non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est; quod quis si, clam putaret fore, facturus non esset," is reprehended.

IV.

"Quod rem integram servat bonum, quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentiæ genus est, potentia autem bonum."*

Herkof Æsop framed the fable of the two frogs that consulted together in the time of drought, when many plashes that they had repaired to were dry, what was to be done, and the one propounded to go down into a deep well, because it was like the water would not fail there; but the other answered, yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again. And the reason is, that human actions are so uncertain and subject to perils, as that seemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it. Appertaining to this persuasion, the forms are, you shall engage yourself, on the other side, "tantum, quantum voles, sumes ex fortuna," &c. you shall keep the matter in your own hand. The reprehension of it is, that proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessary. For as he saith well, not to resolve, is to resolve, and many times it breeds as many necessities, and engageth as far in some other sort, as to resolve. So it is but the covetous man's disease, translated into power; for the covetous man will enjoy nothing, because he will have his full store and possibility to enjoy the more; so by this reason, a man should execute nothing, because he should be still indifferent, and at liberty to execute any thing. Besides necessity and this same "jacta est alea," hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the mind, and strengtheneth endeavour, "cæteris paret necessitate certe superiores istis."

V.

"Quod ex pluribus constat et divisibilibus, est majus quam quod ex paucioribus et magis unum; nam omnia per partes considerata majora videntur, quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert: fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, et impedit comprehensionem."†

This colour seemeth palpable, for it is not plurality of parts, without majority of parts, that maketh the total greater, yet nevertheless, it often carries the mind away, yea, it deceiveth the sense; as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way, if it be all dead, and continued, than if it have trees or buildings, or any other marks, whereby the eye may divide it. So when a great moneyed man hath divided his chests, and coins, and bags, he seemeth to himself richer than he was, and therefore a way to amplify any thing is, to break it and to make anatomy of it in several parts, and to examine it according to several circumstances. And this maketh the greater show if it be done without order, for confusion maketh things muster more; and besides, what is set down by order and division, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the mind comprehendeth less that which is set down; and besides, it leaveth a suspicion, as if more might be said than is expressed.

This colour deceiveth, if the mind of him that is to be persuaded, do of itself over-conceive, or prejudge of the greatness of any thing; for then the breaking of it will make it seem less, because it maketh it to appear more according to the truth: and therefore if a man be in sickness or pain, the time will seem longer without a clock or hourglass, than with it; for the mind doth value every moment, and then the hour doth rather sum up the moments than divide the day. So in a dead plain the way seemeth longer, because the eye hath preconceived it shorter than the truth, and the frustrating of that maketh it seem longer than the truth. Therefore if any man have an over-great opinion of any thing, then if another think by breaking it into several considerations he shall make it seem greater to him, he will be deceived; and therefore in such cases it is not safe to divide, but to extol the entire, still in general. Another case wherein this colour deceiveth is, when the matter broken or divided is not comprehended by the sense or mind at once, in respect of the distracting or scattering of it; and being entire and not divided, is comprehended; as an hundred pounds in heaps of five pounds will show more than in one gross heap, so as the heaps be all upon one table to be seen at once, otherwise not; as flowers growing scattered in divers beds will show more than if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot, that they be objects to view at once, otherwise not: and therefore men, whose living lieth together in one shire, are commonly counted greater landed than those whose livings are dispersed, though it be more, because of the notice and comprehension. A third case wherein this colour deceiveth, and it is not so properly a case of reprehension, as it is a counter colour, being in effect as large as the colour itself; and that is, "omnis compositio indigentiæ cujusdam videtur esse particeps," because if one thing would serve the turn, it were ever best, but the defect and im-

* "That which keeps a matter safe and entire is good; but what is destitute and unprovided of retreat is bad; for whereas all ability of acting is good, not to be able to withdraw one's self is a kind of impotency."

† "That which consists of more parts and those divisible, is greater, and more one than what is made up of fewer; for all things when they are looked upon piecemeal seem greater; when also a plurality of parts make a show of bulk considerable, which a plurality of parts affects more strongly, if they be in no certain order; for it then resembles an infinity, and hinders the comprehending of them."

perfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them up; as it is said, "Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit." So likewise hereupon Æsop framed the fable of the fox and the cat; whereas the fox bragged what a number of shifts and devices he had to get from the hounds, and the cat said she had but one, which was to climb a tree, which in proof was better worth than all the rest; whereof the proverb grew, "Multa novit vulpes, sed felis unum magnum." And in the moral of this fable it comes likewise to pass, that a good sure friend is a better help at a pinch than all the stratagems and policies of a man's own wit. So it falleth out to be a common error in negotiating, whereas men have many reasons to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to utter and use them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth, as was said, a neediness in every of the reasons, by itself, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself only with that: "Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant." Indeed in a set speech in an assembly, it is expected a man should use all his reasons in the case he handleth, but in private persuasions it is always a great error. A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended, is in respect of that same "vis unita fortior," according to the tale of the French king, that when the emperor's ambassador had recited his master's style at large, which consisteth of many countries and dominions; the French king willed his chancellor, or other minister, to repeat and say over France as many times as the other had recited the several dominions; intending it was equivalent with them all, and besides more compacted and united. There is also appertaining to this colour another point, why breaking of a thing doth help it, not by way of adding a show of magnitude unto it, but a note of excellency and rarity; whereof the forms are, Where shall you find such a concurrence; Great but not complete; for it seems a less work of nature or fortune, to make any thing in his kind greater than ordinary, than to make a strange composition. Yet if it be narrowly considered, this colour will be reprehended or encountered, by imputing to all excellencies in compositions a kind of poverty, or at least a casualty or jeopardy; for from that which is excellent in greatness, somewhat may be taken, or there may be decay, and yet sufficiency left; but from that which hath his price in composition, if you take away any thing, or any part do fail, all is disgrace.

VI.

"Cujus privatio bona, malum; cujus privatio mala, bonum."*

The forms to make it conceived, that that was evil which is changed for the better, are, He that is in hell thinks there is no other heaven. "Satis quercus." Acorns were good till bread was found, &c. And of the other side, the forms to make it conceived, that that was good which was changed for the worse, are, "Bona magis carendo quam fruendo sentimus: Bona a tergo formosissima;" Good things never appear in their full beauty, till they turn their back and be going away, &c.

The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or evil which is removed may be esteemed good or evil comparatively, and not positively or simply. So that if the privation be good, it follows not the former condition was evil, but less good; for the flower or blossom is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruit, be a comparative good. So in the tale of Æsop, when the old fainting man in the heat of the day cast down his burden and called for Death; and when Death came to know his will with him, said, it was for nothing but to help him up with his burden again: it doth not follow, that because Death, which was the privation of the burden, was ill, therefore the burden was good. And in this part, the ordinary form of "malum necessarium" aptly reprehendeth this colour, for "privatio mali necessarii est mala," and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessary evil, but it is evil.

Again it cometh sometimes to pass, that there is an equality in the change of privation, and as it were a "dilemma boni," or a "dilemma mali:" so that the corruption of the one good, is a generation of the other. "Sorti pater æquus utrique est:" and contrary, the remedy of the one evil is the occasion and commencement of another, as in Scylla and Charybdis.

VII.

"Quod bono vicinum, bonum; quod a bono remotum, malum."†

Such is the nature of things, that things contrary, and distant in nature and quality, are also severed and disjoined in place; and things like and consenting in quality, are placed, and as it were quartered together: for, partly in regard of the nature to spread, multiply, and infect in similitude; and partly in regard of the nature to break, expel, and alter that which is disagreeable and contrary, most things do either associate, and draw near to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approacheth near them, and do also drive away, chase and exterminate their contraries. And that is the reason commonly yielded, why the middle region of the air should be coldest, because the sun and stars are either hot by direct beams, or by reflection. The direct beams heat the upper region, the reflected beams from the earth and seas heat the lower region. That which is in the midst,

* "That whose privation (or the want of which) is good, is in itself evil; that whose privation (or the want whereof) is an evil, is in itself good."

† "What is near to good, is good; what is at a distance from good, is evil."

being farthest distant in place from these two regions of heat, are most distant in nature, that is, coldest; which is that they term cold or hot "per antiperistasin," that is, environing by contraries: which was pleasantly taken hold of by him that said, that an honest man, in these days, must needs be more honest than in ages heretofore, "propter antiperistasin," because the shutting of him in the midst of contraries, must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in itself.

The reprehension of this colour is: first, many things of amplitude in their kind do as it were ingross to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute: as the shoots or underwood, that grow near a great and spread tree, is the most pined and shrubby wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sap and nourishment; so he saith well, "divitus servi maxime servi;" and the comparison was pleasant of him, that compared courtiers attendant in the courts of princes without great place or office, to fasting-days, which were next the holydays, but otherwise were the leanest days in all the week.

Another reprehension is, that things of greatness and predominancy, though they do not extenuate the things adjoining in substance, yet they drown them and obscure them in show and appearance; and therefore the astronomers say, That whereas in all other planets conjunction is the perfectest amity; the sun contrariwise is good by aspect, but evil by conjunction.

A third reprehension is, because evil approacheth to good sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection; and good to evil for conversion and reformation. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for coverts and hiding itself; "sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni:" and sanctuary-men, which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates, and holy men; for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are revered. On the other side, our Saviour, charged with nearness of publicans and rioters, said, "The physician approacheth the sick rather than the whole."

VIII.

"Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum, quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum."*

The reason is, because the sting and remorse of the mind accusing itself doubleth all adversity: contrariwise, the considering and recording inwardly, that a man is clear and free from fault and just imputation, doth attempter outward calamities. For if the evil be in the sense, and in the conscience both, there is a gemination of it; but if evil be in the one, and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation: so the poets in tragedies do make the most passionate lamentations, and those that forerun final despair, to be accusing, questioning, and torturing of a man's self.

"Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum."

And contrariwise, the extremities of worthy persons have been annihilated in the consideration of their own good deserving. Besides, when the evil cometh from without, there is left a kind of evaporation of grief, if it come by human injury, either by indignation, and meditating of revenge from ourselves, or by expecting or foreconceiving that Nemesis and retribution will take hold of the authors of our hurt: or if it be by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kind of expostulation against the divine powers;

"Atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater."

But where the evil is derived from a man's own fault, there all strikes deadly inwards and suffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is, first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faults is "in nostra potestate;" but amendment of our fortune simply is not. Therefore, Demosthenes, in many of his orations, saith thus to the people of Athens: "That which having regard to the time past is the worst point and circumstance of all the rest; that as to the time to come is the best: what is that? Even this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgovernment, your affairs are grown to this declination and decay. For had you used and ordered your means and forces to the best, and done your parts every way to the full, and, notwithstanding, your matters should have gone backward in this manner, as they do, there had been no hope left of recovery or reparation; but since it hath been only by your own errors," &c So Epictetus in his degrees saith, "The worst state of man is to accuse external things, better than that to accuse a man's self, and best of all to accuse neither."

Another reprehension of this colour is, in respect of the well-bearing of evils wherewith a man can charge nobody but himself, which maketh them the less

"Leve fit quod bene fertur onus."

And therefore many natures that are either extremely proud, and will take no fault to themselves, or else very true and cleaving to themselves, when they see the blame of any thing that falls out ill must light upon themselves, have no other shift but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it; for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much ado is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a son, or by a wife, or by a near friend, then it is light made of: so much more when a man must take it upon himself. And therefore it is commonly seen, that women that marry husbands of their own choosing against

* "That which a man hath procured by his own default is a greater mischief, (or evil:) that which is laid on him by others is a lesser evil."

their friends' consents, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but set a good face on it.

IX.

"Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est, majus bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum, est minus bonum."*

The reasons are, first, the future hope, because in the favours of others, or the good winds of fortune, we have no state or certainty; in our endeavours or abilities we have. So as when they have purchased us one good fortune, we have them as ready, and better edged, and inured to procure another.

The forms be: you have won this by play, you have not only the water, but you have the receipt, you can make it again if it be lost, &c.

Next, because these properties which we enjoy by the benefit of others, carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kind of burden; whereas the other, which derive from ourselves, are like the freest parents, "absque aliquo inde reddendo;" and if they proceed from fortune or providence, yet they seem to touch us secretly with the reverence of the divine powers, whose favours we taste, and therefore work a kind of religious fear and restraint: whereas in the other kind, that comes to pass which the prophet speaketh, "lætantur et exultant, immolant plagis suis, et sacrificant reti suo."

Thirdly, because that which cometh unto us without our own virtue, yieldeth not that commendation and reputation: for actions of great felicity may draw wonder, but praise less; as Cicero said to Cæsar, "Quæ miremur, habemus; quæ laudemus, expectamus."

Fourthly, because the purchases of our own industry are joined commonly with labour and strife, which gives an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desires more pleasant. "Suavis cibus a venatu."

On the other side, there be four countercolours to this colour, rather than reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour itself. First, because felicity seemeth to be a character of the favour and love of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both confidence in ourselves, and respect and authority from others. And this felicity extendeth to many casual things, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good; as when Cæsar said to the sailor, "Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus;" if he had said, "et virtutem ejus," it had been small comfort against a tempest, otherwise than if it might seem upon merit to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoever is done by virtue and industry, seems to be done by a kind of habit and art, and therefore open to be imitated and followed; whereas felicity is inimitable: so we generally see that things of nature seem more excellent than things of art, because they be inimitable; for "quod imitabile est, potentia quadam vulgatum est."

Thirdly, felicity commendeth those things which come without our labour; for they seem gifts, and the other seem pennyworths; whereupon Plutarch saith elegantly of the acts of Timoleon, who was so fortunate, compared with the acts of Agesilaus and Epaminondas; that they were like Homer's verses, they ran so easily and so well. And therefore it is the word we give unto poesy, terming it a happy vein, because facility seemeth ever to come from happiness.

Fourthly, this same "præter spem, vel præter expectatum," doth increase the price and pleasure of many things: and this cannot be incident to those things that proceed from our own care and compass.

X.

"Gradus privationis major videtur, quam gradus diminutionis; et rursus gradus inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus incrementi."†

It is a position in the mathematics, that there is no proportion between something and nothing, therefore the degree of nullity and quiddity or act, seemeth larger than the degree of increase and decrease; as to a "monoculus" it is more to lose one eye than to a man that hath two eyes. So if one have lost divers children, it is more grief to him to lose the last than all the rest; because he is "spes gregis." And therefore Sibylla, when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the burning of that had been "gradus privationis," and not "diminutionis."

This colour is reprehended first in those things, the use and service whereof resteth in sufficiency, competency, or determinate quantity: as if a man be to pay one hundred pounds upon a penalty, it is more to him to want twelve pence, than after that twelve pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more; so the decay of a man's estate seems to be most touched in the degree, when he first grows behind, more than afterwards, when he proves nothing worth. And hereof the common forms are, "Sera in fundo parsimonia," and, as good never a whit, as never the better, &c. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, "Corruptio unius, generatio alterius:" so that "gradus privationis" is many times less matter, because it gives the cause and motive to some new course. As when Demosthenes reprehended the people for hearkening to the conditions offered by King Philip, being not honourable nor equal, he saith they were but aliments of their sloth and weakness,

* "That which is gotten by our own pains and industry is a greater good; that which comes by another man's courtesy, or the indulgence of fortune, is a lesser good."

† "The degree of privation seems greater than the degree of diminution; and again, the degree of inception (or beginning) seems greater than the degree of increase."

which if they were taken away, necessity would teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor Hector was wont to say to the dames of London, when they complained they were they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine; he would tell them their way was only to be sick, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this colour may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive than the degree of privation; for in the mind of man "gradus diminutionis" may work a wavering between hope and fear, and so keep the mind in suspense, from settling and accommodating in patience and resolution. Hereof the common forms are, better eye out than always ache; make or mar, &c.

For the second branch of this colour, it depends upon the same general reason: hence grew the common-place of extolling the beginning of every thing: "dimidium facti qui bene cœpit habet." This made the astrologers so idle as to judge of a man's nature and destiny, by the constellation of the moment of his nativity or conception. This colour is reprehended, because many inceptions are but, as Epicurus termeth them, "tentamenta," that is, imperfect offers and essays, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration; so as in such cases the second degree seems the worthiest, as the body-horse in the cart that draweth more than the fore-horse. Hereof the common forms are, the second blow makes the fray, the second word makes the bargain: "Alter principium dedit, alter modum abstulit," &c. Another reprehension of this colour is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseverance of greater dignity than inception: for chance or instinct of nature may cause inception: but settled affection or judgment maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this colour is reprehended in such things, which have a natural course and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually evacuated and gets no start: but there behoveth "perpetua inceptio," as in the common form, "Non progredi est regredi, qui non proficit deficit:" running against the hill, rowing against the stream, &c. For if it be with the stream or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more than all the rest.

Fourthly, this colour is to be understood of "gradus inceptionis a potentia ad actum, comparatus cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum." For otherwise "majur videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam a potentia ad actum."

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

UPON HUMAN PHILOSOPHY.

MR. BACON IN PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE.

Silence were the best celebration of that, which I mean to commend; for who would not use silence, where silence is not made? and what crier can make silence in such a noise and tumult of vain and popular opinions? My praise shall be dedicated to the mind itself. The mind is the man, and the knowledge of the mind. A man is but what he knoweth. The mind itself is but an accident to knowledge; for knowledge is a double of that which is. The truth of being, and the truth of knowing, is all one: and the pleasures of the affections greater than the pleasures of the senses. And are not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the pleasures of the affections? Is it not a true and only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind of all perturbations? How many things are there which we imagine not? How many things do we esteem and value otherwise than they are? This ill-proportioned estimation, these vain imaginations, these be the clouds of error that turn into the storms of perturbation. Is there any such happiness as for a man's mind to be raised above the confusion of things; where he may have the prospect of the order of nature, and the error of men? Is this but a vein only of delight, and not of discovery? of contentment, and not of benefit? Shall we not as well discern the riches of nature's warehouse, as the benefit of her shop? Is truth ever barren? Shall he not be able thereby to produce worthy effects, and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities? But shall I make this garland to be put upon a wrong head? Would any body believe me, if I should verify this, upon the knowledge that is now in use? Are we the richer by one poor invention, by reason of all the learning that hath been these many hundred years? The industry of artificers maketh some small improvement of things invented; and chance sometimes in experimenting, maketh us to stumble upon somewhat which is new: but all the disputation of the learned never brought to light one effect of nature before unknown. When things are known and found out, then they can descant upon them, they can knit them into certain causes, they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit, it can work nothing. I do not doubt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, are the art of reason and studies. But they rather cast obscurity, than gain light to the contemplation of nature. All the philosophy of nature which is now received, is either the philosophy of the Grecians, or that other of the alchemists. That of the Grecians hath the foundations in words, in ostentation, in confutation, in sects, in schools, in disputations. The Grecians were, as one of themselves saith, "you Grecians, ever children." They knew little antiquity; they knew, except fables, not much above five hundred years before themselves. They knew but a small portion of the world. That of the alchemists hath the foundation in imposture, in auricular traditions and obscurity. It was catching hold of religion, but the principle of it is, "Populus vult decipi." So that I know no great difference between these great philosophers, but that the one is a loud crying folly, and the other is a whispering folly. The one is gathered out of a few vulgar observations, and the other out of a few experiments of a furnace. The one never faileth to multiply words, and the other ever faileth to multiply gold. Who would not smile at Aristotle, when he admireth the eternity and invariableness of the heavens, as there were not the like in the bowels of the earth? Those be the confines and borders of these two kingdoms, where the con

tinued alteration and incursion are. The superficies and upper parts of the earth are full of varieties. The superficies and lower parts of the heavens, which we call the middle region of the air, is full of variety. There is much spirit in the one part, that cannot be brought into mass. There is much massy body in the other place, that cannot be refined to spirit. The common air is as the waste ground between the borders. Who would not smile at the astronomers, I mean not these few carmen which drive the earth about, but the ancient astronomers, which feign the moon to be the swiftest of the planets in motion, and the rest in order, the higher the slower; and so are compelled to imagine a double motion: whereas how evident is it, that that which they call a contrary motion, is but an abatement of motion. The fixed stars overgo Saturn, and so in them and the rest, all is but one motion, and the nearer the earth the slower. A motion also whereof air and water do participate, though much interrupted. But why do I in a conference of pleasure enter these great matters, in sort that pretending to know much, I should forget what is seasonable? Pardon me, it was because all things may be endowed and adorned with speeches, but knowledge itself is more beautiful than any apparel of words that can be put upon it. And let me not seem arrogant without respect to these great reputed authors. Let me so give every man his due, as I give time his due, which is to discover truth. Many of these men had greater wits, far above mine own, and so are many in the Universities of Europe at this day. But alas, they learn nothing there but to believe: first, to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, themselves know that which they know not. But indeed facility to believe, impatience to doubt, temerity to answer, glory to know, doubt to contradict, end to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in words, resting in part of nature; these and the like, have been the things which have forbidden the happy match between the mind of man and the nature of things; and in place thereof have married it to vain notions and blind experiments: and what the posterity and issue of so honourable a match may be, it is not hard to consider. Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before: what a change have these three made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of the war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation? And those, I say, were but stumbled upon and lighted upon by chance. Therefore, no doubt, the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge; wherein many things are reserved, which kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow: now we govern nature in opinions, but we are thrall unto her in necessity; but if we would be led by her in invention, we should command her in action.

VALERIUS TERMINUS

OF

THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE:

WITH THE

ANNOTATIONS OF HERMES STELLA.

A FEW FRAGMENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

[None of the Annotations of Stella are set down in these Fragments.]

CHAPTER I.

Of the limits and end of knowledge.

In the divine nature, both religion and philosophy hath acknowledged goodness in perfection, science or providence comprehending all things, and absolute sovereignty or kingdom. In aspiring to the throne of power, the angels transgressed and fell; in presuming to come within the oracle of knowledge, man transgressed and fell; but in pursuit towards the similitude of God's goodness or love, which is one thing, for love is nothing else but goodness put in motion or applied, neither man or spirit ever hath transgressed, or shall transgress.

The angel of light that was, when he presumed before his fall, said within himself, "I will ascend and be like unto the Highest;" not God, but the Highest. To be like to God in goodness, was no part of his emulation: knowledge, being in creation an angel of light, was not the want which did most solicit him; only because he was a minister he aimed at a supremacy; therefore his climbing or ascension was turned into a throwing down or precipitation.

Man, on the other side, when he was tempted before he fell, had offered unto him this suggestion, "that he should be like unto God." But how? not simply, but in this part, "knowing good and evil." For being in his creation invested with sovereignty of all inferior creatures, he was not needy of power or dominion. But again, being a spirit newly enclosed in a body of earth, he was fittest to be allured with appetite of light and liberty of knowledge. Therefore this approaching and intruding into God's secrets and mysteries, was rewarded with a further removing and estranging from God's presence. But as to the goodness of God, there is no danger in contending or advancing towards a similitude thereof; as that which is open and propounded to our imitation. For that voice, whereof the heathen and all other errors of religion have ever confessed that it sounds not like man, "Love your enemies; be you like unto your heavenly Father, that suffereth his rain to fall both upon the just and the unjust," doth well declare, that we can in that point commit no excess. So again we find it often repeated in the old law, "Be ye holy as I am holy;" and what is holiness else but goodness, as we consider it separate and guarded from all mixture, and all access of evil!

Wherefore seeing that knowledge is of the number of those things which are to be accepted of with caution and distinction; being now to open a fountain, such as it is not easy to discern where the issues and streams thereof will take and fall; I thought it good and necessary in the first place, to make a strong and sound head or bank to rule and guide the course of the waters; by setting down this position or firmament, namely, "That all knowledge is to be limited by religion, and to be referred to use and action."

For if any man shall think, by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things, to attain to any light for the revealing of the nature or will of God, he shall dangerously abuse himself. It is true, that the contemplation of the creatures of God hath for end, as to the natures of the creatures themselves, knowledge; but as to the nature of

God, no knowledge, but wonder; which is nothing else but contemplation broken off, or losing itself. Nay further, as it was aptly said by one of Plato's school, "the sense of man resembles the sun, which openeth and revealeth the terrestrial globe, but obscureth and concealeth the celestial;" so doth the sense discover natural things, but darken and shut up divine. And this appeareth sufficiently in that there is no proceeding in invention of knowledge, but by similitude; and God is only self-like, having nothing in common with any creature, otherwise as in shadow and trope. Therefore attend his will as himself openeth it, and give unto faith that which unto faith belongeth; for more worthy it is to believe than to think or know, considering that in knowledge, as we now are capable of it, the mind suffereth from inferior natures; but in all belief it suffereth from a spirit, which it holdeth superior, and more authorized than itself.

To conclude; the prejudice hath been infinite, that both divine and human knowledge hath received by the intermingling and tempering of the one with the other: as that which hath filled the one full of heresies, and the other full of speculative fictions and vanities.

But now there are again, which, in a contrary extremity to those which give to contemplation an over-large scope, do offer too great a restraint to natural and lawful knowledge; being unjustly jealous that every reach and depth of knowledge wherewith their conceits have not been acquainted, should be too high an elevation of man's wit, and a searching and ravelling too far into God's secrets; an opinion that ariseth either of envy, which is proud weakness, and to be censured and not confuted, or else of a deceitful simplicity. For if they mean that the ignorance of a second cause doth make men more devoutly to depend upon the providence of God, as supposing the effects to come immediately from his hand; I demand of them, as Job demanded of his friends, "Will you lie for God, as man will for man to gratify him?" But if any man, without any sinister humour, doth indeed make doubt that this digging further and further into the mine of natural knowledge, is a thing without example, and uncommended in the Scriptures, or fruitless; let him remember and be instructed: for behold it was not that pure light of natural knowledge, whereby man in paradise was able to give unto every living creature a name according to his propriety, which gave occasion to the fall; but it was an aspiring desire to attain to that part of moral knowledge, which defineth of good and evil, whereby to dispute God's commandments, and not to depend upon the revelation of his will, which was the original temptation. And the first holy records, which within those brief memorials of things which passed before the flood, entered few things as worthy to be registered, but only lineages and propagations, yet nevertheless honour the remembrance of the inventor both of music and works in metal. Moses again, who was the reporter, is said to have been seen in all the Egyptian learning, which nation was early and leading in matter of knowledge. And Solomon the king, as out of a branch of his wisdom extraordinarily petitioned and granted from God, is said to have written a natural history of all that is green, from the cedar to the moss, which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb, and also of all that liveth and moveth. And if the book of Job be turned over, it will be found to have much aspersion of natural philosophy. Nay, the same Solomon the king affirmeth directly, that the glory of God "is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the king is to find it out," as if, according to the innocent play of children, the Divine Majesty took delight to hide his works, to the end to have them found out; for in naming the king he intendeth man, taking such a condition of man as hath most excellency and greatest commandments of wits and means, alluding also to his own person, being truly one of those clearest burning lamps, whereof himself speaketh in another place, when he saith, "The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth all inwardness;" which nature of the soul the same Solomon, holding precious and inestimable, and therein conspiring with the affection of Socrates, who scorned the pretended learned men of his time for raising great benefit of their learning, whereas Anaxagoras contrariwise, and divers others, being born to ample patrimonies, decayed them in contemplation, delivereth it in precept yet remaining, "Buy the truth and sell it not; and so of wisdom and knowledge."

And lest any man should retain a scruple, as if this thirst of knowledge were rather an humour of the mind, than an emptiness or want in nature, and an instinct from God; the same author defineth of it fully, saying, "God hath made every thing in beauty according to season; also he hath set the world in man's heart, yet can he not find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end:" declaring not obscurely that God hath framed the mind of man as a glass, capable of the image of the universal world, joying to receive the signature thereof, as the eye is of light; yea, not only satisfied in beholding the variety of things, and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern those ordinances and decrees, which throughout all these changes are infallibly observed. And although the highest generality of motion, or summary law of nature, God should still reserve within his own curtain; yet many and noble are the inferior and secondary operations which are within man's sounding. This is a thing which I cannot tell whether I may so plainly speak as truly conceive, that as all knowledge appeareth to be a plant of God's own planting, so it may seem the spreading and flourishing, or at least the bear-

ing and fructifying of this plant, by a providence of God, nay, not only by a general providence but by a special prophecy, was appointed to this autumn of the world: for to my understanding, it is not violent to the letter, and safe now after the event, so to interpret that place in the prophecy of Daniel, where, speaking of the latter times, it is said, "Many shall pass to and fro, and science shall be increased;" as if the opening of the world by navigation and commerce, and the further discovery of knowledge, should meet in one time or age.

But howsoever that be, there are besides the authorities of Scriptures before recited, two reasons of exceeding great weight and force, why religion should dearly protect all increase of natural knowledge: the one, because it leadeth to the greater exaltation of the glory of God; for as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider, and to magnify the great and wonderful works of God; so if we should rest only in the contemplation of those shows which first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury to the majesty of God, as if we should judge of the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out to the street in his shop. The other reason is, because it is a singular help and preservative against unbelief and error: for saith our Saviour, "You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God;" laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error; first the Scriptures revealing the will of God, and then the creatures expressing his power; for that latter book will certify us, that nothing which the first, teacheth shall be thought impossible. And most sure it is, and a true conclusion of experience, that a little natural philosophy inclineth the mind to atheism, but a further proceeding bringeth the mind back to religion.

To conclude then: Let no man presume to check the liberality of God's gifts, who, as was said, "hath set the world in man's heart." So as whatsoever is not God, but parcel of the world, he hath fitted it to the comprehension of man's mind, if man will open and dilate the powers of his understanding as he may.

But yet evermore it must be remembered, that the least part of knowledge passed to man by this so large a charter from God, must be subject to that use for which God hath granted it, which is the benefit and relief of the state and society of man: for otherwise all manner of knowledge becometh malign and serpentine, and therefore, as carrying the quality of the serpent's sting and malice, it maketh the mind of man to swell; as the Scripture sayeth excellently, "Knowledge bloweth up, but charity buildeth up." And again, the same author doth notably disavow both power and knowledge, such as is not dedicated to goodness or love; for saith he, "If I have all faith, so as I could remove mountains," there is power active; "If I render my body to the fire," there is power passive; "If I speak with the tongues of men and angels," there is knowledge, for language is but the conveyance of knowledge, "all were nothing."

And therefore it is not the pleasure of curiosity, nor the quiet of resolution, nor the raising of the spirit, nor victory of wit, nor faculty of speech, nor lucre of profession, nor ambition of honour or fame, or inablement for business, that are the true ends of knowledge; some of these being more worthy than other, though all inferior and degenerate: but it is a restitution and reinvesting, in great part, of man to the sovereignty and power, for whensoever he shall be able to call the creatures by their true names, he shall again command them, which he had in his first state of creation. And to speak plainly and clearly, it is a discovery of all operations and possibilities of operations from immortality, if it were possible, to the meanest mechanical practice. And therefore knowledge, that tendeth but to satisfaction, is but as a courtesan, which is for pleasure, and not for fruit or generation. And knowledge that tendeth to profit or profession, or glory, is but as the golden ball thrown before Atalanta; which while she goeth aside, and stoopeth to take up, she hindereth the race. And knowledge referred to some particular point of use, is but as Harmodius, which putteth down one tyrant: and not like Hercules, who did perambulate the world to suppress tyrants and giants and monsters in every part.

It is true, that in two points the curse is peremptory, and not to be removed: the one, that vanity must be the end in all human effects; eternity being resumed though the revolutions and periods may be delayed. The other, that the consent of the creature being now turned into reluctation, this power cannot otherwise be exercised and administered but with labour, as well in inventing as in executing; yet nevertheless chiefly that labour and travel which is described by the sweat of the brows, more than of the body; that is, such travel as is joined with the working and discursion of the spirits in the brain: for as Solomon saith excellently, "The fool putteth to more strength, but the wise man considereth which way;" signifying the election of the mean to be more material than the multiplication of endeavour. It is true also that there is a limitation rather potential than actual, which is when the effect is possible, but the time or place yieldeth not the matter or basis whereupon man should work. But notwithstanding these precincts and bounds, let it be believed, and appeal thereof made to time, with renunciation nevertheless to all the vain and abusing promises of alchemists and magicians, and such like light, idle, ignorant, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects, that the new-found world of land was not greater addition to the ancient continent, than there remaineth at this day a world of inventions and

sciences unknown, having respect to those that are known, with this difference, that the ancient regions of knowledge will seem as barbarous, compared with the new; as the new regions of people seem barbarous, compared to many of the old.

The dignity of this end, of endowment of man's life with new commodities, appeareth by the estimation that antiquity made of such as guided thereunto; for whereas founders of states, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demigods, inventors were ever consecrated amongst the gods themselves. And if the ordinary ambitions of men lead them to seek the amplification of their own power in their countries, and a better ambition than that hath moved men to seek the amplification of the power of their own countries amongst other nations: better again and more worthy must that aspiring be, which seeketh the amplification of the power and kingdom of mankind over the world: the rather, because the other two prosecutions are ever culpable of much perturbation and injustice; but this is a work truly divine, which cometh "in aura leni," without noise or observation.

The access also to this work hath been by that port or passage, which the Divine Majesty, who is unchangeable in his ways, doth infallibly continue and observe; that is, the felicity wherewith he hath blessed an humility of mind, such as rather laboureth to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volumes of his creatures, than to solicit and urge, and as it were to invocate a man's own spirit to divine, and give oracles unto him. For as in the inquiry of divine truth, the pride of man hath ever inclined to leave the oracles of God's word, and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions; so in the selfsame manner, in inquisition of nature, they have ever left the oracles of God's works, and adored the deceiving and deformed imagery, which the unequal mirrors of their own minds have represented unto them. Nay, it is a point fit and necessary in the front, and beginning of this work, without hesitation or reservation to be professed, that it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge, than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it, "except he become first as a little child."

Of the impediments of knowledge.

Being the IVth chapter, the preface only of it.

In some things it is more hard to attempt than to achieve; which falleth out, when the difficulty is not so much in the matter or subject, as it is in the crossness and indisposition of the mind of man to think of any such thing, to will or to resolve it; and therefore Titus Livius in his declamatory digression, wherein he doth depress and extenuate the honour of Alexander's conquests saith, "Nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere:" in which sort of things it is the manner of men first to wonder that any such thing should be possible, and after it is found out, to wonder again how the world should miss it so long. Of this nature I take to be the invention and discovery of knowledge, &c.

The impediments which have been in the times, and in diversion of wits.

Being the Vth chapter, a small fragment in the beginning of that chapter.

The encounters of the times have been nothing favourable and prosperous for the invention of knowledge, so as it is not only the daintiness of the seed to take, and the ill mixture and unliking of the ground to nourish or raise this plant, but the ill season also of the weather, by which it hath been checked and blasted. Especially in that the seasons have been proper to bring up and set forward other more hasty and indifferent plants, whereby this of knowledge hath been starved and overgrown; for in the descent of times always there hath been somewhat else in reign and reputation, which hath generally aliened and diverted wits and labours from that employment.

For as for the uttermost antiquity, which is like fame that muffles her head, and tells tales, I cannot presume much of it; for I would not willingly imitate the manner of those that describe maps, which when they come to some far countries, whereof they have no knowledge, set down how there be great wastes and deserts there: so I am not apt to affirm that they knew little, because what they knew is little known to us. But if you will judge of them by the last traces that remain to us, you will conclude, though not so scornfully as Aristotle doth, that saith our ancestors were extreme gross, as those that came newly from being moulded out of the clay, or some earthly substance; yet reasonably and probably thus, that it was with them in matter of knowledge, but as the dawning or break of day. For at that time the world was altogether home-bred, every nation looked little beyond their own confines or territories, and the world had no thorough lights then, as it hath had since by commerce and navigation, whereby there could neither be that contribution of wits one to help another, nor that variety of particulars for the correcting the customary conceits.

And as there could be no great collection of wits of several parts or nations, so neither could there be any succession of wits of several times, whereby one might refine the other, in regard they had not history to any purpose. And the manner of their traditions was utterly unfit and unproper for amplification of knowledge. And again, the studies of those times, you shall find, besides wars, incursions, and rapines, which were then almos-

everywhere betwixt states adjoining, the use of leagues and confederacies being not then known, were to populate by multitude of wives and generation, a thing at this day in the waster part of the West Indies principally effected; and to build, sometimes for habitation, towns and cities; sometimes for fame and memory, monuments, pyramids, colosses, and the like. And if there happened to rise up any more civil wits; then would he found and erect some new laws, customs, and usages, such as now of late years, when the world was revolute almost to the like rudeness and obscurity, we see both in our own nation and abroad many examples of, as well in a number of tenures reserved upon men's lands, as in divers customs of towns and manors, being the devises that such wits wrought upon in such times of deep ignorance, &c.

The impediments of knowledge for want of a true succession of wits, and that hitherto the length of one man's life hath been the greatest measure of knowledge.

Being the VIth chapter, the whole chapter.

In arts mechanical the first devise cometh shortest, and time addeth and perfecteth. But in sciences of conceit, the first author goeth furthest, and time leeseth and corrupteth. Painting, artillery, sailing, and the like, grossly managed at first, by time accommodate and refined. The philosophies and sciences of Aristotle, Plato, Democritus, Hippocrates, of most vigour at first, by time degenerated and imbased. In the former, many wits and industries contributed in one. In the latter many men's wits spent to deprave the wit of one.

The error is both in the deliverer and in the receiver. He that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be soonest believed, and not as may easiliest be examined. He that receiveth knowledge desireth rather present satisfaction than expectant search, and so rather not to doubt than not to err. Glory maketh the author not lay open his weakness; and sloth maketh the disciple not to know his strength.

Then begin men to aspire to the second prizes, to be a profound interpreter and commenter, to be a sharp champion and defender, to be a methodical compounder and abridger. And this is the unfortunate succession of wits which the world hath yet had, whereby the patrimony of all knowledge goeth not on husbanded or improved, but wasted and decayed. For knowledge is like a water, that will never arise again higher than the level from which it fell. And therefore to go beyond Aristotle by the light of Aristotle, is to think that a borrowed light can increase the original light from whom it is taken. So then, no true succession of wits having been in the world; either we must conclude, that knowledge is but a task for one man's life, and then vain was the complaint, that "life is short, and art is long:" or else, that the knowledge that now is, is but a shrub; and not that tree which is never dangerous, but where it is to the purpose of knowing good and evil; which desire ever riseth upon an appetite to elect, and not to obey, and so containeth in it a manifest defection.

That the pretended succession of wits hath been evil placed, for as much as after variety of sects and opinions, the most popular and not the truest prevaileth and weareth out the rest.

Being the VIIth chapter, a fragment.

It is sensible to think, that when men enter first into search and inquiry, according to the several frames and compositions of their understanding, they light upon differing conceits, and so all opinions and doubts are beaten over; and then men having made a taste of all, wax weary of variety, and so reject the worst, and hold themselves to the best, either some one, if it be eminent: or some two or three, if they be in some equality; which afterwards are received and carried on, and the rest extinct.

But truth is contrary; and that time is like a river which carrieth down things which are light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is sad and weighty. For howsoever governments have several forms, sometimes one governing, sometimes few, sometimes the multitude; yet the state of knowledge is ever a democracy, and that prevaileth which is most agreeable to the senses and conceits of people. As for example, there is no great doubt, but he that did put the beginnings of things to be solid, void, and motion to the centre, was in better earnest than he that put matter, form, and shift; or he that put the mind, motion, and matter. For no man shall enter into inquisition of nature, but shall pass by that opinion of Democritus; whereas he shall never come near the other two opinions, but leave them aloof, for the schools and table-talk. Yet those of Aristotle and Plato, because they be both agreeable to popular sense, and the one was uttered with subtilty and the spirit of contradiction, and the other with a style of ornament and majesty, did hold out, and the other gave place, &c.

Of the impediments of knowledge, in handling it by parts, and in slipping off particular sciences from the root and stock of universal knowledge.

Being the VIIIth chapter, the whole chapter.

Cicero, the orator, willing to magnify his own profession, and thereupon spending many words to maintain that eloquence was not a shop of good words and elegancies, but a treasury and receipt of all knowledges, so far forth as may appertain to the handling and moving of the minds and

affections of men by speech, maketh great complaint of the school of Socrates; that whereas before his time the same professors of wisdom in Greece did pretend to teach an universal sapience and knowledge both of matter and words, Socrates divorced them, and withdrew philosophy, and left rhetoric to itself, which by that destitution became but a barren and unnoble science. And in particular sciences we see, that if men fall to subdivide their labours, as to be an oculist in physic, or to be perfect in some one title of the law or the like, they may prove ready and subtile, but not deep or sufficient, no, not in that subject which they do particularly attend, because of that consent which it hath with the rest. And it is a matter of common discourse of the chain of sciences, how they are linked together, insomuch as the Grecians, who had terms at will, have fitted it of a name of Circle-Learning. Nevertheless I that hold it for a great impediment towards the advancement and further invention of knowledge, that particular arts and sciences have been disincorporated from general knowledge, do not understand one and the same thing, which Cicero's discourse and the note and conceit of the Grecians in their word Circle-Learning do intend. For I mean not that use which one science hath of another for ornament or help in practice, as the orator hath of knowledge of affections for moving, or as military science may have use of geometry for fortifications; but I mean it directly of that use by way of supply of light and information, which the particulars and instances of one science do yield and present for the framing or correcting of the axioms of another science in their very truth and notion. And therefore that example of oculist and title lawyers doth come nearer my conceit than the other two; for sciences distinguished have a dependence upon universal knowledge to be augmented and rectified by the superior light thereof; as well as the parts and members of a science have upon the maxims of the same science, and the mutual light and consent which one part receiveth of another. And therefore the opinion of Copernicus in astronomy, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the appearances, yet natural philosophy doth correct. On the other side, if some of the ancient philosophers had been perfect in the observations of astronomy, and had called them to counsel, when they made their principles and first axioms, they would never have divided their philosophy, as the cosmographers do their descriptions by globes, making one philosophy for heaven, and another for under heaven, as in effect they do.

So if the moral philosophers, that have spent such an infinite quantity of debate touching good and the highest good, had cast their eye abroad upon nature, and beheld the appetite that is in all things to receive and to give; the one motion affecting preservation, and the other multiplication; which appetites are most evidently seen in living creatures, in the pleasure of nourishment and generation; and in man do make the aptest and most natural division of all his desires, being either of sense of pleasure, or sense of power; and in the universal frame of the world are figured, the one in the beams of heaven which issue forth, and the other in the lap of the earth which takes in: and again, if they had observed the motion of congruity, or situation of the parts in respect of the whole, evident in so many particulars: and lastly, if they had considered the motion, familiar in attraction of things, to approach to that which is higher in the same kind: when by these observations, so easy and concurring in natural philosophy, they should have found out this quaternion of good, in enjoying or fruition, effecting or operation, consenting or proportion, and approach or assumption; they would have saved and abridged much of their long and wandering discourses of pleasure, virtue, duty, and religion. So likewise in this same logic and rhetoric, or acts of argument and grace of speech, if the great masters of them would but have gone a form lower, and looked but into the observations of grammar concerning the kinds of words, their derivations, deflexions, and syntax, specially enriching the same, with the helps of several languages, with their differing properties of words, phrases, and tropes; they might have found out more and better footsteps of common reason, help of disputation, and advantages of cavillation, than many of these which they have propounded. So again, a man should be thought to dally, if he did note how the figures of rhetoric and music are many of them the same. The repetitions and traductions in speech, and the reports and hauntings of sounds in music, are the very same things. Plutarch hath almost made a book of the Lacedæmonian kind of jesting, which joined every pleasure with distaste. "Sir," said a man of art to Philip king of Macedon, when he controlled him in his faculty, "God forbid your fortune should be such as to know these things better than I." In taxing his ignorance in his art, he represented to him the perpetual greatness of his fortune, leaving him no vacant time for so mean a skill. Now in music it is one of the ordinariest flowers to fall from a discord, or hard tune, upon a sweet accord. The figure that Cicero and the rest commend, as one of the best points of elegancy, which is the fine checking of expectation, is no less well known to the musicians, when they have a special grace in flying the close or cadence. And these are no allusions but direct communities, the same delights of the mind being to be found not only in music, rhetoric, but in moral philosophy, policy, and other knowledges, and that obscure in the one, which is more apparent in the other; yea, and that discovered in the one, which is not found

at all in the other; and so one science greatly aiding to the invention and augmentation of another. And therefore, without this intercourse, the axioms of sciences will fall out to be neither full nor true; but will be such opinions, as Aristotle in some places doth wisely censure, when he saith, "These are the opinions of persons that have respect but to a few things." So then we see, that this note leadeth us to an administration of knowledge in some such order and policy, as the King of Spain, in regard of his great dominions, useth in state: who, though he hath particular councils for several countries and affairs, yet had one council of state, or last resort, that receiveth the advertisements and certificates from all the rest. Hitherto of the diversion, succession, and conference of wits.

That the end and scope of knowledge hath been generally mistaken, and that men were never well advised what it was they sought.

Being the IXth chapter, immediately preceding the Inventory, and inducing the same.

It appeareth then how rarely the wits and labours of men have been converted to the severe and original inquisition of knowledge; and in those who have pretended, what hurt hath been done by the affectation of professors, and the distraction of such as were no professors; and how there was never in effect any conjunction or combination of wits in the first and inducing search, but that every man wrought apart, and would either have his own way, or else would go no further than his guide, having in the one case the honour of a first, and in the other the ease of a second; and lastly, how in the descent and continuance of wits and labours, the succession hath been in the most popular and weak opinions, like unto the weakest natures, which many times have most children; and in them also the condition of succession hath been rather to defend and to adorn, than to add; and if to add, yet that addition to be rather a refining of a part, than an increase of the whole. But the impediments of time and accidents, though they have wrought a general indisposition, yet are they not so peremptory and binding, as the internal impediments and clouds in the mind and spirit of man, whereof it now followeth to speak.

The Scripture, speaking of the worst sort of error, saith, "Errare fecit eos in invio et non in via." For a man may wander in the way, by rounding up and down; but if men have failed in their very direction and address, that error will never by good fortune correct itself. Now it hath fared with men in their contemplations, as Seneca saith it fareth with them in their actions, "De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, de summa nemo." A course very ordinary with men who receive for the most part their final ends from the inclination of their nature, or from common example and opinion, never questioning or examining them, nor reducing them to any clear certainty; and use only to call themselves to account and deliberation touching the means and second ends, and thereby set themselves in the right way to the wrong place. So likewise upon the natural curiosity and desire to know, they have put themselves in way without foresight or consideration of their journey's end.

For I find that even those that have sought knowledge for itself, and not for benefit, or ostentation, or any practicable enablement in the course of their life, have nevertheless propounded to themselves a wrong mark, namely, satisfaction, which men call truth, and not operation. For as in the courts and services of princes and states, it is a much easier matter to give satisfaction than to do the business; so in the inquiring of causes and reasons it is much easier to find out such causes as will satisfy the mind of man and quiet objections, than such causes as will direct him and give him light to new experiences and inventions. And this did Celsus note wisely and truly, how that the causes which are in use, and whereof the knowledges now received do consist, were in time minors and subsequents to the knowledge of the particulars, out of which they were induced and collected; and that it was not the light of those causes which discovered particulars, but only the particulars being first found, men did fall on glossing and discoursing of the causes; which is the reason, why the learning that now is hath the curse of barrenness, and is courtesan-like, for pleasure and not for fruit. Nay, to compare it rightly, the strange fiction of the poets of the transformation of Scylla, seemeth to be a lively emblem of this philosophy and knowledge: a fair woman upward in the parts of show, but when you come to the parts of use and generation, barking monsters: for no better are the endless distorted questions, which ever have been, and of necessity must be, the end and womb of such knowledge. . . . . .

But yet nevertheless, here I may be mistaken, by reason of some which have much in their pen the referring sciences to action and the use of man, which mean quite another matter than I do. For they mean a contriving of directions, and precepts for readiness of practice, which I discommend not, so it be not occasion that some quantity of the science be lost; for else it will be such a piece of husbandry, as to put away a manor lying somewhat scattered, to buy in a close that lieth handsomely about a dwelling. But my intention contrariwise is to increase and multiply the revenues and possessions of man, and not to trim up only, or order with conveniency the grounds whereof he is already stated. Wherefore the better to make myself understood, that I mean nothing less than words, and directly to demonstrate the point which we are now upon, that is,

what is the true end, scope, or office of knowledge, which I have set down to consist not in any plausible, delectable, reverend, or admired discourse, or any satisfactory arguments, but in effecting and working, and in discovery of particulars not revealed before, for the better endowment and help of man's life; I have thought good to make, as it were, a kalendar or inventory of the wealth, furniture, or means of man, according to his present estate, as far as it is known; which I do not to show any universality of sense or knowledge, and much less to make a satire of reprehension in respect of wants and errors, but partly because cogitations new had need of some grossness and inculcation to make them perceived, and chiefly to the end, that for the time to come, upon the account and state now made and cast up, it may appear what increase this new manner of use and administration of the stock, if it be once planted, shall bring with it hereafter; and for the time present, in case I should be prevented by death to propound and reveal this new light as I purpose, yet I may at the least give some awaking note, both of the wants in man's present condition, and the nature of the supplies to be wished; though for mine own part neither do I much build upon my present anticipations, neither do I think ourselves yet learned or wise enough to wish reasonably: for as it asks some knowledge to demand a question not impertinent; so it asketh some sense to make a wish not absurd.

The Inventory, or an enumeration and view of inventions already discovered in use, together with a note of the wants, and the nature of the supplies.

Being the Xth chapter; and this a small fragment thereof, being the preface to the Inventory.

The plainest method, and most directly pertinent to this intention, will be to make distribution of sciences, arts, inventions, works, and their portions, according to the use and tribute which they yield and render to the conditions of man's life, and under those several uses, being as several offices of provisions, to charge and tax what may be reasonably exacted or demanded, not guiding ourselves neither by the poverty of experiences and probations, nor according to the vanity of credulous imaginations; and then upon those charges and taxations to distinguish and present, as it were, in several columns, what is extant and already found, and what is defective and further to be provided. Of which provisions, because in many of them, after the manner of slothful and faulty officers and accomptants, it will be returned, by way of excuse, that no such are to be had, it will be fit to give some light of the nature of the supplies, whereby it will evidently appear, that they are to be compassed and procured. And yet nevertheless on the other side again, it will be as fit to check and control the vain and void assignations, and gifts, whereby certain ignorant, extravagant, and abusing wits have pretended to indue the state of man with wonders, differing as much from truth in nature, as Cæsar's Commentaries differeth from the acts of King Arthur, or Huon of Bourdeaux in story. For it is true that Cæsar did greater things than those idle wits had the audacity to feign their supposed worthies to have done; but he did them not in that monstrous and fabulous manner.

The chapter immediately following the Inventory.

Being the XIth in order, a part thereof.

It appeareth then, what is now in proposition, not by general circumlocution, but by particular note, no former philosophy varied in terms or method; no new placet or speculation upon particulars already known; no referring to action by any manual of practice, but the revealing and discovering of new inventions and operations. This to be done without the errors and conjectures of art, or the length or difficulties of experience; the nature and kinds of which inventions have been described as they could be discovered; for your eye cannot pass one kenning without further sailing: only we have stood upon the best advantages of the notions received, as upon a mount, to show the knowledges adjacent and confining. If therefore the true end of knowledge not propounded, hath bred large error, the best and perfectest condition of the same end, not perceived, will cause some declination. For when the butt is set up, men need not rove, but except the white be placed, men cannot level. This perfection we mean, not in the worth of the effects, but in the nature of the direction; for our purpose is not to stir up men's hopes, but to guide their travels. The fulness of direction to work, and produce any effect, consisteth in two conditions, certainty and liberty. Certainty is, when the direction is not only true for the most part, but infallible. Liberty is, when the direction is not restrained to some definite means, but comprehendeth all the means and ways possible: for the poet saith well, "Sapientibus undique latæ sunt viæ;" and where there is the greatest plurality of change, there is the greatest singularity of choice. Besides, as a conjectural direction maketh a casual effect, so a particular and restrained direction is no less casual than uncertain. For those particular means whereunto it is tied may be out of your power, or may be accompanied with an overvalue of prejudice; and so if for want of certainty in direction you are frustrated in success, for want of variety in direction you are stopped in the attempt. If therefore your direction be certain, it must refer you, and point you to somewhat, which, if it be present, the effect you seek will of necessity follow, else may you perform and not obtain. If it be free, then must

it refer you to somewhat, which, if it be absent, the effect you seek will of necessity withdraw, else may you have power and not attempt. This notion Aristotle had in light, though not in use. For the two commended rules by him set down, whereby the axioms of sciences are precepted to be made convertible, and which the latter men have not without elegancy surnamed, the one the rule of truth, because it preventeth deceit, the other the rule of prudence, because it freeth election, are the same thing in speculation and affirmation, which we now observe. An example will make my meaning attained, and yet percase make it thought that they attained it not.

Let the effect to be produced be whiteness; let the first direction be, that if air and water be intermingled, or broken in small portions together, whiteness will ensue, as in snow, in the breaking of the ways of the sea and rivers, and the like. This direction is certain, but very particular, and restrained, being tied but to air and water. Let the second direction be, that if air be mingled as before with any transparent body, such nevertheless as is uncoloured and more grossly transparent than air itself, that then, &c. as glass or crystal, being beaten to fine powder, by the interposition of the air becometh white; the white of an egg, being clear of itself, receiving air by agitation, becometh white, receiving air by concoction becometh white; here you are freed from water, and advanced to a clear body, and still tied to air. Let the third direction exclude or remove the restraint of an uncoloured body, as in amber, saphires, &c. which beaten to fine powder, become white in wine and beer; which brought to froth, become white. Let the fourth direction exclude the restraint of a body more grossly transparent than air, as in flame, being a body compounded between air and a finer substance than air; which flame if it were not for the smoke, which is the third substance that incorporateth itself and dieth, the flame would be more perfect white. In all these four directions air still beareth a part. Let the fifth direction then be, that if any bodies, both transparent, but in an unequal degree, be mingled as before, whiteness will follow; as oil and water beaten to an ointment, though by settling, the air which gathereth in the agitation be evaporate, yet remaineth white; and the powder of glass, or crystal, put into water, whereby the air giveth place, yet remaineth white, though not so perfect. Now are you freed from air, but still you are tied to transparent bodies. To ascend further by scale I do forbear, partly because it would draw on the example to an over-great length, but chiefly because it would open that which in this work I determine to reserve; for to pass through the whole history and observation of colours and objects visible, were too long a digression; and our purpose is now to give an example of a free direction, thereby to distinguish and describe it; and not to set down a form of interpretation how to recover and attain it. But as we intend not now to reveal, so we are circumspect not to mislead; and therefore, this warning being given, returning to our purpose in hand, we admit the sixth direction to be, that all bodies, or parts of bodies, which are unequal equally, that is, in a simple proportion, do represent whiteness; we will explain this, though we induce it not. It is then to be understood, that absolute equality produceth transparence, inequality in simple order or proportion produceth whiteness, inequality in compound or respective order or proportion produceth other colours, and absolute or orderless inequality produceth blackness; which diversity if so gross a demonstration be needful, may be signified by four tables; a blank, a chequer, a fret, and a medley; whereof the fret is evident to admit great variety. Out of this assertion are satisfied a multitude of effects and observations, as that whiteness and blackness are most incompatible with transparence; that whiteness keepeth light, and blackness stoppeth light, but neither passeth it; that whiteness or blackness are never produced in rainbows, diamonds, crystals, and the like; that white giveth no dye, and black hardly taketh dye; that whiteness seemeth to have an affinity with dryness, and blackness with moisture; that adustion causeth blackness, and calcination whiteness; that flowers are generally of fresh colours, and rarely black, &c., all which I do now mention confusedly by way of derivation, and not by way of induction. This sixth direction, which I have thus explained, is of good and competent liberty, for whiteness fixed and inherent; but not for whiteness fantastical, or appearing, as shall be afterwards touched. But first do you need a reduction back to certainty or verity; for it is not all position or contexture of unequal bodies that will produce colours; for aquafortis, oil of vitriol, &c. more manifestly, and many other substances more obscurely, do consist of very unequal parts, which yet are transparent and clear. Therefore the reduction must be, that the bodies or parts of bodies so intermingled as before, be of a certain grossness or magnitude; for the unequalities which move the sight must have a further dimension and quantity than those which operate many other effects. Some few grains of saffron will give a tincture to a tun of water, but so many grains of civet will give a perfume to a whole chamber of air. And therefore when Democritus, from whom Epicurus did borrow it, held that the position of the solid portions was the cause of colours; yet in the very truth of this assertion he should have added, that the portions are required to be of some magnitude. And this is one cause why colours have little inwardness and necessitude with the nature and proprieties of things, those things resembling in colour, which otherwise differ most, as salt and sugar; and con-

trariwise differing in colour, which otherwise resemble most, as the white and blue violets, and the several veins of one agate or marble, by reason that other virtues consist in more subtile proportions than colours do; and yet are there virtues and natures which require a grosser magnitude than colours, as well as scents and divers other require a more subtile; for as the portion of a body will give forth scent, which is too small to be seen; so the portion of a body will show colours, which is too small to be endued with weight: and therefore one of the prophets with great elegancy describing how all creatures carry no proportion towards God the creator, saith, "That all the nations in respect of him are like the dust upon the balance;" which is a thing appeareth, but weigheth not. But to return, there resteth a further freeing of this sixth direction: for the clearness of a river or stream showeth white at a distance, and crystalline glasses deliver the face or any other object falsified in whiteness, and long beholding the snow to a weak eye giveth an impression of azure, rather than of whiteness. So as for whiteness in apparition only, and representation, by the qualifying of the light, altering the intermedium, or affecting the eye itself, it reacheth not. But you must free your direction to the producing of such an incidence, impression, or operation, as may cause a precise and determinate passion of the eye, a matter which is much more easy to induce than that which we have passed through; but yet because it hath a full coherence both with that act of radiation, which hath hitherto been conceived and termed so unproperly and untruly, by some, an effluxion of spiritual species, and by others, an investing of the intermedium, with a motion which successively is conveyed to the eye, and with the act of sense, wherein I should likewise open that which I think good to withdraw, I will omit.

Neither do I contend, but that this notion, which I call the freeing of a direction in the received philosophies, as far as a swimming anticipation could take hold, might be perceived and discerned; being not much other matter than that which they did not only aim at in the two rules of axioms before remembered, but more nearly also than that which they term the form or formal cause, or that which they call the true difference; both which, nevertheless, it seemeth they propound rather as impossibilities and wishes, than as things within the compass of human comprehension: for Plato casteth his burden, and saith, "that he will revere him as a God, that can truly divide and define:" which cannot be but by true forms and differences, wherein I join hands with him, confessing as much, as yet assuming to myself little; for if any man can, by the strength of his anticipations, find out forms, I will magnify him with the foremost. But as any of them would say, that if divers things, which many men know by instruction and observation, another knew by revelation, and without those means, they would take him for somewhat supernatural and divine; so I do acknowledge that if any man can by anticipations reach to that which a weak and inferior wit may attain to by interpretation, he cannot receive too high a title. Nay, I for my part do indeed admire to see how far some of them have proceeded by their anticipations; but how? it is as I wonder at some blind men, to see what shift they make without their eye-sight; thinking with myself that if I were blind, I could hardly do it. Again, Aristotle's school confesseth, that there is no true knowledge but by causes, no true cause but the form, no true form known except one, which they are pleased to allow; and therefore thus far their evidence standeth with us, that both hitherto there hath been nothing but a shadow of knowledge, and that we propound now that which is agreed to be worthiest to be sought, and hardest to be found. There wanteth now a part very necessary, not by way of supply, but by way of caution: for as it is seen for the most part, that the outward tokens and badge of excellency and perfection are more incident to things merely counterfeit, than to that which is true, but for a meaner and baser sort: as a dubline is more like a perfect ruby than a spinel, and a counterfeit angel is made more like a true angel, than if it were an angel coined of China gold; in like manner, the direction carrieth a resemblance of a true direction in verity and liberty, which indeed is no direction at all. For though your direction seem to be certain and free, by pointing you to nature that is unseparable from the nature you inquire upon; yet if it do not carry you on a degree or remove nearer to action, operation, or light, to make or produce, it is but superficial and counterfeit. Wherefore to secure and warrant what is a true direction, though that general note I have given be perspicuous in itself, for a man shall soon cast with himself, whether he be ever the near to effect and operate or no, or whether he have won but an abstract or varied notion, yet for better instruction I will deliver three particular notes of caution. The first is, that the nature discovered be more original than the nature supposed, and not more secondary or of the like degree; as to make a stone bright, or to make it smooth, it is a good direction to say make it even; but to make a stone even, it is no good direction to say, make it bright, or make it smooth; for the rule is, that the disposition of any thing referring to the state of it in itself, or the parts, is more original than that which is relative or transitive towards another thing. So evenness is the disposition of the stone in itself, but smooth is to the hand, and bright to the eye, and yet nevertheless they all cluster and concur; and yet the direction is more unperfect, if it do

appoint you to such a relative, as is in the same kind, and not in a diverse. For in the direction, to produce brightness by smoothness, although properly it win no degree, and will never teach you any new particulars before unknown, yet by way of suggestion, or bringing to mind, it may draw your consideration to some particulars known but not remembered; as you shall sooner remember some practical means of making smoothness, than if you had fixed your consideration only upon brightness; but if the direction had been to make brightness, by making reflection, as thus, make it such as you may see your face in it; this is merely secondary, and helpeth neither by way of informing, nor by way of suggesting. So if in the inquiry of whiteness you were directed to make such a colour as should be seen furthest in a dark light; here you are advanced nothing at all. For these kinds of natures are but proprieties, effects, circumstances, concurrences, or what else you shall like to call them, and not radical and formative natures towards the nature supposed. The second caution is, that the nature inquired be collected by division before composition, or to speak more properly, by composition subaltern, before you ascend to composition absolute, &c.

Of the internal and profound errors and superstitions in the nature of the mind, and of the four sorts of idols or fictions which offer themselves to the understanding in the inquisition of knowledge.

Being the XVIth chapter, and this a small fragment thereof, being a preface to the inward elenches of the mind.

The opinion of Epicurus, that the gods were of human shape, was rather justly derided than seriously confuted by the other sects, demanding whether every kind of sensible creature did not think their own figure fairest, as the horse, the bull, and the like, which found no beauty but in their own forms, as in appetite of lust appeared. And the heresy of the Anthropomorphites was ever censured for a gross conceit, bred in the obscure cells of solitary monks that never looked abroad. Again, the fable so well known of "Quis pinxit leonem," doth set forth well, that there is an error of pride and partiality, as well as of custom and familiarity. The reflection also from glasses so usually resembled to the imagery of the mind, every man knoweth to receive error and variety both in colour, magnitude, and shape, according to the quality of the glass. But yet no use hath been made of these and many the like observations to move men to search out, and upon search to give true cautions of the native and inherent errors in the mind of man, which have coloured and corrupted all his notions and impressions.

I do find therefore in this enchanted glass four idols, or false appearances of several and distinct sorts, every sort comprehending many subdivisions: the first sort, I call idols of the nation or tribe; the second, idols of the palace; the third, idols of the cave; and the fourth, idols of the theatre, &c.

Here followeth an abridgement of divers chapters of the first book of the Interpretation of Nature.

CHAPTER XII.

That in deciding and determining of the truth of knowledge, men have put themselves upon trials not competent. That antiquity and authority, common and confessed notions, the natural and yielding consent of the mind, the harmony and coherence of a knowledge in itself, the establishing of principles with the touch and reduction of other propositions unto them, inductions without instances contradictory and the report of the senses, are none of them absolute and infallible evidence of truth; and bring no security sufficient for effects and operations. That the discovery of new works or active directions not known before, is the only trial to be accepted of; and yet not that neither, in case where one particular giveth light to another; but where particulars induce an axiom or observation, which axiom found out discovereth and designeth new particulars. That the nature of this trial is not only upon the point, whether the knowledge be profitable or no, but even upon the points whether the knowledge be true or no. Not because you may always conclude, that the axiom which discovereth new instances is true; but contrariwise you may safely conclude, that if it discover not any new instance, it is in vain and untrue. That by new instances are not always to be understood new recipes, but new assignations; and of the diversity between these two. That the subtilty of words, arguments, notions, yea of the senses themselves, is but rude and gross in comparison of the subtilty of things. And of the slothful and flattering opinions of those which pretend to honour the mind of man in withdrawing and abstracting it from particulars; and of the inducements and motives whereupon such opinions have been conceived and received.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the error in propounding chiefly the search of causes and productions of things concrete, which are infinite and transitory; and not of abstract natures, which are few and permanent. That these natures are as the alphabet or simple letters, whereof the variety of things consisteth; or as the colours mingled in the painter's shell, wherewith he is able to make infinite variety of faces or shapes. An enumeration of them according to popular note. That, at the first, one would conceive that in the schools by natural philosophy were meant the knowledge of the efficients of things

concrete; and by metaphysics the knowledge of the forms of natures simple; which is a good and fit division of knowledge: but upon examination there is no such matter by them intended. That the little inquiry into the production of simple natures, showeth well that works were not sought; because by the former knowledge some small and superficial deflexions from the ordinary generations and productions may be found out, but the discovery of all profound and radical alteration must arise out of the latter knowledge.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the error in propounding the search of the materials, or dead beginnings or principles of things, and not the nature of motions, inclinations, and applications. That the whole scope of the former search is impertinent and vain; both because there are no such beginnings, and if there were, they could not be known. That the latter manner of search, which is all, they pass over compendiously and slightly as a bye matter. That the several conceits in that kind; as that the lively and moving beginnings of things should be shift or appetite of matter to privation; the spirit of the world, working in matter according to platform; the proceeding or fructifying of distinct kinds according to their proprieties; the intercourse of the elements by mediation of their common qualities; the appetite of like portions to unite themselves; amity and discord, or sympathy and antipathy; motion to the centre, with motion of stripe or press; the casual agitation, aggregation, and essays of the solid portions in the void space; motion of shuttings and openings; are all mere nugations. And that the calculating and ordination of the true degrees, moments, limits and laws of motions and alterations, by means whereof all works and effects are produced, is a matter of a far other nature than to consist in such easy and wild generalities.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the great error of inquiring knowledge in anticipations. That I call anticipations, the voluntary collections that the mind maketh of knowledge, which is every man's reason. That though this be a solemn thing, and serves the turn to negotiate between man and man, because of the conformity and participation of men's minds in the like errors, yet towards inquiry of the truth of things and works it is of no value. That civil respects are a let that this pretended reason should not be so contemptibly spoken of as were fit and medicinable, in regard that hath been too much exalted and glorified, to the infinite detriment of man's estate. Of the nature of words, and their facility and aptness to cover and grace the defects of anticipations. That it is no marvel if these anticipations have brought forth such diversity and repugnance in opinions, theories or philosophies, as so many fable, of several arguments. That had not the nature of civil customs and government been in most times somewhat adverse to such innovations, though contemplative, there might have been and would have been many more. That the second school of the Academics and the sect of Pyrrho, or the considerers, that denied comprehension as the disabling man's knowledge, entertained in anticipations, is well to be allowed: but that they ought, when they had overthrown and purged the floor of the ruins, to have sought to build better in place. And more especially that they did unjustly and prejudicially, to charge the deceit upon the report of the senses, which admitteth very sparing remedy; being indeed to have been charged upon the anticipations of the mind, which admitteth a perfect remedy. That the information of the senses is sufficient, not because they err not, but because the use of the sense in discovering of knowledge is for the most part not immediate. So that it is the work, effect, or instance, that trieth the axiom, and the sense doth but try the work done or not done, being or not being. That the mind of man in collecting knowledge needeth great variety of helps, as well as the hand of man in manual and mechanical practices needeth great variety of instruments. And that it were a poor work, that if instruments were removed men would overcome with their naked hands. And of the distinct points of want and insufficiency in the mind of man.

CHAPTER XVI.

That the mind of a man, as it is not a vessel of that content or receipt to comprehend knowledge without helps and supplies; so again it is not sincere, but of an ill and corrupt tincture. Of the inherent and profound errors and superstitions in the nature of the mind, and of the four sorts of idols or false appearances that offer themselves to the understanding in the inquisition of knowledge; that is to say, the idols of the tribe, the idols of the palace, the idols of the cave, and the idols of the theatre: that these four, added to the incapacity of the mind, and the vanity and malignity of the affections, leave nothing but impotency and confusion. A recital of the particular kinds of these four idols, with some chosen examples of the opinions they have begot, such of them as have supplanted the state of knowledge most.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the errors of such as have descended and applied themselves to experience, and attempted to induce knowledge upon particulars. That they have not had the resolution and strength of mind to free themselves wholly from anticipations, but have made a confusion and intermixture of antici-

pations and observations, and so vanished. That if any have had the strength of mind generally to purge away and discharge all anticipations; they have not had that greater and double strength and patience of mind, as well to repel new anticipations after the view and search of particulars, as to reject old which were in their mind before; but have from particulars and history flown up to principles without the mean degrees, and so framed all the middle generalities or axioms, not by way of scale or ascension from particulars, but by way of derivation from principles, whence hath issued the infinite chaos of shadows and moths, wherewith both books and minds have been hitherto, and may be yet hereafter much more pestered. That in the course of those derivations to make them yet the more unprofitable, they have used, when any light of new instance opposite to any assertion appeared, rather to reconcile the instance than to amend the rule. That if any have had, or shall have the power and resolution to fortify and inclose his mind against all anticipations, yet if he have not been or shall not be cautioned by the full understanding of the nature of the mind and spirit of man, and therein of the states, pores, and passages both of knowledge and error, he hath not been nor shall not be possibly able to guide or keep on his course aright. That those that have been conversant in experience and observation, have used, when they have intended to discover the cause of any effect, to fix their consideration narrowly and exactly upon that effect itself, with all the circumstances thereof, and to vary the trial thereof as many ways as can be devised; which course amounteth but to a tedious curiosity, and ever breaketh off in wondering and not in knowing. And that they have not used to enlarge their observation to match and sort that effect with instances of a diverse subject, which must of necessity be before any cause be found out. That they have passed over the observation of instances vulgar and ignoble, and stayed their attention chiefly upon instances of mark: whereas the other sort are for the most part more significant, and of better light and information. That every particular that worketh any effect, is a thing compounded more or less, of diverse single natures, more manifest and more obscure, and that it appeareth not to whether of the natures the effect is to be ascribed; and yet notwithstanding they have taken a course without breaking particulars, and reducing them by exclusions and inclusions to a definite point, to conclude upon inductions in gross; which empirical course is no less vain than the scholastical. That all such as have sought action and work out of their inquiry, have been hasty and pressing to discover some practices for present use, and not to discover axioms, joining with them the new assignations as their sureties. That the forerunning of the mind to frame recipes upon axioms at the entrance, is like Atalanta's golden ball that hindereth and interrupteth the course; and is to be inhibited till you have ascended to a certain stage and degree of generalities; which forbearance will be liberally recompensed in the end; and that chance discovereth new inventions by one and one, but science by knots and clusters. That they have not collected sufficient quantity of particulars, nor them in sufficient certainty and subtilty, nor of all several kinds, nor with those advantages and discretions in the entry and sorting which are requisite; and of the weak manner of collecting natural history, which hath been used. Lastly, that they had no knowledge of the formulary of interpretation, the work whereof is to abridge experience, and to make things as certainly found out by axiom in short time, as by infinite experiences in ages.

CHAPTER XVIII.

That the cautels and devices put in practice in the delivery of knowledge for the covering and palliating of ignorance, and the gracing and overvaluing of that they utter, are without number, but none more bold and more hurtful than two: the one, that men have used of a few observations upon any subject to make a solemn and formal art; by filling it up with discourse, accommodating it with some circumstances and directions to practice, and digesting it into method, whereby men grow satisfied and secure, as if no more inquiry were to be made of that matter; the other, that men have used to discharge ignorance with credit, in defining all those effects which they cannot attain unto, to be out of the compass of art and human endeavour. That the very styles and forms of utterance are so many characters of imposture, some choosing a style of pugnacity and contention, some of satire and reprehension, some of plausible and tempting similitudes and examples, some of great words and high discourse, some of short and dark sentences, some of exactness of method, all of positive affirmation; without disclosing the true motives and proofs of their opinions, or free confessing their ignorance or doubts, except it be now and then for a grace, and in cunning to win the more credit in the rest, and not in good faith. That although men be free from these errors and incumbrances in the will and affection, yet it is not a thing so easy as is conceived to convey the conceit of one man's mind into the mind of another, without loss or mistaking, especially in notions new and differing from those that are received. That never any knowledge was delivered in the same order it was invented, no not in the mathematics, though it should seem otherwise in regard that the propositions placed last do use the propositions or grants placed first for their proof and demonstration. That there are forms and methods of tradition

wholly distinct and differing, according to their ends whereto they are directed. That there are two ends of tradition of knowledge, the one to teach and instruct for use and practice, the other to impart or intimate for re-examination and progression. That the former of these ends requireth a method not the same whereby it was invented and induced, but such as is most compendious and ready, whereby it may be used and applied. That the latter of the ends, which is where a knowledge is delivered to be continued and spun on by a succession of labours, requireth a method whereby it may be transposed to another in the same manner as it was collected, to the end it may be discerned both where the work is weak, and where it breaketh off. That this latter method is not only unfit for the former end, but also impossible for all knowledge gathered and insinuated by anticipations, because the mind working inwardly of itself, no man can give a just account how he came to that knowledge which he hath received, and that therefore this method is peculiar for knowledge gathered by interpretation. That the discretion anciently observed, though by the precedent of many vain persons and deceivers disgraced, of publishing part and reserving part to a private succession, and of publishing in a manner whereby it shall not be to the capacity nor taste of all, but shall as it were single and adopt his reader, is not to be laid aside, both for the avoiding of abuse in the excluded, and the strengthening of affection in the admitted. That there are other virtues of tradition, as that there be no occasion given to error, and that it carry a vigour to root and spread against the vanity of wits and injuries of time; all which, if they were ever due to any knowledge delivered, or if they were never due to any human knowledge heretofore delivered, yet are now due to the knowledge propounded.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the impediments which have been in the affections, the principle whereof hath been despair or diffidence, and the strong apprehension of the difficulty, obscurity, and infiniteness which belongeth to the invention of knowledge, and that men have not known their own strength; and that the supposed difficulties and vastness of the work is rather in show and muster, than in state or substance, where the true way is taken. That this diffidence hath moved and caused some never to enter into search, and others, when they have been entered, either to give over, or to seek a more compendious course than can stand with the nature of true search. That of those that have refused and prejudged inquiry, the more sober and grave sort of wits have depended upon authors and traditions, and the more vain and credulous resorted to revelation and intelligence with spirits and higher natures. That of those that have entered into search, some having fallen upon some conceits, which they after consider to be the same which they have found in former authors, have suddenly taken a persuasion that a man shall but with much labour incur and light upon the same inventions which he might with ease receive from others, and that it is but a vanity and self-pleasing of the wit to go about again, as one that would rather have a flower of his own gathering, than much better gathered to his hand. That the same humour of sloth and diffidence suggesteth, that a man shall but revive some ancient opinion, which was long ago propounded, examined, and rejected. And that it is easy to err in conceit, that a man's observation or notion is the same with a former opinion, both because new conceits must of necessity be uttered in old words, and because upon true and erroneous grounds men may meet in consequence or conclusion, as several lines or circles that cut in some one point. That the greatest part of those that have descended into search have chosen for the most artificial and compendious course, to induce principles out of particulars, and to reduce all other propositions unto principles: and so, instead of the nearest way, have been led to no way or a mere labyrinth. That the two contemplative ways have some resemblance with the old parable of the two moral ways, the one beginning with incertainty and difficulty, and ending in plainness and certainty; and the other beginning with show of plainness and certainty, and ending in difficulty and incertainty. Of the great and manifest error and untrue conceit or estimation of the infiniteness of particulars, whereas indeed all prolixity is in discourse and derivations; and of the infinite and most laborious expence of wit that hath been employed upon toys and matters of no fruit or value. That although the period of one age cannot advance men to the furthest point of interpretation of nature, except the work should be undertaken with greater helps than can be expected, yet it cannot fail in much less space of time to make return of many singular commodities towards the state and occasions of man's life. That there is less reason of distrust in the course of interpretation now propounded, than in any knowledge formerly delivered, because this course doth in sort equal men's wits, and leaveth no great advantage or pre-eminence to the perfect and excellent motions of the spirit. That to draw a straight line, or to make a circle perfect round by aim of hand only, there must be a great difference between an unsteady and unpractised hand, and a steady and practised; but to do it by rule or compass, it is much alike.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the impediments which have been in the two extreme humours of admiration of antiquity

and love of novelty; and again, of over-servile reverence, or over-light scorn of the opinions of others.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the impediments which have been in the affection of pride, specially of one kind, which is the disdain of dwelling and being conversant much in experiences and particulars, especially such as are vulgar in occurrency, and base and ignoble in use. That besides certain higher mysteries of pride, generalities seem to have a dignity and solemnity, in that they do not put men in mind of their familiar actions, in that they have less affinity with arts mechanical and illiberal, in that they are not so subject to be controlled by persons of mean observation, in that they seem to teach men that they know not, and not refer them to that they know. All which conditions directly feeding the humour of pride, particulars do want. That the majesty of generalities, and the divine nature of the mind in taking them, if they be truly collected, and be indeed the direct reflexions of things, cannot be too much magnified. And that it is true, that interpretation is the very natural and direct intention, action, and progression of the understanding, delivered from impediments. And that all anticipation is but a deflexion or declination by accident.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the impediments which have been in the state of heathen religion, and other superstitions and errors of religion. And that in the true religion there hath not, nor is any impediment, except it be by accident or intermixture of humour. That a religion which consisteth in rites and forms of adoration, and not in confessions and beliefs, is adverse to knowledge: because men having liberty to inquire and discourse of theology at pleasure, it cometh to pass that all inquisition of nature endeth and limiteth itself in such metaphysical or theological discourse; whereas if men's wits be shut out of that port, it turneth them again to discover, and so to seek reason of reason more deeply. And that such was the religion of the heathen. That a religion that is jealous of the variety of learning, discourse, opinions, and sects, as misdoubting it may shake the foundations, or that cherisheth devotion upon simplicity and ignorance, as ascribing ordinary effects to the immediate working of God, is adverse to knowledge. That such is the religion of the Turk, and such hath been the abuse of Christian religion at some several times, and in some several factions. And of the singular advantage which the Christian religion hath towards the furtherance of true knowledge, in that it excludeth and interdicteth human reason, whether by interpretation or anticipation, from examining or discussing of the mysteries and principles of faith.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the impediments which have been in the nature of society, and the policies of state. That there is no composition of estate or society, nor order or quality of persons, which have not some point of contrariety towards true knowledge. That monarchies incline wits to profit and pleasure, and commonwealths to glory and vanity That universities incline wits to sophistry and affectation; cloisters to fables and unprofitable subtilty; study at large to variety; and that it is hard to say, whether mixture of contemplations with an active life, or retiring wholly to contemplations, do disable and hinder the mind more.

FILUM LABYRINTHI,

SIVE

FORMULA INQUISITIONIS.

AD FILIOS.

PARS PRIMA.

1. Francis Bacon thought in this manner. The knowledge whereof the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works. The physician pronounceth many diseases incurable, and faileth oft in the rest. The alchemists wax old and die in hopes. The magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable. The mechanics take small light from natural philosophy, and do but spin on their own little threads. Chance sometimes discovereth inventions; but that worketh not in years, but ages. So he saw well, that the inventions known are very unperfect, and that new are not like to be brought to light but in great length of time; and that those which are, came not to light by philosophy.

2. He thought also this state of knowledge was the worse, because men strive against themselves to save the credit of ignorance, and to satisfy themselves in this poverty. For the physician, besides the cautels of practice, hath this general cautel of art, that he dischargeth the weakness of his art upon supposed impossibilities: neither can his art be condemned, when itself judgeth. That philosophy also, out of which the knowledge of physic which now is in use is hewed, receiveth certain positions and opinions, which, if they be well weighed, induce this persuasion, that no great works are to be expected from art, and the hand of man; as, in particular that opinion, that "the heat of the sun and fire differ in kind;" and that other, "that composition is the work of man, and mixture is the work of nature," and the like; all tending to the circumscription of man's power, and to artificial despair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the industry of trial; only upon vainglory, to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impossible that is not already found. The alchemists dischargeth his art upon his own errors, either supposing a misunderstanding of the words of his authors, which maketh him listen after auricular traditions; or else a failing in the true porportions and scruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials; and finding also that he lighteth upon some mean experiments and conclusions by the way, feedeth upon them, and magnifieth them to the most, and supplieth the rest in hopes. The magician, when he findeth something, as he conceiveth, above nature, effected, thinketh, when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and small; not seeing, that they are but subjects of a certain kind, wherein magic and superstition hath played in all times. The mechanical person, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three observations or practices together in one, or couple things better with their use, or make the work in less or greater volume, taketh himself for an inventor. So he saw well, that men either persuade themselves of new inventions as of impossibilities, or else think they are already extant, but in secret and in few hands; or that they account of those little industries and additions, as of inventions: all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any just and constant labour, to invent further in any quantity.

3. He thought also, when men did set before themselves the variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the provisions of man, than to apprehend his wants; not considering, that the original inventions and conclusions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many, nor deeply fetched; and that the rest is but the subtile and ruled motion of the instrument and hand; and that the shop therein is not unlike the library, which in such number of books containeth, for the far greater part, nothing but iterations, varied sometimes in form, but not new in substance. So he

saw plainly, that opinion of store was a cause of want; and that both works and doctrines appear many, and are few.

4. He thought also, that knowledge is uttered to men in a form, as if every thing were finished; for it is reduced into arts and methods; which in their divisions do seem to include all that may be. And how weakly soever the parts are filled, yet they carry the show and reason of a total; and thereby the writings of some received authors go for the very art: whereas antiquity used to deliver the knowledge which the mind of man hath gathered, in observations, aphorisms, or short and dispersed sentences, or small tractates of some parts that they had diligently meditated and laboured; which did invite men, both to ponder that which was invented, and to add and supply further. But now sciences are delivered to be believed and accepted, and not to be examined and further discovered; and the succession is between master and disciple, and not between inventor and continuer or advancer: and therefore sciences stand at a stay, and have done for many ages, and that which is positive is fixed, and that which is question is kept question, so as the columns of no further proceeding are pitched. And therefore he saw plainly men had cut themselves off from further invention; and that it is no marvel, that that is not obtained which hath not been attempted, but rather shut out and debarred.

5. He thought also, that knowledge is almost generally sought either for delight and satisfaction, or for gain or profession, or for credit and ornament, and that every of these are as Atalanta's balls, which hinder the race of invention. For men are so far in these courses from seeking to increase the mass of knowledge, as of that mass which is they will take no more than will serve their turn: and if any one amongst so many seeketh knowledge for itself, yet he rather seeketh to know the variety of things, than to discern of the truth and causes of them; and if his inquisition be yet more severe, yet it tendeth rather to judgment than to invention; and rather to discover truth in controversy, than new matter; and if his heart be so large as he propoundeth to himself further discovery or invention, yet it is rather of new discourse and speculation of causes, than of effects and operations. And as for those that have so much in their mouths, action and use and practice, and the referring of sciences thereunto; they mean it of application of that which is known, and not of a discovery of that which is unknown. So he saw plainly, that this mark, namely, invention of further means to endow the condition and life of man with new powers or works, was almost never yet set up and resolved in man's intention and inquiry.

6. He thought also, that, amongst other knowledges, natural philosophy hath been the least followed and laboured. For since the Christian faith, the greatest number of wits have been employed, and the greatest helps and rewards have been conferred, upon divinity. And before-time likewise, the greatest part of the studies of philosophers was consumed in moral philosophy, which was as the heathen divinity. And in both times a great part of the best wits betook themselves to law, pleadings, and causes of estate; specially in the time of the greatness of the Romans, who by reason of their large empire needed the service of all their able men for civil business. And the time amongst the Grecians, in which natural philosophy seemed most to flourish, was but a short space; and that also rather abused in differing sects and conflicts of opinions than profitably spent. Since which time, natural philosophy was never any profession, nor never possessed any whole man, except perchance some monk in a cloister, or some gentleman in the country, and that very rarely; but became a science of passage, to season a little young and unripe wits, and to serve for an introduction to other arts, especially physic and the practical mathematics. So as he saw plainly, that natural philosophy hath been intended by few persons, and in them hath occupied the least part of their time, and that in the weakest of their age and judgment.

7. He thought also, how great opposition and prejudice natural philosophy had received by superstition, and the immoderate and blind zeal of religion; for he found that some of the Grecians, which first gave the reason of thunder, had been condemned of impiety; and that the cosmographers, which first discovered and described the roundness of the earth, and the consequence thereof touching the antipodes, were not much otherwise censured by the ancient fathers of the Christian church; and that the case is now much worse, in regard of the boldness of the schoolmen and their dependences in the monasteries, who having made divinity into an art, have almost incorporated the contentious philosophy of Aristotle into the body of Christian religion: and generally he perceived in men of devout simplicity this opinion, that the secrets of nature were the secrets of God; and part of that glory whereinto the mind of man, if it seek to press, shall be oppressed; and that the desire in men to attain to so great and hidden knowledge, hath a resemblance with that temptation which caused the original fall; and on the other side, in men of a devout policy, he noted an inclination to have the people depend upon God the more, when they are less acquainted with second causes; and to have no stirring in philosophy, lest it may lead to an innovation in divinity, or else should discover matter of further contradiction to divinity. But in this part, resorting to the authority of the Scriptures, and holy examples, and to reason, he rested not satisfied alone, but much confirmed. For first, he considered that the knowledge of nature, by

the light whereof man discerned of every living creature, and imposed names according to their propriety, was not the occasion of the fall; but the moral knowledge of good and evil, affected to the end to depend no more upon God's commandments, but for man to direct himself. Neither could he find in any Scripture, that the inquiry and science of man in any thing, under the mysteries of the Deity, is determined and restrained, but contrariwise allowed and provoked. For concerning all other knowledge the Scripture pronounceth, "That it is the glory of God to conceal, but it is the glory of man (or of the king, for the king is but the excellency of man) to invent;" and again, "The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth every secret;" and again most effectually, "That God hath made all things beautiful and decent, according to the return of their seasons; also that he hath set the world in man's heart, and yet man cannot find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end;" showing that the heart of man is a continent of that concave or capacity, wherein the content of the world, that is, all forms of the creatures, and whatsoever is not God, may be placed or received; and complaining, that through the variety of things, and vicissitudes of times, which are but impediments and not impuissances, man cannot accomplish his invention. In precedent also he set before his eyes, that in those few memorials before the flood, the Scripture honoureth the name of the inventors of music and works in metal; that Moses had this addition of praise, that he was seen in all the learning of the Egyptians; that Solomon, in his grant of wisdom from God, had contained, as a branch thereof, that knowledge whereby he wrote a natural history of all verdure, from the cedar to the moss, and of all that breatheth: that the book of Job, and many places of the prophets, have great aspersion of natural philosophy; that the church in the bosom and lap thereof, in the greatest injuries of times, ever preserved, as holy relics, the books of philosophy and all heathen learning; and that when Gregory, the bishop of Rome, became adverse and unjust to the memory of heathen antiquity, it was censured for pusillanimity in him, and the honour thereof soon after restored, and his own memory almost persecuted by his successor Sabinian; and lastly, in our times, and the ages of our fathers, when Luther and the divines of the Protestant church on the one side, and the Jesuits on the other, have enterprised to reform, the one the doctrine, the other the discipline and manners of the church of Rome, he saw well how both of them have awaked to their great honour and succour, all human learning. And for reason, there cannot be a greater and more evident than this, that all knowledge, and specially that of natural philosophy, tendeth highly to the magnifying of the glory of God, in his power, providence, and benefits, appearing and engraven in his works, which without this knowledge are beheld but as through a veil: for if the heavens in the body of them do declare the glory of God to the eye, much more do they in the rule and decrees of them declare it to the understanding. And another reason, not inferior to this, is, that the same natural philosophy principally amongst all other human knowledge, doth give an excellent defence against both extremes of religion, superstition, and infidelity; for both it freeth the mind from a number of weak fancies and imaginations, and it raiseth the mind to acknowledge that to God all things are possible: for to that purpose speaketh our Saviour in that first canon against heresies, delivered upon the case of the resurrection, "You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God;" teaching that there are but two fountains of heresy, not knowing the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, and not knowing the power of God revealed or at least made most sensible in his creatures. So as he saw well, that natural philosophy was of excellent use to the exaltation of the Divine Majesty; and, that which is admirable, that being a remedy of superstition, it is nevertheless an help to faith. He saw likewise, that the former opinions to the prejudice hereof had no true ground; but must spring either out of mere ignorance, or out of an excess of devotion, to have divinity all in all; whereas it should be only above all; both which states of mind may be best pardoned; or else out of worse causes, namely out of envy, which is proud weakness, and deserveth to be despised; or out of some mixture of imposture, to tell a lie for God's cause; or out of an impious diffidence, as if men should fear to discover some things in nature which might subvert faith. But still he saw well, howsoever these opinions are in right reason reproved, yet they leave not to be most effectual hinderances to natural philosophy and invention.

8. He thought also, that there wanted not great contrariety to the further discovery of sciences in regard of the orders and customs of universities, and also in regard of common opinion. For in universities and colleges men's studies are almost confined to certain authors, from which if any dissenteth or propoundeth matter of redargution, it is enough to make him thought a person turbulent; whereas if it be well advised, there is a great difference to be made between matters contemplative and active. For in government change is suspected, though the better; but it is natural to arts to be in perpetual agitation and growth. Neither is the danger alike of new light, and of new motion or remove; and for vulgar and received opinions, nothing is more usual, or more usually complained of, than that it is imposed for arrogancy and presumption, for men to authorize themselves against antiquity and authors, towards whom envy is ceased, and reverence by time amortised.

it not being considered what Aristotle himself did, upon whom the philosophy that now is chiefly dependeth, who came with a professed contradiction to all the world, and did put all his opinions upon his own authority and argument, and never so much as nameth an author but to confute and reprove him; and yet his success well fulfilled the observation of Him that said, "If a man come in his own name, him will you receive." Men think, likewise, that if they should give themselves to the liberty of invention and travail of inquiry, that they shall light again upon some conceits and contemplations which have been formerly offered to the world, and have been put down by the better, which have prevailed and brought them to oblivion; not seeing, that howsoever the property and breeding of knowledges is in great and excellent wits, yet the estimation and price of them is in the multitude, or in the inclinations of princes and great persons meanly learned. So as those knowledges are like to be received and honoured, which have their foundation in the subtilty or finest trial of common sense, or such as fill the imagination, and not such knowledge as is digged out of the hard mine of history and experience, and falleth out to be in some points as adverse to common sense, or popular reason, as religion, or more. Which kind of knowledge, except it be delivered with strange advantages of eloquence and power, may be likely to appear and disclose a little to the world, and straight to vanish and shut again. So that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or flood, that bringeth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is solid and grave. So he saw well, that both in the state of religion, and in the administration of learning, and in common opinion, there were many and continual stops and traverses to the course of invention.

9. He thought also, that the invention of works and further possibility was prejudiced in a more special manner than that of speculative truth; for besides the impediments common to both, it hath by itself been notably hurt and discredited by the vain promises and pretences of alchemy, magic, astrology, and such other arts, which, as they now pass, hold much more of imagination and belief than of sense and demonstration. But to use the poet's language, men ought to have remembered, that although Ixion of a cloud in the likeness of Juno begat Centaurs and Chimæras, yet Jupiter also of the true Juno begat Vulcan and Hebe. Neither is it just to deny credit to the greatness of the acts of Alexander, because the like or more strange have been feigned of an Amadis or an Arthur, or other fabulous worthies. But though this in true reason should be, and that men ought not to make a confusion of unbelief; yet he saw well it could not otherwise be in event, but that experience of untruth had made access to truth more difficult, and that the ignominy of vanity had abated all greatness of mind.

10. He thought also, there was found in the mind of man an affection naturally bred and fortified, and furthered by discourse and doctrine, which did pervert the true proceeding towards active and operative knowledge. This was a false estimation, that it should be as a diminution to the mind of man to be much conversant in experiences and particulars, subject to sense, and bound in matter, and which are laborious to search, ignoble to meditate, harsh to deliver, illiberal to practise, infinite as is supposed in number, and noways accommodate to the glory of arts. This opinion or state of mind received much credit and strength by the school of Plato, who thinking that particulars rather revived the notions, or excited the faculties of the mind, than merely informed: and having mingled his philosophy with superstition, which never favoureth the sense, extolleth too much the understanding of man in the inward light thereof. And again, Aristotle's school, which giveth the due to the sense in assertion, denieth it in practice much more than that of Plato. For we see the schoolmen, Aristotle's successors, which were utterly ignorant of history, rested only upon agitation of wit; whereas Plato giveth good example of inquiry by induction and view of particulars: though in such a wandering manner as is of no force or fruit. So that he saw well, that the supposition of the sufficiency of man's mind hath lost the means thereof.

SEQUELA CHARTARUM;

SIVE

INQUISITIO LEGITIMA

DE CALORE ET FRIGORE.

SECTIO ORDINIS.

Charta suggestionis, sive memoria fixa.

The sunbeams hot to sense.

The moonbeams not hot, but rather conceived to have a quality of cold, for that the greatest colds are noted to be about the full, and the greatest heats about the change. *Query.*

The beams of the stars have no sensible heat by themselves; but are conceived to have an augmentative heat of the sunbeams by the instance following. The same climate arctic and antarctic are observed to differ in cold, viz. that the antarctic is the more cold, and it is manifest the antarctic hemisphere is thinner planted with stars.

The heats observed to be greater in July than in June; at which time the sun is nearest the greatest fixed stars, viz. Cor Leonis, Cauda Leonis, Spica, Virginis, Sirius, Canicula.

The conjunction of any two of the three highest planets noted to cause great heats.

Comets conceived by some to be as well causes as effects of heat, much more the stars.

The sunbeams have greater heat when they are more perpendicular than when they are more oblique: as appeareth in difference of regions, and the difference of the times of summer and winter in the same region; and chiefly in the difference of the hours of mid-day, mornings, evenings, in the same day.

The heats more extreme in July and August than in May or June, commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat.

The heats more extreme under the tropics than under the line: commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat, because the sun there doth as it were double a cape.

The heats more about three or four of clock than at noon; commonly imputed to the stay and continuance of heat.

The sun noted to be hotter when it shineth forth between clouds, than when the sky is open and serene.

The middle region of the air hath manifest effects of cold, notwithstanding locally it be nearer the sun, commonly imputed to antiperistasis, assuming that the beams of the sun are hot either by approach or by reflection, and that falleth in the middle term between both; or if, as some conceive, it be only by reflection, then the cold of that region resteth chiefly upon distance. The instances showing the cold of that region, are the snows which descend, the hails which descend, and the snows and extreme colds which are upon high mountains.

But *Qu.* of such mountains as adjoin to sandy vales, and not to fruitful vales, which minister no vapours: or of mountains above the region of vapours, as is reported of Olympus, where any inscription upon the ashes of the altar remained untouched of wind or dew. And note, it is also reported that men carry up sponges with vinegar to thicken their breath, the air growing too fine for respiration, which seemeth not to stand with coldness.

The clouds make a mitigation of the heat of the sun. So doth the interposition of any body, which we term shades: but yet the nights in summer are many times as hot to the feeling of men's bodies as the days are within doors, where the beams of the sun actually beat not.

There is no other nature of heat known from the celestial bodies or from the air, but that which cometh by the sunbeams. For in the countries near the pole, we see the extreme colds end in the summer months, as in the voyage of Nova Zembla, where they could not disengage their

barks from the ice, no, not in July, and met with great mountains of ice, some floating, some fixed, at that time of the year, being the heart of summer.

The caves under the earth noted to be warmer in winter than in summer, and so the waters that spring from within the earth.

Great quantity of sulphur, and sometimes naturally burning after the manner of Ætna, in Iceland; the like written of Groenland, and divers others the cold countries.*

The trees in the cold countries are such as are fuller of rosin, pitch, tar, which are matters apt for fire, and the woods themselves more combustible than those in much hotter countries; as, for example, fir, pineapple, juniper. *Qu.* Whether their trees of the same kind that ours are, as oak and ash, bear not, in the more cold countries, a wood more brittle and ready to take fire than the same kinds with us?

The sunbeams heat manifestly by reflection, as in countries pent in with hills, upon walls or buildings, upon pavements, upon gravel more than earth, upon arable more than grass, upon rivers if they be not very open, &c.

The uniting or collection of the sunbeams multiplieth heat, as in burning-glasses, which are made thinner in the middle than on the sides, as I take it, contrary to spectacles; and the operation of them is, as I remember, first to place them between the sun and the body to be fired, and then to draw them upward towards the sun, which it is true maketh the angle of the cone sharper. But then I take it if the glass had been first placed at the same distance to which it is after drawn, it would not have had that force, and yet that had been all one to the sharpness of the angle. *Qu.*

So in that the sun's beams are hotter perpendicularly than obliquely, it may be imputed to the union of the beams, which in case of perpendicularity reflect into the very same lines with the direct; and the further from perpendicularity the more obtuse the angle, and the greater distance between the direct beam and the reflected beam.

The sunbeams raise vapours out of the earth, and when they withdraw they fall back in dews.

The sunbeams do many times scatter the mists which are in the mornings.

The sunbeams cause the divers returns of the herbs, plants, and fruits of the earth; for we see in lemon-trees and the like, that there is coming on at once fruit ripe, fruit unripe, and blossoms; which may show that the plant worketh to put forth continually, were it not for the variations of the excesses and recesses of the sun, which call forth, and put back.

The excessive heat of the sun doth wither and destroy vegetables, as well as the cold doth nip and blast them.

* No doubt but infinite power the heat of the sun in cold countries, though it be not to the analogy of men and fruits, &c.

The heat or beams of the sun doth take away the smell of flowers, specially such as are of a milder odour.

The beams of the sun do disclose summer flowers, as the pimpernel, marigold, and almost all flowers else, for they close commonly morning and evening, or in overcast weather, and open in the brightness of the sun: which is but imputed to dryness and moisture, which doth make the beams heavy or erect, and not to any other propriety in the sunbeams; so they report not only a closing, but a bending or inclining in the "heliotropium" and "calendula." *Qu.*

The sunbeams do ripen all fruits, and addeth to them a sweetness or fatness; and yet some sultry hot days overcast, are noted to ripen more than bright days.

The sunbeams are thought to mend distilled waters, the glasses being well-stopped, and to make them more virtuous and fragrant.

The sunbeams do turn wine into vinegar; but *Qu.* whether they would not sweeten verjuice?

The sunbeams do pall any wine or beer that is set in them.

The sunbeams do take away the lustre of any silks or arras.

There is almost no mine but lieth some depth in the earth; gold is conceived to lie highest, and in the hottest countries; yet Thracia and Hungary are cold, and the hills of Scotland have yielded gold, but in small grains or quantity.

If you set a root of a tree too deep in the ground, that root will perish, and the stock will put forth a new root nearer the superficies of the earth.

Some trees and plants prosper best in the shade; as the bays, strawberries, some wood-flowers.

Almost all flies love the sunbeams, so do snakes; toads and worms the contrary.

The sunbeams tanneth the skin of man; and in some places turneth it to black.

The sunbeams are hardly endured by many, but cause headache, faintness, and with many they cause rheums; yet to aged men they are comfortable.

The sun causes pestilence, which with us rages about autumn: but it is reported in Barbary they break up about June, and rage most in the winter.

The heat of the sun, and of fire, and living creatures, agree in some things which pertain to vivification; as the back of a chimney will set forward an apricot-tree as well as the sun; the fire will raise a dead butterfly as well as the sun; and so will the heat of a living creature. The heat of the sun in sand will hatch an egg. *Qu.*

The heat of the sun in the hottest countries nothing so violent as that of fire, no not scarcely so hot to the sense as that of a living creature.

The sun, a fountain of light as well as heat. The other celestial bodies manifest in light, and yet "non constat" whether all borrowed, as in the moon, but obscure in heat.

The southern and western wind with us is the warmest, thereof the one bloweth from the sun, the other from the sea: the northern and eastern the more cold. *Qu.* Whether in the coast of Florida, or at Brasil, the east wind be not the warmest, and the west the coldest; and so beyond the antarctic tropic, the southern wind the coldest.

The air useth to be extreme hot before thunders.

The sea and air unbleat, appeareth to be hotter than that at land; for in the northern voyages two or three degrees farther at the open sea, they find less ice than two or three degrees more south near land; but *Qu.* for that may be by reason of the shores and shallows.

The snows dissolve fastest upon the sea-coasts, yet the winds are counted the bitterest from the sea, and such as trees will bend from. *Qu.*

The streams or clouds of brightness which appear in the firmament, being such through which the stars may be seen, and shoot not, but rest, are signs of heat.

The pillars of light, which are so upright, and do commonly shoot and vary, are signs of cold; but both these are signs of drought.

The air when it is moved is to the sense colder; as in winds, fannings, ventilabra.

The air in things fibrous, as fleeces, furs, &c. warm; and those stuffs to the feeling warm.

The water to man's body seemeth colder than the air; and so in summer, in swimming it seemeth at the first going in; and yet after one hath been in a while, at the coming forth again, the air seemeth colder than the water.

The snow more cold to the sense than water, and the ice than snow; and they have in Italy means to keep snow and ice for the cooling of their drinks. *Qu.* Whether it be so in froth in respect of the liquor?

Baths of hot water feel hottest at the first going in.

The frost dew which we see in hoar-frost, and in the rimes upon trees or the like, accounted more mortifying cold than snow; for snow cherisheth the ground, and any thing sowed in it: the other biteth and killeth.

Stone and metal exceeding cold to the feeling more than wood: yea more than jet or amber, or horn, which are no less smooth.

The snow is ever in the winter season, but the hail, which is more of the nature of ice, is ever in the summer season; whereupon it is conceived, that as the hollows of the earth are warmest in the winter, so that region of the air is coldest in the summer; as if they were a fugue of the nature of either from the contrary, and a collecting itself to an union, and so to a further strength.

So in the shades under trees, in the summer, which stand in an open field, the shade noted to be colder than in a wood.

Cold effecteth congelation in liquors, so as they do consist and hold together, which before did run.

Cold breaketh glasses, if they be close stopped, in frost, when the liquor freezeth within.

Cold in extreme maketh metals, that are dry and brittle, cleft and crack, "Æraque dissiliunt;" so of pots of earth and glass.

Cold maketh bones of living creatures more fragile.

Cold maketh living creatures to swell in the joints, and the blood to clot, and turn more blue.

Bitter frosts do make all drinks to taste more dead and flat.

Cold maketh the arteries and flesh more asper and rough.

Cold causes rheums and distillations by compressing the brain, and laxes by like reason.

Cold increases appetite in the stomach, and willingness to stir.

Cold maketh the fire to scald and sparkle.

Paracelsus reporteth, that if a glass of wine be set upon a terras in a bitter frost, it will leave some liquor unfrozen in the centre of the glass, which excelleth "spiritus vini" drawn by fire.

Cold in Muscovy, and the like countries, causes those parts which are voidest of blood, as the nose, the ears, the toes, the fingers, to mortify and rot; especially if you come suddenly to fire, after you have been in the air abroad, they are sure to moulder and dissolve. They use for remedy, as is said, washing in snow water.

If a man come out of a bitter cold suddenly to the fire, he is ready to swoon, or be overcome.

So contrariwise at Nova Zembla, when they opened their door at times to go forth, he that opened the door was in danger to be overcome.

The quantity of fish in the cold countries, Norway, &c. very abundant.

The quantity of fowl and eggs laid in the cliffs in great abundance.

In Nova Zembla they found no beasts but bears and foxes, whereof the bears gave over to be seen about September, and the foxes began.

Meat will keep from putrifying longer in frosty weather, than at other times.

In Iceland they keep fish, by exposing it to the cold, from putrifying without salt.

The nature of man endureth the colds in the countries of Scricfinnia, Biarmia, Lappia, Iceland, Groenland; and that not by perpetual keeping in stoves in the winter time, as they do in Russia: but contrariwise, their chief fairs and intercourse is written to be in the winter, because the ice evens and levelleth the passages of waters, plashes, &c.

A thaw after a frost doth greatly rot and mellow the ground.

Extreme cold hurteth the eyes and causeth blindness in many beasts, as is reported.

The cold maketh any solid substance, as wood, stone, metal, put to the flesh, to cleave to it, and to pull the flesh after it, and so put to any cloth that is moist.

Cold maketh the pilage of beasts more thick and long, as foxes of Muscovy, sables, &c.

Cold maketh the pilage of most beasts incline to grayness or whiteness, as foxes, bears, and so the plumage of fowls; and maketh also the crests of cocks and their feet white, as is reported.

Extreme cold will make nails leap out of the walls, and out of locks, and the like.

Extreme cold maketh leather to be stiff like horn.

In frosty weather the stars appear clearest and most sparkling.

In the change from frost to open weather, or from open weather to frosts, commonly great mists.

In extreme colds any thing never so little which arresteth the air maketh it to congeal; as we see in cobwebs in windows, which is one of the least and weakest threads that is, and yet drops gather about it like chains of pearl.

So in frosts, the inside of glass windows gathereth a dew; *Qu.* if not more without.

Qu. Whether the sweating of marble and stones be in frost, or towards rain.

Oil in time of frost gathereth to a substance, as of tallow; and it is said to sparkle some time, so as it giveth a light in the dark.

The countries which lie covered with snow have a hastier maturation of all grain than in other countries, all being within three months or thereabouts.

Qu. It is said, that compositions of honey, as mead, do ripen, and are most pleasant in the great colds.

The frosts with us are casual, and not tied to any months, so as they are not merely caused by the recess of the sun, but mixed with some inferior causes. In the inland of the northern countries, as in Russia, the weather for the three or four months of November, December, January, February, is constant, viz. clear and perpetual frost, without snows or rains.

There is nothing in our region, which, by approach of a matter hot, will not take heat by transition or excitation.

There is nothing hot here with us but is in a kind of consumption, if it carry heat in itself; for all fired things are ready to consume; chafed things are ready to fire; and the heat of men's bodies needeth aliment to restore.

The transition of heat is without any imparting of substance, and yet remaineth after the body heated is withdrawn; for it is not like smells, for they leave some airs or parts; not like light, for that abideth not when the first body is removed; not unlike to the motion of the loadstone, which is lent without adhesion of substance, for if the iron be filed where it was rubbed, yet it will draw or turn.

A

LETTER AND DISCOURSE TO SIR HENRY SAVILL,

TOUCHING

HELPS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

Sir,

Coming back from your invitation at Eton, where I had refreshed myself with company which I loved, I fell into a consideration of that part of policy whereof philosophy speaketh too much and laws too little; and that is of education of youth. Whereupon fixing my mind a while, I found straightways, and noted even in the discourses of philosophers which are so large in this argument, a strange silence concerning one principal part of that subject. For as touching the framing and seasoning of youth to moral virtue, (as tolerance of labours, continency from pleasures, obedience, honour, and the like,) they handle it; but touching the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgment, they say nothing. Whether it were that they thought it to be a matter wherein nature only prevailed; or that they intended it as referred to the several and proper arts which teach the use of reason and speech. But for the former of these two reasons, howsoever it pleaseth them to distinguish of habits and powers, the experience is manifest enough that the motions and faculties of the wit and memory may be not only governed and guided but also confirmed and enlarged by custom and exercise duly applied. As if a man exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark but also draw a stronger bow. And as for the latter of comprehending these precepts within the arts of logic and rhetoric, if it be rightly considered, their office is distinct altogether from this point. For it is no part of the doctrine of the use or handling of an instrument to teach how to whet or grind the instrument to give it a sharp edge, or how to quench it or otherwise whereby to give it a stronger temper. Wherefore finding this part of knowledge not broken, I have but "tanquam aliud agens" entered into it, and salute you with it, dedicating it after the ancient manner, first as to a dear friend: and then as to an apt person; for as much as you have both place to practise it, and judgment and leisure to look deeper into it, than I have done. Herein you must call to mind Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Though the argument be not of great height and dignity, nevertheless it is of great and universal use; and yet I do not see why, to consider it rightly, that should not be a learning of height, which teacheth to raise the highest and worthiest part of the mind. But howsoever that be, if the world take any light and use by this writing, I will the gratulation be to the good friendship and acquaintance between us two. And so I commend you to God's divine protection.

A DISCOURSE TOUCHING HELPS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

I did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky saying, "faber quisque fortunæ suæ," except it be uttered only as an hortative or spur to correct sloth. For otherwise if it be believed as it soundeth; and that a man entereth into an high imagination that he can compass and fathom all accidents; and ascribeth all successes to his drifts and reaches, and the contrary to his errors and sleepings. It is commonly seen that the evening fortune of that man is not so prosperous as of him that without slackening of his industry attributeth much to felicity and providence above him. But if the sentence were turned to this, "faber quisque ingenii sui," it were somewhat more true and much more profitable; because it would teach men to bend themselves to reform those imperfections in themselves, which now they seek but to cover; and to attain those virtues and good parts, which now they seek but to have only in show and demonstration. Yet notwithstanding every man attempteth to be of the first trade of carpenters, and few bind themselves to the second: whereas nevertheless, the rising in fortune seldom amendeth the mind; but on the other side, the removing of the stondes and impediments of the mind, doth

often clear the passage and current to a man's fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed or no, that as the most excellent of metals, gold, is of all other the most pliant, and most enduring to be wrought: so of all living and breathing substances, the perfectest man is the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration; and not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit; and there again not only in his appetite and affection, but in his powers of wit and reason.

For as to the body of man, we find many and strange experiences, how nature is overwrought by custom, even in actions that seem of most difficulty and least possible. As first in voluntary motion, which though it be termed voluntary, yet the highest degrees of it are not voluntary; for it is in my power and will to run; but to run faster than according to my lightness or disposition of body, is not in my power nor will. We see the industry and practice of tumblers and funambulos what effects of great wonder it bringeth the body of man unto. So for suffering of pain and dolour, which is thought so contrary to the nature of man, there is much example of penances in strict orders of superstition, what they do endure such as may well verify the report of the Spartan boys, which were wont to be scourged upon the altar so bitterly as sometimes they died of it, and yet were never heard to complain. And to pass to those faculties which are reckoned more involuntary, as long fasting and abstinence, and the contrary extreme, voracity. The leaving and forbearing the use of drink for altogether, the enduring vehement cold and the like; there have not wanted, neither do want divers examples of strange victories over the body in every of these. Nay, in respiration, the proof hath been of some, who, by continual use of diving and working under the water, have brought themselves to be able to hold their breath an incredible time; and others that have been able, without suffocation, to endure the stifling breath of an oven or furnace, so heated as, though it did not scald nor burn, yet it was many degrees too hot for any man not made to it to breathe or take in. And some impostors and counterfeits, likewise, have been able to wreath and cast their bodies into strange forms and motions: yea, and others to bring themselves into trances and astonishments. All which examples do demonstrate how variously, and how to high points and degrees, the body of man may be (as it were) moulded and wrought. And if any man conceive that it is some secret propriety of nature that hath been in these persons which have attained to those points, and that it is not open for every man to do the like, though he had been put to it; for which cause such things come but very rarely to pass; it is true, no doubt, but some persons are apter than others; but so as the more aptness causeth perfection, but the less aptness doth not disable; so that, for example, the more apt child, that is taken to be made a funambulo, will prove more excellent in his feats; but the less apt will be gregarius funambulo also. And there is small question, but that these abilities would have been more common, and others of like sort not attempted would likewise have been brought upon the stage, but for two reasons; the one because of men's diffidence in prejudging them as impossibilities; for it holdeth in those things which the poet saith, "possunt quia posse videntur;" for no man shall know how much may be done, except he believe much may be done. The other reason is, because they be but practices, base and inglorious, and of no great use, and therefore sequestered from reward of value; and on the other side, painful; so as the recompense balanceth not with the travel and suffering. And as to the will of man, it is that which is most maniable and obedient; as that which admitteth most medicines to cure and alter it. The most sovereign of all is religion, which is able to change and transform it in the deepest and most inward inclinations and motions: and next to that is opinion and apprehension; whether it be infused by tradition and institution, or wrought in by disputation and persuasion: and the third is example, which transformeth the will of man into the similitude of that which is most observant and familiar towards it; and the fourth is, when one affection is healed and corrected by another; as when cowardice is remedied by shame and dishonour, or sluggishness and backwardness by indignation and emulation; and so of the like; and lastly, when all these means, or any of them, have new framed or formed human will, then doth custom and habit corroborate and confirm all the rest; therefore it is no marvel, though this faculty of the mind (of will and election) which inclineth affection and appetite, being but the inceptions and rudiments of will, may be so well governed and managed, because it admitteth access to so divers remedies to be applied to it and to work upon it, the effects whereof are so many and so known as require no enumeration; but generally they do issue as medicines do, into two kinds of cures, whereof the one is a just or true cure, and the other is called palliation; for either the labour and intention is to reform the affections really and truly, restraining them if they be too violent, and raising them if they be too soft and weak, or else it is to cover them; or if occasion be, to pretend them and represent them: of the former sort whereof the examples are plentiful in the schools of philosophers, and in all other institutions of moral virtue; and of the other sort, the examples are more plentiful in the courts of princes, and in all politic traffic, where it is ordinary to find not only profound dissimulations and suffocating the affections, that no note or mark appear of them outwardly, but also lively simulations and affectations, carrying the tokens of passions which are not, as "risus jussus," and "lachrymæ coactæ," and the like

OF HELPS OF THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

The intellectual powers have fewer means to work upon them than the will or body of man; but the one that prevaileth, that is exercise, worketh more forcibly in them than in the rest.

The ancient habit of the philosophers; "Si quis quærat, in utramque partem, de omni scibili."

The exercise of scholars making verses extempore; "Stans pede in uno."

The exercise of lawyers in memory narrative.

The exercise of sophists, and "Jo. ad oppositum," with manifest effect.

Artificial memory greatly holpen by exercise.

The exercise of buffoons, to draw all things to conceits ridiculous.

The means that help the understanding and faculties thereof are:—

(Not example, as in the will, by conversation; and here the conceit of imitation already digested, with the confutation, "Obiter, si videbitur," of Tully's opinion, advising a man to take some one to imitate. Similitude of faces analysed.)

Arts, Logic, Rhetoric: The ancients, Aristotle, Plato, Theætetus, Gorgias, litigiosus vel sophista, Protagoras, Aristotle, schola sua. Topics, Elenches, Rhetorics, Organon, Cicero, Hermogenes. The Neoterics, Ramus, Agricola. Nil sacri; Lullius, his Typocosmia, studying Cooper's Dictionary; Mattheus' Collection of proper words for Metaphors; Agrippa de vanitate, &c.

Qu. If not here of imitation.

Collections preparative. Aristotle's similitude of a shoemaker's shop full of shoes of all sorts; Demosthenes Exordia concionum. Tully's precept, of Theses of all sorts, preparative.

The relying upon exercise, with the difference of using and tempering the instrument; and the similitude of prescribing against the laws of nature and of estate.

FIVE POINTS.

1. That exercises are to be framed to the life; that is to say, to work ability in that kind whereof a man in the course of action shall have most use.

2. The indirect and oblique exercises which do, "per partes" and "per consequentiam," enable these faculties, which perhaps direct exercise at first would but distort: and these have chiefly place where the faculty is weak, not "per se," but "per accidens;" as if want of memory grow through lightness of wit and want of stayed attention, then the mathematics or the law helpeth; because they are things wherein if the mind once roam it cannot recover.

3. Of the advantages of exercise; as to dance with heavy shoes, to march with heavy armour and carriage; and the contrary advantage (in natures very dull and unapt) of working alacrity by framing an exercise with some delight or affection;

> "Veluti pueris dant crustula blandi
> Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima."

4. Of the cautions of exercise; as to beware, lest by evil doing (as all beginners do weakly) a man grow not and be inveterate in an ill habit; and so take not the advantage of custom in perfection, but in confirming ill. Slubbering on the lute.

5. The marshalling, and sequel of sciences and practices: logic and rhetoric should be used to be read after poesy, history, and philosophy. First, exercise to do things well and clean: after, promptly and readily.

The exercises in the universities and schools are of memory and invention; either to speak by heart that which is set down verbatim, or to speak extempore; whereas, there is little use in action of either of both: but most things which we utter are neither verbally premeditate, nor merely extemporal; therefore exercise would be framed to take a little breathing and to consider of heads; and then to fit and form the speech extempore; this would be done in two manners, both with writing and tables, and without: for in most actions it is permitted and passable to use the note; whereunto if a man be not accustomed it will put him out.

There is no use of a narrative memory in academies, viz. with circumstances of times, persons, and places, and with names; and it is one art to discourse, and another to relate and describe; and herein use and action is most conversant.

Also to sum up and contract is a thing in action of very general use.

APOPHTHEGMS

NEW AND OLD.

A.D. 1625.

Julius Cæsar did write a collection of apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero; I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is pity his book is lost: for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice; whereas that of Plutarch and Stobæus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use. They are "mucrones verborum," pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calleth them "salinas," salt pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves. They serve, if you take out the kernel of them and make them your own. I have, for my recreation, in my sickness, fanned the old, not omitting any, because they are vulgar, for many vulgar ones are excellent good; nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat; and adding many new, that otherwise would have died.

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1. When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lo. of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so, that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: my Lo. of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered. The queen marked it, and would needs know what the matter was? My Lo. of Oxford answered: "That they smiled to see that when jacks went up, heads went down."

2. Henry the Fourth of France his queen was great with child; Count Soissons, that had his expectation upon the crown, when it was twice or thrice thought that the queen was with child before, said to some of his friends, "That it was but with a pillow." This had someways come to the king's ear; who kept it till when the queen waxed great: called the Count of Soissons to him, and said, laying his hand upon the queen's belly; "Come, cousin, it is no pillow!"—"Yes, sir," answered the Count of Soissons, "it is a pillow for all France to sleep upon."

3. There was a conference in parliament between the Upper House and the Lower, about a bill of accountants, which came down from the Lords to the Commons; which bill prayed, That the lands of accountants, whereof they were seized when they entered upon their office, mought be liable to their arrears to the queen; but the Commons desired that the bill mought not look back to accountants that were already, but extend only to accountants hereafter. But the lo. treasurer said, "Why, I pray you, if you had lost your purse by the way, would you look forwards, or would you look back? The queen hath lost her purse."

4. Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation, went to the chapel; and in the great chamber, Sir John Rainsford, set on by wiser men, (a knight that had the liberty of a buffoon,) besought the queen aloud; "That now this good time, when prisoners were delivered, four prisoners, amongst the rest, mought likewise have their liberty who were like enough to be kept still in hold." The queen asked; "Who they were?" And he said; "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long been imprisoned in the Latin tongue; and now he desired they mought go abroad among the people in English." The queen answered, with a grave countenance; "It were good (Rainsford) they were spoken with themselves, to know of them whether they would be set at liberty?"

5. The lo. keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by Queen Elizabeth of one of these monopoly licences? And he answered "Will you have me speak truth, madam? 'Licentia omnes deteriores sumus;'" We are all the worse for a licence.

6. Pace, the bitter fool, was not suffered to come at the queen, because of his bitter humour.

Yet at one time, some persuaded the queen that he should come to her; undertaking for him, that he should keep compass: so he was brought to her, and the queen said: "Come on, Pace; now we shall hear of our faults." Saith Pace; "I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks on."

7. My Lo. of Essex, at the succour of Rhoan, made twenty-four knights, which at that time was a great matter. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means; which when Queen Elizabeth heard, she said, "My lo. mought have done well to have built his almshouse, before he made his knights."

8. A great officer in France was in danger to have lost his place; but his wife, by her suit and means making, made his peace; whereupon a pleasant fellow said, "That he had been crushed, but that he saved himself upon his horns."

9. Queen Ann Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the king's privy chamber to her, and said to him, "Commend me to the king, and tell him, he is constant in his course of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marquisse, and from a marquisse a queen; and now, he had left no higher degree of earthly honour, he hath made me a martyr."

10. Bishop Latimer said, in a sermon at court, "That he heard great speech that the king was poor; and many ways were propounded to make him rich; for his part he had thought of one way, which was that they should help the king to some good office, for all his officers were rich."

11. Cæsar Borgia, after long division between him and the lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time all together in person. The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason, some one mought be free to revenge the rest. Nevertheless, he did with such fine art and fair carriage win their confidence, that he brought them altogether to council at Cinigaglia; where he murdered them all. This act, when it was related unto Pope Alexander, his father, by a cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious; the pope said, "It was they that had broke their covenant first, in coming all together."

12. Pope Julius the Third, when he was made pope, gave his hat unto a youth, a favourite of his, with great scandal. Whereupon, at one time, a cardinal that mought be free with him, said modestly to him, "What did your holiness see in that young man, to make him cardinal?" Julius answered, "What did you see in me to make me pope?"

13. The same Julius, upon like occasion of speech, Why he should bear so great affection to the same young man? would say, "that he had found by astrology that it was the youth's destiny to be a great prelate; which was impossible except himself were pope. And therefore that he did raise him, as the driver on of his own fortune."

14. Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last he had a boy, which after, at man's years, proved simple. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a boy as long as he lives."

15. Sir Thomas More, the day that he was beheaded, had a barber sent to him, because his hair was long; which was thought would make him more commiserated with the people. The barber came to him, and asked him, "Whether he would be pleased to be trimmed?" "In good faith, honest fellow," said Sir Thomas, "the king and I have a suit for my head, and till the title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it."

16. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a great champion of the Papists, was wont to say of the Protestants who ground upon the Scripture, "That they were like posts, that bring truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths."

17. The Lacedæmonians were besieged by the Athenians in the Port of Pellae, which was won, and some slain, and some taken. There was one said to one of them that was taken, by way of scorn, "Were not they brave men that lost their lives at the Port of Pellae?" He answered, "Certainly a Persian arrow is much to be set by, if it can choose out a brave man."

18. After the defeat of Cyrus the younger, Falinus was sent by the king to the Grecians, who had for their part rather victory than otherwise, to command them to yield their arms; which when it was denied, Falinus said to Clearchus; "Well then, the king lets you know, that if you remove from the place where you are now encamped, it is war: if you stay, it is truce. What shall I say you will do?" Clearchus answered, "It pleaseth us, as it pleaseth the king." "How is that?" said Falinus. Saith Clearchus, "If we remove, war: if we stay, truce:" and so would not disclose his purpose.

19. Clodius was acquitted by a corrupt jury, that had palpably taken shares of money: before they gave up their verdict, they prayed of the senate a guard, that they might do their consciences freely, for that Clodius was a very seditious young nobleman. Whereupon all the world gave him for condemned. But acquitted he was. Catulus, the next day seeing some of them that had acquitted him together, said to them; "What made you to ask of us a guard? Were you afraid your money should have been taken from you?"

20. At the same judgment, Cicero gave in evidence upon oath: and the jury, which consisted of fifty-seven, passed against his evidence. One day in the senate Cicero and Clodius being in altercation, Clodius upbraided him and said, "The jury gave you no credit." Cicero an-

swered, "Five-and-twenty gave me credit: but there were two-and-thirty that gave you no credit, for they had their money beforehand."

21. Many men, especially such as affect gravity, have a manner after other men's speech to shake their heads. Sir Lionel Cranfield would say, "It was as men shake a bottle, to see if there were any wit in their head or no?"

22. Sir Thomas More, who was a man in all his lifetime that had an excellent vein in jesting, at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said, "This hath not offended the king."

23. Sir Thomas More had sent him by a suitor in chancery two silver flagons. When they were presented by the gentleman's servant, he said to one of his men, "Have him to the cellar, and let him have of my best wine:" and, turning to the servant, said, "Tell thy master, friend, if he like it, let him not spare it."

24. Diogenes, having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft when he died, was asked how he would be buried? He answered, "With my face downwards; for within a while the world will be turned upside down, and then I shall lie right."

25. Cato the elder was wont to say; that the Romans were like sheep; a man were better drive a flock of them, than one of them.

26. Themistocles in his lower fortune was in love with a young gentleman who scorned him; when he grew to his greatness, which was soon after, he sought to him: Themistocles said, "We are both grown wise, but too late."

27. Demonax the philosopher, when he died, was asked touching his burial. He answered, "Never take care for burying me, for stink will bury me." He that asked him said again: "Why, would you have your body left to dogs and ravens to feed upon?" Demonax answered, "Why, what great hurt is it, if having sought to do good, when I lived, to men; my body do some good to beasts, when I am dead."

28. Jack Roberts was desired by his tailor, when the reckoning grew somewhat high, to have a bill of his hand. Roberts said, "I am content, but you must let no man know it." When the tailor brought him the bill, he tore it as in choler, and said to him, "You use me not well; you promised me nobody should know it, and here you have put in, 'Be it known unto all men by these presents.'"

29. When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta; in the consultation one advised, that it should be reduced to one absolute popular equality: but Lycurgus said to him; "Sir, begin it in your own house."

30. Phocion, the Athenian, a man of great severity, and noways flexible to the will of the people, one day, when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech, was applauded: whereupon he turned to one of his friends, and asked, "What have I said amiss?"

31. Sir Walter Raleigh was wont to say of the ladies of Queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber and bed-chamber, "that they were like witches, they could do hurt, but they could do no good."

32. Bion, that was an atheist, was showed in a port city, in a temple of Neptune, many tables of pictures, of such as had in tempests made their vows to Neptune, and were saved from shipwreck: and was asked, "How say you now? Do you not acknowledge the power of the gods?" But he said, "Yes, but where are they painted that have been drowned after their vows?"

33. Bias was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest; and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the gods; but Bias said to them, "Peace, let them not know you are here."

34. Bion was wont to say; "That Socrates, of all the lovers of Alcibiades, only held him by the ears."

35. There was a minister deprived for inconformity, who said to some of his friends, "That if they deprived him, it should cost an hundred men's lives." The party understood it, as if, being a turbulent fellow, he would have moved sedition, and complained of him; whereupon being convented and apposed upon that speech, he said his meaning was, "That if he lost his benefice, he would practise physic, and then he thought he should kill an hundred men in time."

36. Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as everybody at first sight knew it. Whereupon the cardinal complained to Pope Clement, desiring it might be defaced; who said to him, "Why, you know very well, I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell."

37. There was a philosopher about Tiberius, that looking into the nature of Caius, said of him; "that he was mire and mingled with blood."

38. Alcibiades came to Pericles, and stayed a while ere he was admitted. When he came in, Pericles civilly excused it, and said; "I was studying how to give my account." But Alcibiades said to him, "If you will be ruled by me, study rather how to give no account."

39. Cicero was at dinner, where there was an ancient lady that spake of her years, and said, "she was but forty years old." One that sat by Cicero rounded him in the ear, and said; "She talks of forty years old; and she is far more, out of question." Cicero answered him again; "I must believe her, for I have heard her say so any time these ten years."

40. Pope Adrian the Sixth was talking with

the Duke of Sesa, "that Pasquil gave great scandal, and that he would have him thrown into the river:" but Sesa answered, "Do it not, holy father, for then he will turn frog; and whereas now he chants but by day, he will then chant both by day and night."

41. There was a soldier that vaunted before Julius Cæsar of hurts he had received in his face. Julius Cæsar knowing him to be but a coward, told him; "You were best take heed next time you run away, how you look back."

42. There was a bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him; "My lord, why do you bathe twice a day?" The bishop answered; "Because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice."

43. Mendoza that was viceroy of Peru, was wont to say, "that the government of Peru was the best place that the King of Spain gave, save that it was somewhat too near Madrid."

44. Secretary Bourn's son kept a gentleman's wife in Shropshire, who lived from her husband, with him: when he was weary of her, he caused her husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him five hundred pounds for reparation; the gentleman went to Sir H. Sidney to take his advice upon this offer, telling him, "that his wife promised now a new life; and, to tell him truth, five hundred pounds would come well with him; and besides, that sometimes he wanted a woman in his bed." "By my troth," said Sir Henry Sidney, "take her home, and take the money: and then whereas other cuckolds wear their horns plain, you may wear yours gilt."

45. There was a gentleman in Italy that wrote to a great friend of his upon his advancement to be cardinal, that he was very glad of his advancement, for the cardinal's own sake; but he was sorry that himself had lost so good a friend.

46. When Rabelais lay on his death-bed, and they gave him the extreme unction, a familiar friend of his came to him afterwards, and asked him how he did? Rabelais answered, "Even going my journey, they have greased my boots already."

47. There was a king of Hungary took a bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner: whereupon the pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broke the privilege of holy church, and taken his son. The king sent an embassage to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the bishop was taken, and this only in writing, "Vide num hæc sit vestis filii tui:"

48. There was a suitor to Vespasian, who, to lay his suit fairer, said it was for his brother; whereas indeed it was for a piece of money. Some about Vespasian, to cross him, told the emperor that the party his servant spoke for, was not his brother; but that it was upon a bargain. Vespasian sent for the party interested, and asked him; "Whether his mean was his brother or no?" He durst not tell untruth to the emperor, and confessed that he was not his brother. Whereupon the emperor said, "This do, fetch me the money, and you shall have your suit despatched." Which he did. The courtier, which was the mean, solicited Vespasian soon after about his suit: "Why," saith Vespasian, "I gave it last day to a brother of mine."

49. When Vespasian passed from Jewry to take upon him the empire, he went by Alexandria, where remained two famous philosophers, Appollonius and Euphrates. The emperor heard the discourse, touching matter of state, in the presence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in a secret derision, finding their discourses but speculative, and not to be put in practice, said, "O that I might govern wise men, and wise men govern me."

50. Cardinal Ximenes, upon a muster, which was taken against the Moors, was spoken to by a servant of his to stand a little out of the smoke of the barquebuss; but he said again, "That that was his incense."

51. Vespasian asked of Apollonius, what was the cause of Nero's ruin? Who answered, "Nero could tune the harp well, but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low."

52. Mr. Bromley, solicitor, giving in evidence for a deed, which was impeached to be fraudulent, was urged by the counsel on the other side with this presumption, that in two former suits, when title was made, that deed was passed over in silence, and some other conveyance stood upon. Mr. Justice Catline taking in with that side, asked the solicitor, "I pray thee, Mr. Solicitor, let me ask you a familiar question; I have two geldings in my stable, and I have divers times business of importance, and still I send forth one of my geldings, and not the other; would you not think I set him aside for a jade?" "No, my lord," said Bromley, "I would think you spared him for your own saddle."

53. Alonso Cartilio was informed by his steward of the greatness of his expense, being such as he could not hold out with. The bishop asked him wherein it chiefly arose? His steward told him, in the multitude of his servants. The bishop bade him make a note of those that were necessary, and those that mought be spared. Which he did. And the bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his servants, said to his steward, "Well, let these remain because I need them; and these other also because they have need of me."

54. Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, upon the commission of sales, "That the commissioners used her like strawberry wives, that laid two or three great strawberries at the mouth of their pot, and all the rest were little ones; so they made her two or three good prizes of the first particulars, but fell straightways."

55. Queen Elizabeth was wont to say of her instructions to great officers, "That they were like to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did by and by wear loose enough."

56. Mr. Marbury the preacher would say, "That God was fain to do with wicked men, as men do with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them at a gate. So wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of death."

57. Thales, as he looked upon the stars, fell into the water; whereupon it was after said, "That if he had looked into the water he might have seen the stars, but looking up to the stars he could not see the water."

58. The book of deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, supposed to be written by Doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her learned counsel, "Whether there was any treason contained in it?" Mr. Bacon intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, "No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony." The queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, "How? and wherein?" Mr. Bacon answered, "Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus."

59. Mr. Popham, when he was speaker, and the Lower House had sat long, and done in effect nothing; coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him; "Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Lower House?" He answered, "If it please your majesty, seven weeks."

60. Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who was a poor man's son, and his father's house ill thatched, so that the sun came in in many places, would sport with his ignobility, and say, "He was 'nato di casa illustre:' son of an illustrious house."

61. When the King of Spain conquered Portugal, he gave special charge to his lieutenant, that the soldiers should not spoil, lest he should alienate the hearts of the people: the army also suffered much scarcity of victual. Whereupon the Spanish soldiers would afterwards say, "that they had won the king a kingdom, as the kingdom of heaven used to be won: by fasting and abstaining from that that is another man's."

62. Cicero married his daughter to Dolabella that held Cæsar's party: Pompey had married Julia, that was Cæsar's daughter. After, when Cæsar and Pompey took arms one against the other, and Pompey had passed the seas, and Cæsar possessed Italy, Cicero stayed somewhat long in Italy, but at last sailed over to join with Pompey; who when he came unto him, Pompey said, "You are welcome, but where left you your son-in-law?" Cicero answered, "With your father-in-law."

63. Nero was wont to say of his master Seneca, "That his style was like mortar of sand without lime."

64. Sir Henry Wotton used to say, "That critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes."

65. Queen Elizabeth being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put in some doubt of that person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon, and told him, "She was like one with a lantern seeking a man;" and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of men for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her, "That he had heard that in old time there was usually painted on the church walls the day of doom, and God sitting in judgment, and St. Michael by him with a pair of balances; and the soul and the good deeds in the one balance, and the faults and the evil deeds in the other: and the soul's balance went up far too light. Then was our lady painted with a great pair of beads, who cast them into the light balance, and brought down the scale: so, he said, place and authority, which were in her hands to give, were like our lady's beads, which though men, through divers imperfections, were too light before, yet when they were cast in, made weight competent."

66. Mr. Savill was asked by my Lord of Essex his opinion touching poets. Who answered my lord; "that he thought them the best writers, next to those that writ prose."

67. Mr. Mason of Trinity College sent his pupil to another of the fellows, to borrow a book of him, who told him, "I am loath to lend my books out of my chamber, but if it please thy tutor to come and read upon it in my chamber he shall as long as he will." It was winter, and some days after the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows; but Mr. Mason said to his pupil, "I am loath to lend my bellows out of my chamber, but if thy tutor would come and blow the fire in my chamber he shall as long as he will."

68. Nero did cut a youth, as if he would have transformed him into a woman, and called him wife; there was a senator of Rome that said secretly to his friend, "It was a pity Nero's father had not such a wife."

69. Galba succeeded Nero, and his age being much despised, there was much license and confusion in Rome; whereupon a senator said in full senate, "It were better live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful."

70. In Flanders, by accident a Flemish tiler fell from the top of a house upon a Spaniard, and killed him, though he escaped himself; the next of the blood prosecuted his death with great violence, and when he was offered pecuniary recompense, nothing would serve him but "lex talionis;" whereupon the judge said to him, "that if he did urge that kind of sentence, it must be, that he should go up to the top of the house, and then fall down upon the tiler."

71. Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in

suits, of her own nature; and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, to feed her humour, would say to her, "Madam, you do well to let suitors stay; for I shall tell you, 'bis dat, qui cito dat:' if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner."

72. They feigned a tale of Sixtus Quintus, that after his death he went to hell, and the porter of hell said to him, "You have some reason to offer yourself to this place; but yet I have order not to receive you: you have a place of your own, purgatory; you may go thither." So he went away, and sought purgatory a great while and could find no such place. Whereupon he took heart, and went to heaven, and knocked; and St. Peter asked, "Who was there?" He said, "Sixtus pope." Whereunto St. Peter said, "Why do you knock? you have the keys." Sixtus answered, "It is true; but it is so long since they were given, as I doubt the wards of the lock be altered."

73. Charles, King of Sweden, a great enemy of the Jesuits, when he took any of their colleges, he would hang the old Jesuits, and put the young to his mines, saying, "that since they wrought so hard above ground, he would try how they could work under ground."

74. In chancery one time when the counsel of the parties set forth the boundaries of the land in question, by the plot; and the counsel of one part said, "We lie on this side, my lord;" and the counsel of the other part said, "And we lie on this side:" the Lord Chancellor Hatton stood up and said, "If you lie on both sides, whom will you have me to believe."

75. Vespasian and Titus his eldest son were both absent from Rome when the empire was cast upon him: Domitian his younger son was at Rome, who took upon him the affairs; and being of a turbulent spirit, made many changes; and displaced divers officers and governors of provinces, sending them successors. So when Vespasian came to Rome, and Domitian came into his presence, Vespasian said to him, "Son, I looked when you would have sent me a successor."

76. Sir Amyas Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, "Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner."

77. The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massacre which was upon St. Bartholomew's day, treated with the king and queen-mother, and some other of the council, for a peace. Both sides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, upon the security of performance. After some particulars propounded and rejected, the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the word of a king sufficient security?" One of the deputies answered, "No, by St. Bartholemew, madam."

78. When the archduke did raise his siege from Grave, the then secretary came to Queen Elizabeth. The queen, having first intelligence thereof, said to the secretary, "Wot you what? The archduke has risen from the Grave." He answered, "What, without the trumpet of the archangel?" The queen replied, "Yes, without sound of trumpet."

79. Francis the First used for his pleasure sometimes to go disguised: so walking one day in the company of the Cardinal of Bourbon near Paris, he met with a peasant with a new pair of shoes upon his arm: so he called unto him and said; "By our lady, these be good shoes, what did they cost thee?" The peasant said, "Guess." The king said, "I think some five sols." Saith the peasant, "You have lied; but a carlois." "What, villain," saith the Cardinal of Bourbon, "thou art dead, it is the king." The peasant replied, "The devil take him of you and me, that knew so much."

80. There was a conspiracy against the emperor Claudius by Scribonianus, examined in the senate; where Claudius sat in his chair, and one of his freed servants stood at the back of his chair. In the examination, that freed servant, who had much power with Claudius, very saucily had almost all the words: and amongst other things, he asked in scorn one of the examinats, who was likewise freed servant of Scribonianus; "I pray, sir, if Scribonianus had been emperor, what would you have done?" He answered; "I would have stood behind his chair and held my peace."

81. Dionysius the tyrant, after he was deposed and brought to Corinth, kept a school. Many used to visit him; and amongst others, one, when he came in, opened his mantle and shook his clothes, thinking to give Dionysius a gentle scorn; because it was the manner to do so for them that came in to him while he was tyrant. But Dionysius said to him; "I prithee do so rather when thou goest out, that we may see thou stealest nothing away."

82. Hannibal said of Fabius Maximus, and of Marcellus, whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress, and the latter had many sharp fights with him; "That he feared Fabius like a tutor, and Marcellus like an enemy."

83. Diogenes, one terrible frosty morning, came into the market-place, and stood naked, quaking, to show his tolerance. Many of the people came about him, pitying him: Plato passing by, and knowing he did it to be seen, said to the people as he went by, "If you pity him indeed, leave him alone."

84. Sackford, master of the requests to Queen Elizabeth, had diverse times moved for audience, and been put off. At last he came to the queen in a progress, and had on a new pair of boots. When he came in, the queen said to him, "Fy, sloven, thy new boots stink." "Madam," said he, "it is not my new boots that stink; but it is the stale bills that I have kept so long."

85. One was saying that his great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father, died at sea; said an-

other that heard him, "And I were as you, I would never come at sea." "Why," saith he, "where did your great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father die?" He answered; "Where but in their beds?" Saith the other, "And I were as you, I would never come in bed."

86. Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for somewhat, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet, and then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus, "You a philosopher, and to be so base as to throw yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit." Aristippus answered, "The fault is not mine, but the fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his feet."

87. There was a young man in Rome, that was very like Augustus Cæsar; Augustus took knowledge of it, and sent for the man, and asked him, "Was your mother never at Rome?" He answered, "No, sir, but my father was."

88. A physician advised his patient that had sore eyes, that he should abstain from wine; but the patient said, "I think, rather, sir, from wine and water; for I have often marked it in blear eyes, and I have seen water come forth, but never wine."

89. When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, he did use, at mass, to sit in the chancel: and his lady in a pew. And because the pew stood out of sight, his gentleman-usher ever after service, came to the lady's pew, and said, "Madam, my lord is gone." So when the chancellor's place was taken from him, the next time they went to church, Sir Thomas himself came to his lady's pew, and said; "Madam, my lord is gone."

90. At an act of the commencement, the answerer gave for his question, that an aristocracy was better than a monarchy. The replier, who was a dissolute fellow, did tax him, that being a private bred man, he would give a question of state. The answerer said, that the replier did much wrong the privilege of scholars, who would be much straitened if they should give questions of nothing but such things wherein they are practised: and added, "We have heard yourself dispute of virtue, which no man will say you put much in practice."

91. There was a dispute, whether great heads or little heads had the better wit. And one said, "It must needs be the little; for that it is a maxim, Omne majus continet in se minus."

92. Solon when he wept for his son's death, and one said to him, "Weeping will not help;" answered, "Alas, therefore I weep, because weeping will not help."

93. Solon being asked, whether he had given the Athenians the best laws, answered, "Yes, the best of those that they would have received."

94. One said to Aristippus, "It is a strange thing why men should rather give unto the poor, than to philosophers." He answered, "Because they think themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to be philosophers."

95. Alexander used to say of his two friends, Craterus and Hephæstion; that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king.

96. It fell out so, that as Livia went abroad in Rome, there met her naked young men that were sporting in the streets, which Augustus was about severely to punish in them; but Livia spake for them, and said, "It was no more to chaste women than so many statues."

97. Alonso of Arragon was wont to say in commendation of age, "That age appeared to be best in four things: old wood best to burn; old wine to drink; old friends to trust; and old authors to read."

98. It was said of Augustus, and afterward the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good toward their ends, "that they should either have never been born or never died."

99. Queen Isabella of Spain used to say, "Whosoever hath a good presence, and a good fashion, carries letters of recommendation.

100. Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession; "That there was never king that did put to death his successor."

101. When it was represented to Alexander, to the advantage of Antipater, who was a stern and imperious man, that he only of all his lieutenants wore no purple, but kept the Macedonian habit of black; Alexander said, "Yea, but Antipater is all purple within."

102. Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan "Parietaria:" wall-flower; because his name was upon so many walls.

103. Philip of Macedon was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him. But Philip answered; "Better he speak where we are both known, than where we are both unknown."

104. A Grecian captain advising the confederates that were united against the Lacedæmonians, touching their enterprise, gave opinion, that they should go directly upon Sparta, saying; "That the state of Sparta was like rivers; strong when they had run a great way, and weak towards their head."

105. Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, "That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead:" meaning books.

106. Lucullus entertained Pompey in one of his magnificent houses: Pompey said, "This is a marvellous fair and stately house for the summer: but methinks it should be very cold for winter." Lucullus answered, "Do you not think me as wise as divers fowls are, to change my habitation in the winter season?"

107. Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, or couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in and got upon the bed, and trampled it, saying, "I trample upon the pride of Plato." Plato mildly answered, "But with greater pride."

108. One was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the king. He confessed them, and said; "It is true, I spake them, and if the wine had not failed, I had said much more."

109. Pompey, being commissioner for sending grain to Rome in time of dearth, when he came to the sea, found it very tempestuous and dangerous, insomuch as those about him advised him by no means to embark; but Pompey said, "It is of necessity that I go, not that I live."

110. Trajan would say, "That the king's exchequer was like the spleen; for when that did swell, the whole body did pine."

111. Charles the Bald allowed one, whose name was Scottus, to sit at the table with him, for his pleasure: Scottus sat on the other side of the table. One time the king being merry with him, said to him; "What is there between Scott and sot?" Scottus answered; "The table only."

112. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the church, to relieve the poor with bread; and said, "There was no reason that the dead temples of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the living temples suffer penury."

113. There was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth, and a gentleman of a great house, that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said, "That marriage was like a black pudding; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal."

114. Demosthenes was upbraided by Æschines, that his speeches did smell of the lamp. But Demosthenes said, "Indeed there is a great deal of difference between that which you and I do by lamp-light."

115. Demades the orator, in his age was talkative, and would eat hard: Antipater would say of him, that he was like a sacrifice, that nothing was left of it but the tongue and the paunch.

116. When King Edward the Second was amongst his torturers, who hurried him to and fro, that no man should know where he was, they set him down upon a bank: and one time, the more to disguise his face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a ditch by: the king said; "Well, yet I will have warm water for my beard:" and so shed abundance of tears.

117. The Turks made an expedition into Persia, and because of the strait jaws of the mountains of Armenia, the bashaws consulted which way they should get in. Says a natural fool that stood by, "Here is much ado how you shall get in; but I hear nobody take care how you should get out."

118. Sir Thomas More, when the counsel of the party pressed him for a longer day to perform the decree, said; "Take Saint Barnaby's day, which is the longest day in the year." Now Saint Barnaby's day was within few days following.

119. One of the fathers saith, "That there is but this difference between the death of old men and young men; that old men go to death, and death comes to young men."

120. Philo Judæus saith, that the sense is like the sun; for the sun seals up the globe of heaven, and opens the globe of earth: so the sense doth obscure heavenly things, and reveals earthly things.

121. Cassius, after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, whose weapons were chiefly arrows, fled to the city of Charras, where he durst not stay any time, doubting to be pursued and besieged; he had with him an astrologer, who said to him, "Sir, I would not have you go hence, while the moon is in the sign of Scorpio." Cassius answered, "I am more afraid of that of Sagittarius."

122. Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius; consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said, "Sure I would accept of these offers, if I were as Alexander." Alexander answered, "So would I, if I were as Parmenio."

123. Alexander was wont to say, he knew himself to be mortal, chiefly by two things; sleep and lust.

124. Augustus Cæsar was invited to supper by one of his old friends that had conversed with him in his less fortunes, and had but ordinary entertainment. Whereupon, at his going, he said; "I did not know you and I were so familiar."

125. Augustus Cæsar would say; "That he wondered that Alexander feared he should want work, having no more to conquer; as if it were not as hard a matter to keep as to conquer."

126. Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such volumes of arrows that they did hide the sun, said; "That falls out well, for it is hot weather, and we shall fight in the shade."

127. Augustus Cæsar did write to Livia, who was over-sensible of some ill-words that had been spoken of them both: "Let it not trouble thee, my Livia, if any man speak ill of us: for we have enough that no man can do ill unto us."

128. Chilon said, that kings, friends, and favourites, were like casting counters; that sometimes stood for one, sometimes for ten, sometimes for an hundred.

129. Theodosius, when he was pressed by a suitor, and denied him; the suitor said, "Why, sir, you promised it." He answered; "I said it, but I did not promise it if it be unjust."

130. Agathocles, after he had taken Syracuse, the men whereof, during the siege, had in a bravery spoken of him all the villany that might be, sold the Syracusans for slaves, and said,

"Now if you use such words of me, I will tell your master of you."

131. Dionysius the elder, when he saw his son in many things very inordinate, said to him, "Did you ever know me do such things?" His son answered, "No, but you had not a tyrant to your father." The father replied, "No, nor you, if you take these courses, will have a tyrant to your son."

132. Calisthenes, the philosopher, that followed Alexander's court, and hated the king, being asked by one, how one should become the famousest man in the world, answered, "By taking him away that is."

133. Sir Edward Coke was wont to say, when a great man came to dinner to him, and gave him no knowledge of his coming, "Sir, since you sent me no word of your coming, you must dine with me; but if I had known of it in due time, I would have dined with you."

134. The Romans, when they spake to the people, were wont to style them, "Ye Romans:" when commanders in war spake to their army, they styled them, "My soldiers." There was a mutiny in Cæsar's army, and somewhat the soldiers would have had, yet they would not declare themselves in it, but only demanded a mission, or discharge; though with no intention it should be granted: but knowing that Cæsar had at that time great need of their service, thought by that means to wrench him to their other desires: whereupon with one cry they asked mission. Cæsar, after silence made, said; "I for my part, ye Romans." This title did actually speak them to be dismissed: which voice they had no sooner heard, but they mutinied again; and would not suffer him to go on with his speech, until he had called them by the name of his soldiers: and so with that one word he appeased the sedition.

135. Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that he did resign his dictatorship; "Sylla was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate."

136. Seneca said of Cæsar, "that he did quickly show the sword, but never leave it off."

137. Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man, than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him; "See your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of him." "No," said Diogenes, "but I mean to beg of the rest again."

138. Jason the Thessalian was wont to say, "that some things must be done unjustly, that many things may be done justly."

139. Sir Nicholas Bacon being keeper of the seal, when Queen Elizabeth, in progress, came to his house at Redgrave, and said to him, "My lo. what a little house have you gotten?" said, "Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for my house."

140. Themistocles, when an ambassador from a mean estate did speak great matters, said to him, "Friend, your words would require a city."

141. Agesilaus, when one told him there was one did excellently counterfeit a nightingale, and would have had him hear him, said, "Why I have heard the nightingale herself."

142. A great nobleman, upon the complaint of a servant of his, laid a citizen by the heels, thinking to bend him to his servant's desire; but the fellow being stubborn, the servant came to his lord, and told him, "Your lordship, I know, hath gone as far as well you may, but it works not; for yonder fellow is more perverse than before." Said my lord, "Let's forget him a while, and then he will remember himself."

143. One came to a cardinal in Rome, and told him, that he had brought his lordship a dainty white palfrey, but he fell lame by the way. Saith the cardinal to him, "I'll tell thee what thou shalt do: go to such a cardinal, and such a cardinal," naming him some half a dozen cardinals, "and tell them as much; and so whereas by thy horse, if he had been sound, thou couldst have pleased but one, with thy lame horse thou mayst please half a dozen."

144. Iphicrates the Athenian, in a treaty that he had with the Lacedæmonians for peace, in which question was about security for observing the same, said, "The Athenians would not accept of any security, except the Lacedæmonians did yield up unto them those things, whereby it might be manifest, that they could not hurt them if they would."

145. Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, "In fair bodies not only the spring is pleasant, but also the autumn."

146. After a great fight, there came to the camp of Consalvo, the great captain, a gentleman, proudly horsed and armed. Diego de Mendoza asked the great captain, "Who is this?" Who answered, "It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but after a storm."

147. There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general with forces that were not likely to achieve the enterprise; the captain said to him, "Sir, appoint but half so many." "Why?" saith the general. The captain answered, "Because it is better fewer die than more."

148. They would say of the Duke of Guise, Henry, that had sold and oppignerated all his patrimony, to suffice the great donatives that he had made; "that he was the greatest usurer of France, because all his state was in obligations."

149. Crœsus said to Cambyses, "that peace was better than war; because in peace the sons did bury their fathers, but in the wars the fathers did bury their sons."

150. There was a harbinger who had lodged a gentleman in a very ill room, who expostulated with him somewhat rudely; but the harbinger

carelessly said; "You will take pleasure in it when you are out of it."

151. There was a cursed page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his clothes: and when his master bade him, said, "Take them you, for they are the hangman's fees."

152. There was one that died greatly in debt: when it was reported in some company, where divers of his creditors were, that he was dead, one began to say, "In good faith, then, he hath carried five hundred ducats of mine with him into the other world:" and another said, "And two hundred of mine;" and some others spake of several sums of theirs. Whereupon one that was amongst them said, "Well, I perceive now, that though a man cannot carry any of his own with him into the next world, yet he may carry other men's."

153. Francis Carvajall, that was the great captain of the rebels of Peru, had often given the chase to Diego Centeno, a principal commander of the emperor's party: he was afterwards taken by the emperor's lieutenant, Gasca, and committed to the custody of Diego Centeno, who used him with all possible courtesy; inasmuch as Carvajall asked him, "I pray, sir, who are you that use me with this courtesy?" Centeno said, "Do not you know Diego Centeno?" Carvajall answered, "In good faith, sir, I have been so used to see your back, as I knew not your face."

154. Carvajall, when he was drawn to execution, being fourscore and five years old, and laid upon the hurdle, said, "What! young in cradle, old in cradle!"

155. There is a Spanish adage, "Love without end hath no end:" meaning, that if it were begun not upon particular ends it would last.

156. Cato the elder, being aged, buried his wife, and married a young woman. His son came to him, and said; "Sir, what have I offended, that you have brought a stepmother into your house?" The old man answered, "Nay, quite contrary, son: thou pleasest me so well, as I would be glad to have more such."

157. Crassus the orator had a fish which the Romans called Muræna, that he made very tame and fond of him; the fish died, and Crassus wept for it. One day falling in contention with Domitius in the senate, Domitius said, "Foolish Crassus, you wept for your Muræna." Crassus replied, "That is more than you did for both your wives."

158. Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence against a prisoner what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small attention. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said, "I appeal." The king somewhat stirred, said; "To whom do you appeal?" The prisoner answered, "From Philip when he gave no ear, to Philip when he shall give ear."

159. The same Philip maintained arguments with a musician in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily; but the musician said to him, "God forbid, sir, your fortune were so hard that you should know these things better than myself."

160. There was a philosopher that disputed with the Emperor Adrian, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that stood by, afterwards said unto him, "Methinks you were not like yourself last day, in argument with the emperor; I could have answered better myself." "Why," said the philosopher, "would you have me contend with him that commands thirty legions?"

161. Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn, "What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers?" He answered, "Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not."

162. Demetrius, King of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and still answered, "he had no leisure." Whereupon the woman said aloud, "Why then give over to be king."

163. The same Demetrius would at times retire himself from business, and give himself wholly to pleasures. One day of those his retirings, giving out that he was sick, his father Antigonus came on the sudden to visit him, and met a fair dainty youth coming out of his chamber. When Antigonus came in, Demetrius said, "Sir, the fever left me right now." Antigonus replied, "I think it was he that I met at the door."

164. There was a merchant in debt that died. His goods and household stuff were set forth for sale. A stranger would needs buy a pillow there, saying, "This pillow sure is good to sleep upon, since he could sleep that owed so many debts."

165. A lover met his lady in a close chair, she thinking to have gone unknown, he came and spake to her. She asked him, "How did you know me?" He said, "Because my wounds bleed afresh;" alluding to the common tradition, that the wounds of a body slain will bleed afresh upon the approach of the murderer.

166. A gentleman brought music to his lady's window. She hated him, and had warned him often away; and when he would not desist, she threw stones at him. Whereupon a gentleman said unto him, that was in his company, "What greater honour can you have to your music, than that stones come about you, as they did to Orpheus?"

167. Cato Major would say, "That wise men learned more by fools than fools by wise men."

168. When it was said to Anaxagoras, "The Athenians have condemned you to die:" he said again, "And nature them."

169. Demosthenes when he fled from the battle, and that it was reproached to him, said, "that he that flies might fight again."

170. Antalcidas, when an Athenian said to him

"Ye Spartans are unlearned;" said again, "True, for we have learned no evil vice of you."

171. Alexander, when his father wished him to run for the prize of the race at the Olympian games, for he was very swift, answered; "He would, if he might run with kings."

172. When Alexander passed into Asia, he gave large donatives to his captains, and other principal men of virtue; insomuch as Parmenio asked him, "Sir, what do you keep for yourself?" He answered, "Hope."

173. Antigonus used to often go disguised, and to listen at the tents of his soldiers; and at a time heard some that spoke very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the tent a little, and said to them, "If you would speak ill of me, you should go a little farther off."

174. Vespasian set a tribute upon urine; Titus his son emboldened himself to speak to his father of it: and represented it as a thing indign and sordid. Vespasian said nothing for the time: but a while after, when it was forgotten, sent for a piece of silver out of the tribute money, and called to his son, bidding him to smell it; and asked him, whether he found any offence. Who said, "No." "Why so?" saith Vespasian again; "yet this comes out of urine."

175. There were two gentlemen otherwise of equal degree, save that the one was of the ancienter house. The other in courtesy asked his hand to kiss: which he gave him; and he kissed it; but said withal, to right himself by way of friendship, "Well, I and you, against any two of them:" putting himself first.

176. Nerva the emperor succeeded Domitian, who had been tyrannical; and in his time many noble houses were overthrown by false accusations; the instruments whereof were chiefly Marcellus and Regulus. The Emperor Nerva one night supped privately with six or seven: amongst whom there was one that was a dangerous man; and began to take the like courses as Marcellus and Regulus had done. The emperor fell into discourse of the injustice and tyranny of the former time, and by name of the two accusers; and said, "What should we do with them, if we had them now?" One of them that was at supper, and was a free-spoken senator, said, "Marry, they should sup with us."

177. There was one that found a great mass of money digging under ground in his grandfather's house: and being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the emperor that he had found such treasure. The emperor made a rescript thus: "Use it." He writ back again, that the sum was greater than his estate or condition could use. The emperor writ a new rescript thus: "Abuse it."

178. A Spaniard was censuring to a French gentleman the want of devotion amongst the French; in that, whereas in Spain, when the sacrament goes to the sick, any that meets with it turns back and waits upon it to the house whither it goes: but in France they only do reverence, and pass by. But the French gentleman answered him, "There is reason for it; for here with us, Christ is secure amongst his friends; but in Spain there be so many Jews and Maranos that it is not amiss for him to have a convoy."

179. Coranus, the Spaniard, at a table at dinner, fell into an extolling of his own father, saying, "If he could have wished of God, he could not have chosen amongst men a better father." Sir Henry Savil said, "What, not Abraham?" Now Coranus was doubted to descend of a race of Jews.

180. Consalvo would say, "The honour of a soldier ought to be of a strong web;" meaning, that it should not be so fine and curious that every little disgrace should catch and stick in it.

181. One of the Seven was wont to say; "That laws were like cobwebs; where the small flies were caught, and the great brake through."

182. Bias gave in precept, "Love as if you should hereafter hate; and hate as if you should hereafter love."

183. Aristippus, being reprehended of luxury by one that was not rich, for that he gave six crowns for a small fish, answered, "Why, what would you have given?" The other said, "Some twelvepence." Aristippus said again, "And six crowns are no more with me."

184. There was a French gentleman speaking with an English, of the law Salique; that women were excluded from inheriting the crown of France. The English said, "Yes; but that was meant of the women themselves, not of such males as claimed by women." The French gentleman said, "Where do you find that gloss?" The English answered, "I'll tell you, sir: look on the back side of the record of the law Salique, and there you shall find it endorsed:" implying there was no such thing as the law Salique, but that it is a mere fiction.

185. There was a friar in earnest dispute about the law Salique, that would needs prove it by Scripture; citing that verse of the gospel, "Lilia agri non laborant neque nent;" the lilies of the field do neither labour nor spin; applying it thus: That the flower-de-luces of France cannot descend, neither to the distaff nor to the spade: that is, not to a woman nor to a peasant.

186. Julius Cæsar, as he passed by, was, by acclamation of some that stood in the way, termed King, to try how the people would take it. The people showed great murmur and distaste at it. Cæsar, finding where the wind stood, slighted it, and said, "I am not king, but Cæsar;" as if they had mistaken his name. For Rex was a surname amongst the Romans as King is with us.

187. When Crœsus, for his glory, showed So-

lon his great treasures of gold, Solon said to him, "If another king come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold."

188. There was a gentleman that came to the tilt all in orange-tawny, and ran very ill. The next day he came again all in green, and ran worse. There was one of the lookers on asked another; "What is the reason that this gentleman changeth his colours?" The other answered, "Sure, because it may be reported, that the gentleman in the green ran worse than the gentleman in the orange-tawny."

189. Aristippus said; "That those that studied particular sciences, and neglected philosophy, were like Penelope's wooers, that made love to the waiting woman."

190. Plato reprehended severely a young man for entering into a dissolute house. The young man said to him, "Why do you reprehend so sharply for so small a matter?" Plato replied, "But custom is no small matter."

191. There was a law made by the Romans against the bribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero saith in a speech of his to the people, "That he thought the provinces would petition to the state of Rome to have that law repealed. For," saith he, "before, the governors did bribe and extort as much as was sufficient for themselves; but now they bribe and extort as much as may be enough not only for themselves, but for the judges, and jurors, and magistrates."

192. Archidamus, King of Lacedæmon, having received from Philip, King of Macedon, after Philip had won the victory of Chæronea upon the Athenians, proud letters, writ back to him, "That if he measured his own shadow, he would find it no longer than it was before his victory."

193. Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his victory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but with great slaughter of his own side, said to them again, "Yes, but if we have such another victory, we are undone."

194. Cineas was an excellent orator and statesman, and principal friend and counsellor to Pyrrhus, and falling in inward talk with him, and discerning the king's endless ambition; Pyrrhus opened himself unto him, that he intended first a war upon Italy, and hoped to achieve it; Cineas asked him, "Sir, what will you do then?" "Then," saith he, "we will attempt Sicily." Cineas said, "Well, sir, what then?" Saith Pyrrhus, "If the gods favour us, we may conquer Africa and Carthage." "What then, sir?" saith Cineas. "Nay then," saith Pyrrhus, "we may take our rest, and sacrifice and feast every day, and make merry with our friends." "Alas, sir," said Cineas, "may we not do so now without all this ado?"

195. The ambassadors of Asia Minor came to Antonius, after he had imposed upon them a double tax, and said plainly to him: "That if he would have two tributes in one year, he must give them two seed-times and two harvests."

196. Plato was wont to say of his master Socrates, that he was like the apothecaries' gallipots; that had on the outside apes, and owls, and satyrs; but within, precious drugs.

197. Lamia the courtezan had all power with Demetrius, King of Macedon, and by her instigations he did many unjust and cruel acts; whereupon Lysimachus said, "that it was the first time that he ever knew a whore to play in tragedy."

198. Themistocles would say of himself, "That he was like a plane-tree, that in tempests men fled to him, and in fair weather men were ever cropping his leaves."

199. Themistocles said of speech, "That it was like arras, that spread abroad shows fair images, but contracted is but like packs."

200. Bresquet, jester to Francis the First of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the king sport; telling him ever the reason why he put any one into his calendar. When Charles the Fifth, emperor, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, passed through France, for the appeasing the rebellion of Gaunt, Bresquet put him into his calendar. The king asked him the cause. He answered, "Because you have suffered at the hands of Charles the greatest bitterness that ever prince did from another, nevertheless he would trust his person into your hands." "Why, Bresquet," said the king, "what wilt thou say, if thou seest him pass back in as great safety as if he marched through the midst of Spain?" Saith Bresquet; "Why, then I will put him out, and put you in."

201. Lewis the Eleventh of France, having much abated the greatness and power of the peers, nobility, and court of parliament, would say, "That he had brought the crown out of ward."

202. Sir Fulk Grevil, in parliament, when the Lower House, in a great business of the queen's, stood much upon precedents, said unto them, "Why do you stand so much upon precedents? The times hereafter will be good or bad. If good, precedents will do no harm; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none."

203. When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels: the Lord Henry Howard, being then Earl of Northampton, and a counsellor, was omitted. Whereupon the king said to him, "My lord, how happens it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?" My lord answered, according to the fable in Æsop; "Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam."

204. An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes; "The Athenians will kill you if they wax mad." Demosthenes replied, "And they will kill you if they be in good sense."

205. Alexander sent to Phocion a great present of money. Phocion said to the messenger,

"Why doth the king send to me and to none else?" The messenger answered, "Because he takes you to be the only good man in Athens." Phocion replied, "If he thinks so, pray let him suffer me to be so still."

206. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, was wont to say of perfidious friends, "that we read that we ought to forgive our enemies; but we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends."

207. Æneas Sylvius, that was Pope Pius Secundus, was wont to say; that the former popes did wisely set the lawyers on work to debate, whether the donation of Constantine the Great to Sylvester, of St. Peter's patrimony, were good and valid in law or no? the better to skip over the matter in fact, whether there were ever any such thing at all or no.

208. At a banquet where those that were called the seven wise men of Greece were invited by the ambassador of a barbarous king; the ambassador related that there was a neighbour mightier than his master, picked quarrels with him, by making impossible demands, otherwise threatening war; and now at that present had demanded of him, to drink up the sea. Whereunto one of the wise men said, "I would have him undertake it." "Why," saith the ambassador, "how shall he come off?" "Thus," saith the wise man: "let that king first stop the rivers which run into the sea, which are no part of the bargain, and then your master will perform it."

209. At the same banquet, the ambassador desired the seven, and some other wise men that were at the banquet, to deliver every one of them some sentence or parable, that he might report to his king the wisdom of Græcia, which they did; only one was silent; which the ambassador perceiving, said to him, "Sir, let it not displease you; why do not you say somewhat that I may report?" He answered, "Report to your lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace."

210. One of the Romans said to his friend, "What think you of one who was taken in the act and manner of adultery?" The other answered, "Marry, I think he was slow at despatch."

211. Lycurgus would say of divers of the heroes of the heathen, "That he wondered that men should mourn upon their days for them as mortal men, and yet sacrifice to them as gods."

212. A Papist being opposed by a Protestant, "that they had no Scripture for images," answered, "Yes; for you read that the people laid their sick in the streets, that the shadow of saint Peter might come upon them; and that a shadow was an image, and the obscurest of all images."

213. There is an ecclesiastical writer of the Papists, to prove antiquity of confession in the form that it now is, doth note, in very ancient times, even in the primitive times, amongst other foul slanders spread against the Christians, one was, "That they did adore the genitories of their priests. Which, he saith, grew from the posture of the confessant, and the priest in confession; which is, that the confessant kneels down, before the priest sitting in a chair raised above him."

214. Epaminondas, when his great friend and colleague in war was suitor to him to pardon an offender, denied him; afterwards, when a concubine of his made the same suit, he granted it to her; which when Pelopidas seemed to take unkindly, he said, "Such suits are to be granted to whores, but not to personages of worth."

215. The Lacedæmonians had in custom to speak very short, which being an empire, they might do at pleasure: but after their defeat at Leuctra, in an assembly of the Grecians, they made a long invective against Epaminondas; who stood up, and said no more than this; "I am glad we have taught you to speak long."

216. Fabricius, in conference with Pyrrhus, was tempted to revolt to him; Pyrrhus telling him, that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But Fabricius answered, in a scorn, to such a motion, "Sir, that would not be good for yourself: for if the Epirotes once knew me, they will rather desire to be governed by me than by you."

217. Fabius Maximus being resolved to draw the war in length, still waited upon Hannibal's progress to curb him; and for that purpose he encamped upon the high ground; but Terentius his colleague fought with Hannibal, and was in great peril of overthrow; but then Fabius came down from the high grounds, and got the day. Whereupon Hannibal said, "that he did ever think that that same cloud that hanged upon the hills would at one time or other give a tempest."

218. There was a cowardly Spanish soldier, that in a defeat the Moors gave, ran away with the foremost. Afterwards, when the army generally fled, the soldier was missing. Whereupon it was said by some, that he was slain. "No sure," said one, "he is alive; for the Moors eat no hare's flesh."

219. Hanno the Carthaginian was sent commissioner by the state, after the second Carthaginian war to Rome, to supplicate for peace, and in the end obtained it: yet one of the sharper senators said, "You have often broken with us the peaces whereunto you have been sworn; I pray, by what gods will you swear?" Hanno answered, "By the same gods that have punished the former perjury so severely."

220. Thales being asked when a man should marry, said; "Young men not yet, old men not at all."

221. Thales said, "that life and death were all one." One that was present asked him, "Why do not you die then?" Thales said again, "Because they are all one."

222. Cæsar, after first he had possessed Rome.

Pompey being fled, offered to enter the sacred treasury to take the moneys that were there stored; and Metellus, tribune of the people, did forbid him: and when Metellus was violent in it, and would not desist, Cæsar turned to him, and said; "Presume no farther, or I will lay you dead." And when Metellus was with those words somewhat astonished, Cæsar added, "Young man, it had been easier for me to do this than to speak it."

223. An Ægyptian priest having conference with Solon, said to him: "You Grecians are ever children; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge."

224. The council did make remonstrance unto Queen Elizabeth of the continual conspiracies against her life; and namely of a late one: and showed her a rapier taken from a conspirator that had a false shape, being of brown paper, but gilt over as it could not be known from a shape of metal, which was devised to the end that, without drawing it, the rapier might give a stab; and upon this occasion advised her that she should go less abroad to take the air weekly, unaccompanied, as she used. But the queen answered; "That she had rather be dead, than put in custody."

225. Chilon would say, "That gold was tried with the touchstone, and men with gold."

226. Zelim was the first of the Ottomans that did shave his beard, whereas his predecessors wore it long. One of his bashaws asked him, Why he altered the custom of his predecessors? He answered, "Because you bashaws may not lead me by the beard, as you did them."

227. Diogenes was one day in the market-place with a candle in his hand; and being asked, "What he sought?" he said, "He sought a man."

228. Bias being asked, how a man should order his life, answered, "As if a man should live long, or die quickly."

229. Queen Elizabeth was entertained by my Lord Burleigh at Theobald's: and at her going away, my lord obtained of the queen to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the country, of my lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the queen should pass by the hall, and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order, as my lord favoured; though indeed the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The queen was told of it, and said nothing: but when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the screen, as if she had forgot it; and when she came to the screen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said, "I had almost forgot what I promised." With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr. Stanhope, of the privy-chamber, a while after told her; "Your majesty was too fine for my Lord Burleigh." She answered; "I have but fulfilled the Scripture; 'the first shall be last, and the last first.'"

230. Simonides being asked of Hiero, "what he thought of God?" asked a seven-night's time to consider of it; and at the seven-night's end he asked a fortnight's time; at the fortnight's end, a month. At which Hiero marvelling, Simonides answered; "that the longer he thought upon the matter, the more difficult he found it."

231. Anacharsis, would say, concerning the popular estates of Græcia, that "he wondered how at Athens wise men did propose, and fools did dispose."

232. Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators to the winds: for that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.

233. Socrates was pronounced by the oracle of Delphos to be the wisest man of Greece, which he would put from himself ironically, saying, "there would be nothing in him to verify the oracle, except this; that he was not wise and knew it; and others were not wise, and knew it not."

234. Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statues erected in their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder, "Why he had none?" He answered, "He had much rather men should ask and wonder why he had no statue, than why he had a statue."

235. Sir Fulke Grevil had much private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good; yet he would say merrily of himself, "That he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when the maids spilt the milkpans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin; so what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him."

236. Socrates, when there was showed him the book of Heraclitus the Obscure, and was asked his opinion of it, answered, "Those things that I understood were excellent, I imagine so were those that I understood not; but they require a diver of Delos."

237. Bion asked an envious man that was very sad, "What harm had befallen unto him, or what good had befallen unto another man?"

238. Stilpo the philosopher, when the people flocked about him, and that one said to him, "The people come wondering about you as if it were to see some strange beast!" "No," saith he, "it is to see a man which Diogenes sought with his lantern."

239. Antisthenes being asked of one what learning was most necessary for man's life? answered; "To unlearn that which is naught."

240. There was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, was preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to Bishop Andrews; "Call you this a sermon?" The bishop an-

swered, "And it please your majesty, by a charitable construction, it may be a sermon."

241. Bishop Andrews was asked at the first coming over of the Archbishop of Spalato, whether he were a protestant or no? He answered, "Truly I know not: but he is a detestant of divers opinions of Rome."

242. Caius Marius was general of the Romans against the Cimbers, who came with such a sea of multitude upon Italy. In the fight there was a band of the Cadurcians of a thousand, that did notable service; whereupon, after the fight, Marius did denison them all for citizens of Rome, though there was no law to warrant it. One of his friends did represent it unto him, that he had transgressed the law, because that privilege was not to be granted but by the people. Whereto Marius answered, "That for the noise of arms he could not hear the laws."

243. Æneas Sylvius would say, that the Christian faith and law, though it had not been confirmed by miracles, yet was worthy to be received for the honesty thereof.

244. Henry Noel would say, "That courtiers were like fasting-days; they were next the holydays, but in themselves they were the most meager days of the week."

245. Mr. Bacon would say, that it was in business, as it is frequently in ways: that the next way is commonly the foulest; and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about.

246. Augustus Cæsar, out of great indignation against his two daughters, and Posthumus Agrippa, his grandchild; whereof the first two were infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy, would say, "That they were not his seed, but some imposthumes that had broken from him."

247. Cato said, "The best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new."

248. Pompey did consummate the war against Sertorius, when Metellus had brought the enemy somewhat low. He did also consummate the war against the fugitives, whom Crassus had before defeated in a great battle. So when Lucullus had had great and glorious victories against Mithridates and Tigranes; yet Pompey, by means his friends made, was sent to put an end to that war. Whereupon Lucullus taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said, "that Pompey was a carrion crow: when others had strucken down bodies, then he came to prey upon them."

249. Diogenes when mice came about him as he was eating, said, "I see, that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites."

250. Epictetus used to say, "That one of the vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames others; a novice in philosophy blames himself; and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other."

251. Hiero visited by Pythagoras, asked him, of what condition he was? Pythagoras answered, "Sir, I know you have been at the Olympian games." "Yes," saith Hiero. "Thither," saith Pythagoras, "come some to win the prizes. Some come to sell their merchandise, because it is a kind of mart of all Greece. Some come to meet their friends, and to make merry; because of the great confluence of all sorts. Others come only to look on. I am one of them that come to look on." Meaning it, of philosophy, and the contemplative life.

252. Mr. Bettenham used to say, that riches were like muck; when it lay in a heap it gave but a stench and ill odour, but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.

253. The same Mr. Bettenham said that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not their sweet smell, till they be broken and crushed.

254. There was a painter became a physician; whereupon one said to him, "You have done well; for before the faults of your work were seen; but now they are unseen."

255. One of the philosophers was asked, "what a wise man differed from a fool?" He answered, "Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive."

256. Cæsar, in his book that he made against Cato, which is lost, did write, to show the force of opinion and reverence of a man that had once obtained a popular reputation: "That there were some that found Cato drunk, and they were ashamed instead of Cato."

257. Aristippus, sailing in a tempest, showed signs of fear. One of the seamen said to him, in an insulting manner, "We that are plebeians are not troubled; you that are a philosopher are afraid." Aristippus answered, "that there is not the like wager upon it, for me to perish and you."

258. There was an orator that defended a cause of Aristippus, and prevailed. Afterwards he asked Aristippus, "Now, in your distress, what did Socrates do you good?" Aristippus answered, "Thus, in making true that good which you said of me."

259. Aristippus said, "He took money of his friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach them how to bestow their money."

260. A strumpet said to Aristippus, "That she was with child by him:" he answered, "You know that no more than if you went through a hedge of thorns, you could say, This thorn pricked me."

261. The Lady Paget, that was very private with Queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against her match with Monsieur. After Monsieur's death, the queen took extreme grief, at least as she made show, and kept within her bedchamber and one ante-chamber for three weeks' space, in token of mourning; at last she came

forth into her privy-chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access unto her, and amongst the rest my Lady Paget presented herself, and came to her with a smiling countenance. The queen bent her brows, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her, "Madam, you are not ignorant of my extreme grief, and do you come to me with a countenance of joy?" My Lady Paget answered, "Alas, and it please your majesty, it is impossible for me to be absent from you three weeks, but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully." "No, no," said the queen, not forgetting her former averseness to the match, "you have some other conceit in it, tell me plainly." My lady answered, "I must obey you: it is this, I was thinking how happy your majesty was, in that you married not Monsieur; for seeing you take such thought for his death, being but your friend; if he had been your husband, sure it would have cost you your life."

262. Sir Edward Dyer, a grave and wise gentleman, did much believe in Kelly the alchemist, that he did indeed the work, and made gold: insomuch that he went into Germany, where Kelly then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his return, he dined with my lord of Canterbury, where at that time was at the table Dr. Brown the physician. They fell in talk of Kelly. Sir Edward Dyer, turning to the archbishop said, "I do assure your grace, that that I shall tell you is truth, I am an eyewitness thereof; and if I had not seen it, I should not have believed it. I saw Master Kelly put of the base metal into the crucible; and after it was set a little upon the fire, and a very small quantity of the medicine put in, and stirred with a stick of wood, it came forth in great proportion, perfect gold; to the touch, to the hammer, to the test." My lord archbishop said, "You had need take heed what you say, Sir Edward Dyer, for here is an infidel at the board." Sir Edward Dyer said again pleasantly, "I would have looked for an infidel sooner in any place than at your grace's table." "What say you, Dr. Brown?" saith the bishop. Dr. Brown answered, after his blunt and huddling manner, "The gentleman hath spoken enough for me." "Why," saith the bishop, "what hath he said?" "Marry," saith Dr. Brown, "he said, he would not have believed it, except he had seen it, and no more will I."

263. Democritus said, "That truth did lie in profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much refining."

264. Doctor Johnson said that in sickness there were three things that were material; the physician, the disease, and the patient: and if any two of these joined, then they have the victory; for, "Ne Hercules quidem contra duos." If the physician and the patient join, then down goes the disease, for the patient recovers: if the physician and the disease join, then down goes the patient, that is where the physician mistakes the case: if the patient and the disease join, then down goes the physician, for he is discredited.

265. Alexander visited Diogenes in his tub, and when he asked him what he would desire of him? Diogenes answered, "That you would stand a little aside, that the sun may come to me."

266. Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended, "The better, the worse."

267. Diogenes called an ill musician, Cock. "Why?" saith he. Diogenes answered; "Because when you crow, men use to rise."

268. Heraclitus the Obscure said; "The dry light was the best soul:" meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blooded by the affections.

269. There was in Oxford a cowardly fellow that was a very good archer; he was abused grossly by another, and moaned himself to Walter Raleigh, then a scholar, and asked his advice what he should do to repair the wrong had been offered him; Raleigh answered, "Why, challenge him at a match of shooting."

270. Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of bishops. He was of a blunt stoical nature: he came one day to the queen, and the queen happened to say to him, "I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried." He answered again, "In troth, madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."

271. There was a nobleman that was lean of visage, but immediately after his marriage he grew pretty plump and fat. One said to him, "Your lordship doth contrary to other married men; for they at the first wax lean, and you wax fat." Sir Walter Raleigh stood by, and said, "Why, there is no beast, that if you take him from the common, and put him into the several, but he will wax fat."

272. Diogenes seeing one, that was a bastard, casting stones among the people, bade him take heed he hit not his father.

273. Dr. Laud said, "that some hypocrites and seeming mortified men, that held down their heads like bulrushes, were like the little images that they place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, that look as if they held up the church, but are but puppets."

274. It was said among some of the grave prelates of the council of Trent, in which the schoolmen were like the astronomers, who, to save the phænomena, framed to their conceit eccentrics and epicycles, and a wonderful engine of orbs, though no

such things were: so they, to save the practice of the church, had devised a number of strange positions.

275. It was also said by many concerning the canons of that council, "That we are beholden to Aristotle for many articles of our faith."

276. The Lo. Henry Howard, being lord privy-seal, was asked by the king openly at the table, where commonly he entertained the king, upon the sudden, "My lord, have you not a desire to see Rome?" My lord privy-seal answered, "Yes, indeed, sir." The king said, "And why?" My lord answered, "Because, and it please your majesty, it was once the seat of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary of the bravest men of the world, amongst the heathen: and then again, because after it was the see of so many holy bishops in the primitive church, most of them martyrs." The king would not give it over, but said, "And for nothing else?" My lord answered, "Yes, and it please your majesty, for two things especially: the one to see him, who, they say, hath so great a power to forgive other men their sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees before a chaplain or priest; and the other to hear Antichrist say his creed."

277. There was a nobleman said of a great counsellor, "that he would have made the worst farrier in the world; for he never shod horse but he cloyed him: so he never commended any man to the king for service, or upon occasion of suit, or otherwise, but that he would come in, in the end with a but, and drive in a nail to his disadvantage."

278. There was a lady of the west country, that gave great entertainment at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen thereabout, and amongst others Sir Walter Raleigh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife; and in the morning betimes she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked, "Is the piggy served?" Sir Walter Raleigh's chamber was fast by the lady's, so as he heard her. A little before dinner, the lady came down in great state into the great chamber, which was full of gentlemen: and as soon as Sir Walter Raleigh set eye upon her, "Madam," saith he, "Is the piggy served?" The lady answered, "You best know whether you have had your breakfast."

279. There was a gentleman fell very sick, and a friend of his said to him, "Surely, you are in danger; I pray send for a physician." But the sick man answered, "It is no matter, for if I die, I will die at leisure."

280. There was an Epicurean vaunted, that divers of other sects of philosophers did after turn Epicureans; but there was never any Epicureans that turned to any other sect. Whereupon a philosopher that was of another sect said, "The reason was plain; for that cocks may be made capons, but capons could never be made cocks."

CERTAIN APOPHTHEGMS

OF THE

LORD BACON'S.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE "BACONIANA."

1. PLUTARCH said well, "It is otherwise in a commonwealth of men than of bees: the hive of a city or kingdom is in best condition when there is least of noise or buz in it."

2. The same Plutarch said of men of weak abilities set in great place, "That they were like little statues set on great bases, made to appear the less by their advancement."

3. He said again, "Good fame is like fire. When you have kindled it, you may easily preserve it; but if once you extinguish it, you will not easily kindle it again; at least, not make it burn as bright as it did."

4. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent* instruction: Vespasian asked him, "What was Nero's overthrow?" He answered, "Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low." And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

5. Queen Elizabeth, seeing Sir Edward —— in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, "What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?" Sir Edward,

* This apophthegm is also found in his Essay of Empire.

who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired, paused a little; and then made answer, "Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise." The queen shrunk in her head; but was heard to say, "Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you." Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor.

6. When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, the queen would inquire after the piety, integrity, learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion she pleased once to say to me, "Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority when the man is despised?"

7. In eighty-eight, when the queen went from Temple-bar along Fleet-street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the companies of the city on the other; said Master Bacon to a lawyer that stood next him, "Do but observe the courtiers; if they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if first to us, they are in law."

8. King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them, "Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things."

9. Soon after the death of a great officer, who was judged no advancer of the king's matters, the king said to his solicitor Bacon, who was his kinsman, "Now tell me truly, what say you of your cousin that is gone?" Mr. Bacon answered, "Sir, since your majesty doth charge me, I'll e'en deal plainly with you, and give you such a character of him, as if I were to write his story. I do think he was no fit counsellor to make your affairs better: but yet he was fit to have kept them from growing worse." The king said, "On my so'l, man, in the first thou speakest like a true man, and in the latter like a kinsman."

10. King James, as he was a prince of great judgment, so he was a prince of marvellous pleasant humour; and there now come into my mind two instances of it. As he was going through Lusen, by Greenwich, he asked what town it was? They said, Lusen. He asked a good while after, "What town is this we are now in?" They said still, 'twas Lusen. "On my so'l," said the king, "I will be king of Lusen."

11. In some other of his progresses, he asked how far it was to a town whose name I have forgotten. They said, "Six miles." Half an hour after, he asked again. One said, "Six miles and an half." The king alighted out of his coach, and crept under the shoulder of his led horse. And when some asked his majesty what he meant? "I must stalk," said he, "for yonder town is shy, and flies me."

12. Count Gondomar sent a compliment to my Lord St. Albans, wishing him a good Easter. My lord thanked the messenger, and said, "He could not at present requite the count better than in returning him the like; that he wished his lordship a good passover."

13. My Lord Chancellor Elsmere, when he had read a petition which he disliked, would say, "What, you would have my hand to this now?" And the party answering, "Yes;" he would say further, "Well, so you shall: nay, you shall have both my hands to it." And so would, with both his hands, tear it in pieces.

14. I knew a wise man,* that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little that we may make an end the sooner."

15. Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say of an angry man who suppressed his passion, "That he thought worse than he spake;" and of an angry man that would chide, "That he spoke worse than he thought."

16. He was wont also to say, "That power in an ill man was like the power of a black witch; he could do hurt but no good with it." And he would add, "That the magicians could turn water into blood, but could not turn the blood again to water."

17. When Mr. Attorney Cook, in the exchequer, gave high words to Sir Francis Bacon, and stood much upon his higher place: Sir Francis said to him, "Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I shall think of it; and the more, the less."

18. Sir Francis Bacon, coming into the Earl of Arundel's garden, where there were a great number of ancient statues of naked men and women, made a stand, and, as astonished, cried out, "The resurrection."

19. Sir Francis Bacon, who was always for moderate counsels, when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England, as would in effect make it no church; said thus to him, "Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England; and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off, but he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye."

20. The same Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say; "That those who left useful studies for useless scholastic speculations, were like the Olympic gamesters, who abstained from necessary labours, that they might be fit for such as were not so."

21. He likewise often used this comparison:† "The empirical philosophers are like to pismires; they only lay up and use their store. The rationalists are like to spiders; they spin all out of their own bowels. But give me a philosopher,

* See this also in his Essay of Despatch.

† See the substance of this in Nov. Org. ed. Lugd. Bat. p. 105, and Inter Cogitata et Visa, p. 53.

who, like the bee, hath a middle faculty, gathering from abroad, but digesting that which is gathered by his own virtue."

22. The Lord St. Alban, who was not over hasty to raise theories, but proceeded slowly by experiments, was wont to say to some philosophers, who would not go his pace, "Gentlemen, nature is a labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with will make you lose your way."

23. The same lord, when he spoke of the Dutchmen, used to say, "That we could not abandon them for our safety, nor keep them for our profit." And sometimes he would express the same sense on this manner; "We hold the Belgic lion by the ears."

24. The same lord, when a gentleman seemed not much to approve of his liberality to his retinue, said to him, "Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head be lifted up, the inferior parts of the body must too."

25. The Lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold becoms: a proud lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, "Friend, hast thou no money? borrow of thy back, and borrow of thy belly, they'll ne'er ask thee again, I shall be dunning thee every day."

26. Solon* said well to Crœsus, (when in ostentation he showed him his gold,) "Sir, if any other come that has better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold."

27. Jack Weeks said of a great man, just then dead, who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, "Well, I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in heaven, 'twere pity it were known."

SPURIOUS APOPHTHEGMS.

1. His majesty James the First, King of Great Britain, having made unto his Parliament an excellent and large declaration, concluded thus, "I have now given you a clear mirror of my mind; use it therefore like a mirror; and take heed how you let it fall, or how you soil it with your breath."

2. His majesty said to his Parliament at another time, finding there were some causeless jealousies sown amongst them; "That the king and his people, (whereof the Parliament is the representative body,) were as husband and wife; and therefore, that of all other things, jealousy was between them most pernicious."

3. His majesty, when he thought his council might note in him some variety in businesses, though indeed he remained constant, would say, "That the sun many times shineth watery; but it is not the sun which causeth it, but some cloud rising betwixt us and the sun; and when that is scattered the sun is as it was, and comes to his former brightness."

4. His majesty, in his answer to the book of the Cardinal of Evereux, (who had in a grave argument of divinity sprinkled many witty ornaments of poesy and humanity,) saith; "That these flowers were like blue and yellow, and red flowers in the corn, which make a pleasant show to those that look on, but they hurt the corn."

5. Sir Edward Cook, being vehement against the two provincial councils of Wales and the North, said to the king, "There was nothing there but a kind of confusion and hotch potch of justice; one while they were a Star Chamber, another while a King's Bench, another a common place, another a Commission of Oyer and Terminer." His majesty answered, "Why, Sir Edward Cook, they be like houses in progress, where I have not nor can have such distinct rooms of state as I have here at Whitehall or at Hampton Court."

6. The commissioners of the treasure moved the king for the relief of his estate, to disafforest some forests of his, explaining themselves of such forests as lay out of the way, not near any of the king's houses, nor in the course of his progress, whereof he should never have use nor pleasure. "Why," saith the king, "do you think that Solomon had use and pleasure of all his three hundred concubines."

7. His majesty, when the Committees of both Houses of Parliament presented unto him the instrument of Union of England and Scotland, was merry with them; and amongst other pleasant speeches showed unto them the Laird of Lawriston, a Scotchman, who was the tallest and greatest man that was to be seen, and said, "Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say but here is one Scotchman greater than any Englishman;" which was an ambiguous speech; but it was thought he meant it of himself.

8. His majesty would say to the Lords of his Council, when they sat upon any great matter, and came from council in to him, "Well, you have set, but what have you hatcht!"

* See this in his Essay of the True Greatness of Kingdoms

9. Queen Elizabeth was importuned much by my Lord of Essex to supply divers great offices that had been long void; the queen answered nothing to the matter, but rose up on the sudden, and said, "I am sure my office will not be long void." And yet at that time there was much speech of troubles and divisions about the crown to be after her decease: but they all vanished, and King James came in in a profound peace.

10. King Henry the Fourth of France was so punctual of his word after it was once passed, that they called him the King of the Faith.

11. The said King Henry the Fourth was moved by his Parliament to a war against the Protestants: he answered, "Yes, I mean it; I will make every one of you captains; you shall have companies assigned you." The Parliament observing whereunto his speech tended, gave over, and deserted his motion.

12. A great officer at court, when my Lord of Essex was first in trouble, and that he and those that dealt for him would talk much of my lord's friends and of his enemies, answered to one of them, "I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy my lord hath; and that one friend is the queen, and that one enemy is himself."

13. The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by my Lord of Leicester, concerning two persons whom the queen seemed to think well of: "By my troth, my lord," said he, "the one is a grave counsellor, the other is a proper young man; and so he will be as long as he lives."

14. My Lord of Liecester, favourite to Queen Elizabeth, was making a large chase about Cornbury Park, meaning to enclose it with posts and rails, and one day was casting up his charge what it would come to; Mr. Goldingham, a free-spoken man, stood by, and said to my lord; "Methinks your lordship goeth not the cheapest way to work." "Why, Goldingham?" said my lord. "Marry, my lord," said Goldingham, "count you but upon the posts, for the country will find you railing."

15. Sir Nicholas Bacon being appointed a judge for the northern circuit, and having brought his trials that came before him to such a pass, as the passing of sentence on malefactors, he was by one of the malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life, which when nothing that he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on the account of kindred. "Pr'ythee," said my lord judge, "how came that in?" "Why, if it please you, my lord, your name is Bacon and mine is Hog, and in all ages hog and bacon have been so near kindred that they are not to be separated." "Ay, but," replied Judge Bacon, "you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged; for hog is not bacon until it be well hanged."

16. Two scholars and a countryman travelling upon the road, one night lodged all in one inn and supped together, where the scholars thought to have put a trick upon the countryman, which was thus: the scholars appointed for supper two pigeons and a fat capon, which being ready was brought up, and they having sat down, the one scholar took up one pigeon, the other scholar took the other pigeon, thinking thereby that the countryman should have sat still until that they were ready for the carving of the capon, which he perceiving, took the capon and laid it on his trencher, and thus said, "Daintily contrived, every one a bird."

17. A man and his wife in bed together, she towards morning pretended herself to be ill at ease, desiring to lie on her husband's side; so the good man to please her came over her, making some short stay in his passage over, where she had not long lain, but desired to lie in her old place again. Quoth he, "How can it be effected?" She answered, "Come over me again." "I had rather," said he, "go a mile and a half about."

18. A thief being arraigned at the bar for stealing a mare, in his pleading urged many things in his own behalf, and at last nothing availing, he told the bench the mare rather stole him than he the mare, which in brief he thus related: that passing over several grounds about his lawful occasions, he was pursued close by a fierce mastiff dog, and so was forced to save himself by leaping over a hedge, which being of an agile body he effected, and in leaping, a mare standing on the other side of the hedge, leaped upon her back, who running furiously away with him, he could not by any means stop her until he came to the next town, in which town the owner of the mare lived, and there was he taken and here arraigned.

19. A notorious rogue being brought to the bar, and knowing his case to be desperate, instead of pleading, he took to himself the liberty of jesting, and thus said, "I charge you in the king's name to seize and take away that man (meaning the judge) in the red gown, for I go in danger of my life because of him."

20. A rough-hewn seaman being brought before a wise just-ass for some misdemeanour, was by him sent away to prison: and being somewhat refractory after he heard his doom, insomuch as he would not stir a foot from the place he stood, saying, "It were better to stand where he was than go to a worse place." The justice thereupon, to show the strength of his learning, took him by the shoulder, and said, "Thou shalt go 'Nogus vogus,'" instead of "Nolens volens."

21. A debauched seaman being brought before a justice of the peace upon the account of swearing, was by the justice commanded to deposit his fine in that behalf provided, which was two shillings, he thereupon, plucking out of his pocket a half-crown, asked the justice what was the rate he was to pay for cursing; the justice told him sixpence; quoth he, then, "A pox take you all for

a company of knaves and fools, and there's half-a-crown for you, I will never stand changing of money."

22. A witty rogue coming into a lace shop, said he had occasion for some lace, choice whereof being showed him, he at last pitched upon one pattern, and asked them how much they would have for so much as would reach from ear to ear, for so much he had occasion for; they told him for so much: so some few words passing between them, he at last agreed, and told down his money for it, and began to measure on his own head, thus saying, "One ear is here, and the other is nailed to the pillory in Bristol, and I fear you have not so much of this lace by you at present as will perfect my bargain; therefore this piece of lace shall suffice at present in part of payment, and provide the rest with all expedition."

23. A woman being suspected by her husband for dishonesty, and being by him at last pressed very hard about it, made him quick answer with many protestations, "That she knew no more of what he said than the man in the moon:" Now the captain of the ship called "The Moon" was the very man she so much loved.

24. An apprentice of London being brought before the chamberlain by his master, for the sin of incontinency, even with his own mistress; the chamberlain thereupon gave him many Christian exhortations, and at last he mentioned and pressed the chastity of Joseph when his mistress tempted him with the like crime of incontinency. "Ay, sir," said the apprentice, "but if Joseph's mistress had been as handsome as mine is, he could not have forborne."

25. When my Lord President of the Council was newly advanced to the Great Seal, Gondomar came to visit him; my lord said, "That he was to thank God and the king for that honour; but yet, so he might be rid of the burden, he could very willingly forbear the honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life." Gondomar answered that he would tell him a tale, "Of an old rat that would needs leave the world: and acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days solitarily; and would enjoy no more comfort: and commanded them, upon his high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto him. They forbore two or three days; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest, incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would venture to see how his father did; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese." So he applied the fable after his witty manner.

26. Mr. Houland, in conference with a young student, arguing a case, happened to say, "I would ask you but this question." The student presently interrupted him to give him an answer. Whereunto Mr. Houland gravely said; "Nay, though I ask you a question, yet I did not mean you should answer me, I mean to answer myself."

ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA,*

A SUPPLY (BY THE PUBLISHER)

OF

CERTAIN WEIGHTY AND ELEGANT SENTENCES,

SOME MADE, OTHERS COLLECTED BY THE LORD BACON; AND BY HIM PUT UNDER THE ABOVESAID TITLE; AND AT PRESENT NOT TO BE FOUND.

A COLLECTION OF SENTENCES OUT OF THE MIMI OF PUBLIUS; ENGLISHED BY THE PUBLISHER.

1. "Aleator, quanto in arte est melior, tanto est nequior."
   A gamester, the greater master he is in his art, the worse man he is.
2. "Arcum, intensio frangit; animum, remissio."
   Much bending breaks the bow; much unbending, the mind.
3. "Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria."
   He conquers twice, who upon victory overcomes himself.
4. "Cum vitia prosint, peccat, qui recte facit."
   If vices were upon the whole matter profitable, the virtuous man would be the sinner.
5. "Bene dormit, qui non sentit quod male dormiat."

* Tenison's Baconiana, page 60.

He sleeps well, who feels not that he sleeps ill.

6. "Deliberare utilia, mora est tutissima."
To deliberate about useful things is the safest delay.

7. "Dolor decrescit, ubi quo crescat non habet."
The flood of grief decreaseth, when it can swell no higher.

8. "Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor."
Pain makes even the innocent man a liar.

9. "Etiam celeritas in desiderio, mora est."
Even in desire, swiftness itself is delay.

10. "Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam."
The smallest hair casts a shadow.

11. "Fidem qui perdit, quo se servat in reliquum?"
He that has lost his faith, what has he left to live on?

12. "Formosa facies muta commendatio est."
A beautiful face is a silent commendation.

13. "Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit."
Fortune makes him a fool, whom she makes her darling.

14. "Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel."
Fortune is not content to do a man but one ill turn.

15. "Facit gratum fortuna, quam nemo videt."
The fortune which nobody sees, makes a man happy and unenvied.

16. "Heu! quam miserum est ab illo lædi, de quo non possis queri."
O! what a miserable thing it is to be hurt by such a one of whom it is in vain to complain.

17. "Homo toties moritur quoties amittit suos."
A man dies as often as he loses his friends.

18. "Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est."
The tears of an heir are laughter under a vizard.

19. "Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas."
Nothing is pleasant, to which variety does not give a relish.

20. "Invidiam ferre, aut fortis, aut felix potest."
He may bear envy, who is either courageous or happy.

21. "In malis sperare bonum, nisi innocens, nemo potest."
None but a virtuous man can hope well in ill circumstances.

22. "In vindicando, criminosa est celeritas."
In taking revenge, the very haste we make is criminal.

23. "In calamitoso risus etiam injuria est."
When men are in calamity, if we do but laugh we offend.

24. "Improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit."
He accuseth Neptune unjustly, who makes shipwreck a second time.

25. "Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam."
He that injures one, threatens an hundred.

26. "Mora omnis ingrata est, sed facit sapientiam."
All delay is ungrateful, but we are not wise without it.

27. "Mori est felicis antequam mortem invocet."
Happy he who dies ere he calls for death to take him away.

28. "Malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus."
An ill man is always ill; but he is then worst of all when he pretends to be a saint.

29. "Magno cum periculo custoditur, quod multis placet."
Lock and key will scarce keep that secure, which pleases everybody.

30. "Male vivunt qui se semper victuros putant."
They think ill, who think of living always.

31. "Male secum agit æger, medicum qui hæredem facit."
That sick man does ill for himself, who makes his physician his heir.

32. "Multos timere debet, quem multi timent."
He of whom many are afraid, ought himself to fear many.

33. "Nulla tam bona est fortuna, de qua nil possis queri."
There is no fortune so good but it bates an ace.

34. "Pars beneficii est, quod petitur si bene neges."
It is part of the gift, if you deny genteely what is asked of you.

35. "Timidus vocat se cautem, parcum sordidus."
The coward calls himself a wary man; and the miser says he is frugal.

36. "O vita! misero longa, felici brevis."
O life! an age to him that is in misery; and to him that is happy, a moment.

A COLLECTION OF SENTENCES

OUT OF SOME OF THE WRITINGS OF THE LORD BACON.*

1. It is a strange desire which men have, to seek power, and lose liberty.

2. Children increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death.

3. Round dealing is the honour of man's nature; and a mixture of falsehood is like allay in gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it.

4. Death openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

5. Schism in the spiritual body of the church is a greater scandal than a corruption in manners: as, in the natural body, a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour.

6. Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.

7. He that studieth revenge, keepeth his own wounds green.

8. Revengeful persons live and die like witches: their life is mischievous, and their end is unfortunate.

9. It was a high speech of Seneca, after the manner of the Stoics, that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things which belong to adversity are to be admired.

10. He that cannot see well, let him go softly.

11. If a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery: as the more close air sucketh in the more open.

12. Keep your authority wholly from your children, not so your purse.

13. Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise: for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

14. That envy is most malignant which is like Cain's, who envied his brother, because his sacrifice was better accepted, when there was nobody but God to look on.

15. The lovers of great place are impatient of privateness, even in age, which requires the shadow: like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though there they offer age to scorn.

16. In evil, the best condition is, not to will: the next not to can.

17. In great place ask counsel of both times: of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest.

18. As in nature things move more violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so virtue in ambition is violent; in authority, settled and calm.

19. Boldness in civil business is like pronunciation in the orator of Demosthenes: the first, second, and third thing.

20. Boldness is blind: wherefore it is ill in counsel, but good in execution. For in counsel it is good to see dangers: in execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

21. Without good nature, man is but a better kind of vermin.

22. God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.

23. The great atheists indeed are hypocrites, who are always handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

24. The master of superstition is the people. And in all superstition, wise men follow fools.

25. In removing superstitions, care would be had, that, as it fareth in ill purgings, the good be not taken away with the bad: which commonly is done when the people is the physician.

26. He that goeth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel.

27. It is a miserable state of mind, and yet it is commonly the case of kings, to have few things to desire, and many things to fear.

28. Depression of the nobility may make a king more absolute but less safe.

29. All precepts concerning kings are, in effect, comprehended in these remembrances: remember thou art a man; remember thou art God's vicegerent: the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

30. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune.

31. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilled in his master's business than his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

* Baconiana, page 65.

32. Private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend.

33. Fortune is like a market, where many times if you stay a little the price will fall.

34. Fortune sometimes turneth the handle of the bottle, which is easy to be taken hold of; and after the belly, which is hard to grasp.

35. Generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to Argus with an hundred eyes; and the ends of them to Briareus with an hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed.

36. There is great difference betwixt a cunning man and a wise man. There be that can pack the cards, who yet cannot play well; they are good in canvasses and factions, and yet otherwise mean men.

37. Extreme self-lovers will set a man's house on fire, though it were but to roast their eggs.

38. New things, like strangers, are more admired and less favoured.

39. It were good that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived.

40. They that reverence too much old time, are but a scorn to the new.

41. The Spaniards and Spartans have been noted to be of small despatch. "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;" Let my death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long a coming.

42. You had better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

43. Those who want friends to whom to open their griefs, are cannibals of their own hearts.

44. Number itself importeth not much in armies, where the people are of weak courage; for, as Virgil says, it never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.

45. Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentry multiply too fast. In coppice woods, if you leave your stadles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.

46. A civil war is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health.

47. Suspicions among thoughts, are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight.

48. Base natures, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true.

49. Men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

50. Discretion in speech is more than eloquence.

51. Men seem neither well to understand their riches nor their strength; of the former they believe greater things than they should, and of the 'atter much less. And from hence certain fatal pillars have bounded the progress of learning.

52. Riches are the baggage of virtue; they cannot be spared, nor left behind, but they hinder the march.

53. Great riches have sold more men than ever they have bought out.

54. Riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, and sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more.

55. He that defers his charity till he is dead, is, if a man weighs it rightly, rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

56. Ambition is like choler; if it can move, it makes men active; if it be stopped, it becomes adust, and makes men melancholy.

57. To take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs.

58. Some ambitious men seem as skreens to princes in matters of danger and envy. For no man will take such parts, except he be like the seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.

59. Princes and states should choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than rising; and should discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

60. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

61. If a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, she is not invisible.

62. Usury bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands: for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties; at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box.

63. Beauty is best in a body that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. The beautiful prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study, for the most part, rather behaviour than virtue.

64. The best part of beauty is that which a picture cannot express.

65. He who builds a fair house upon an ill seat, commits himself to prison.

66. If you will work on any man, you must either know his nature and fashion, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weaknesses and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.

67. Costly followers (among whom we may reckon those who are importunate in suits) are not to be liked; lest, while a man maketh his train longer, he maketh his wings shorter.

68. Fame is like a river that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

69. Seneca saith well, that anger is like rain, which breaks itself upon that which it falls.

70. Excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.

71. High treason is not written in ice, that when the body relenteth, the impression should go away.

72. The best governments are always subject to be like the fairest crystals, wherein every icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived.

73. Hollow church papists are like the roots of nettles, which themselves sting not; but yet they bear all the stinging leaves.

SHORT NOTES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION.

BY SIR FRANCIS BACON.*

To deceive men's expectations generally (which cautel) argueth a staid mind, and unexpected constancy: viz. in matters of fear, anger, sudden joy or grief, and all things which may affect or alter the mind in public or sudden accidents, or suchlike.

It is necessary to use a steadfast countenance, not wavering with action, as in moving the head or hand too much, which showeth a fantastical, light, and fickle operation of the spirit, and consequently like mind as gesture: only it is sufficient, with leisure, to use a modest action in either.

In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly, than hastily; because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes, besides unseemliness, drives a man either to a non-plus or unseemly stammering, harping upon that which should follow; whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory, addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, besides a seemliness of speech and countenance. To desire in discourse to hold all arguments, is ridiculous, wanting true judgment; for in all things no man can be exquisite.

To have commonplaces to discourse, and to want variety, is both tedious to the hearers, and shows a shallowness of conceit: therefore it is good to vary, and suit speeches with the present occasions; and to have a moderation in all our speeches, especially in jesting of religion, state, great persons, weighty and important business, poverty, or any thing deserving pity.

A long continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, showeth slowness: and a good reply, without a good set speech, showeth shallowness and weakness.

To use many circumstances, ere you come to the matter, is wearisome; and to use none at all, is but blunt.

Bashfulness is a great hinderance to a man, both of uttering his conceit, and understanding what is propounded unto him; wherefore it is good to press himself forwards with discretion, both in speech, and company of the better sort.

"Usus promptos facit."

* From the Remains.

AN ESSAY ON DEATH.

BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR BACON.†

1. I HAVE often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grandmother the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

2. Physicians in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

3. I know many wise men, that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe, that any man fears to be dead, but only

† Remains.

the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if Heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go per alta; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loath to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathen's rule "memento mori," and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune: he that is not slackly strong, as the servants of pleasure, how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shows what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from showing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his style is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward; in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts, can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm, that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that, for the most part they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather, that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before; now they out of the wisdom of thousands think to scare destiny from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils, their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire, if it be possible, to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirits mutiny; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others

to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

9. But death is a doleful messenger to a usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread: for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house, can be content to think of death; and, being hasty of perdition, will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity. I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come; the perfectest virtue being tried in action: but I would, out of a care to do the best business well, ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

11. And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to foreflow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than in the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great Dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy; so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, "Such an age is a mortal evil." And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold: but before my friends. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

THE TWO BOOKS OF

FRANCIS BACON,

OF THE

PROFICIENCE AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING,

DIVINE AND HUMAN.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The Advancement of Learning was published in the year 1605. It is entitled

THE

TVVOO BOOKES OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Of the proficience and aduancement of Learning, diuine and humane.

TO THE KING.

AT LONDON,

¶ Printed for Henri Tomes, and are to be sould at his shop in Graies Inne Gate in Holborne. 1605

It is a small thin quarto of 119 pages, somewhat incorrectly printed, the subjects being distinguished by capitals and italics introduced into the text, with a few marginal notes in Latin. The following is an exact specimen:

"HISTORY is NATVRALL, CIVILE, ECCLESIASTICALL & LITERARY, whereof the three first I allow as extant, the fourth I note as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himselfe the generall state of learning to bee described and represented from age to age, as many haue done the works of nature, & the State ciuile and Ecclesiastical; without which the History of the world seemeth to me, to be as the *Statua* of *Polyphemus* with his eye out, that part being wanting, which doth most shew the spirit, and life of the person."

Of this work he sent a copy, with a letter, to the king; to the university of Cambridge; to Trinity College, Cambridge; to the university of Oxford; to Sir Thomas Bodley; to Lord Chancellor Egerton; to the Earl of Salisbury; to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst: and to Mr. Matthews. From these letters, which are all in existence, the letter to the lord chancellor, as a favourable specimen, is annexed:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

"I humbly present your lordship with a work, wherein, as you have much commandment over the author, so your lordship hath great interest in the argument: For to speak without flattery, few have like use of learning or like judgment in learning, as I have observed in your lordship. And again, your lordship hath been a great planter of learning, not only in those places in the church which have been in your own gift, but also in your commendatory vote, no man hath more constantly held; let it be given to the most deserving, *detur digniori*: And therefore, both your lordship is beholding to learning and learning beholding to you; which maketh me presume with good assurance that your lordship will accept well of these my labours; the rather because your lordship in private speech hath often begun to me in expressing your admiration of his majesty's learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whose virtue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And so with signification of my most humble duty and affection to your lordship, I remain."

Some short time after the publication of this work, probably about the year 1608, Sir Francis Bacon was desirous that the Advancement of Learning should be translated into Latin; and, for this purpose, he applied to Dr. Playfer, the Margaret Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge."[1]

Upon the subject of this application Archbishop Tennison says in his Baconiana:—"The doctor was willing to serve so excellent a person, and so worthy a design; and, within a while sent him a specimen of a latine translation. But men, generally, come short of themselves when they strive to out-doe themselves. They put a force upon their natural genius, and, by straining of it, crack and disable it. And so, it seems, it happened to that worthy and elegant man. Upon this great occasion, he would be over-accurate; and he sent a specimen of such superfine latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which, he desired not so much neat and polite, as clear, masculine, and apt expression."

On the 12th of October, 1620, in a letter to the king, presenting the Novum Organum to his majesty, Lord Bacon says, "I hear my former book of the Advancement of Learning, is well tasted in the universities here, and the English colleges abroad: and this is the same argument sunk deeper."

An edition, in 8vo, was published in 1629; and a third edition, corrected from the original edition of 1605, was published at Oxford in 1633. These are the only editions of the Advancement of Learning, which were published before the year 1636, a period of ten years after the death of Lord Bacon.

The present edition is corrected from the first edition of 1605, and with the hope of making it more acceptable to the public, an Analysis of the whole work, with a table of contents, is prefixed.

[1] This appears by the following letter, without any date:

"Mr. Dr. Playfer,

"A great desire will take a small occasion to hope and put in trial that which is desired. It pleased you a good while since, to express unto me the good liking which you conceived of my book of the Advancement of Learning; and that more significantly, (as it seemed to me) than out of courtesie, or civil respect. Myself, as I then took contentment in your approbation thereof; so I esteem and acknowledge, not onely my contentment encreased, but my labours advanced, if I might obtain your help in that nature which I desire. Wherein before I set down in plain terms my request unto you, I will open myself, what it was which I chiefly sought and propounded to myself in that work; that you may perceive that which I now desire, to be perusant thereupon. If I do not much err, for any judgment that a man maketh of his own doings, had need be spoken with a *Si nunquam fallit Imago*, I have this opinion, that if I had sought mine own commendation, it had been a much fitter course for me to have done as gardeners used to do, by taking their seed and slips, and rearing them first into plants, and so uttering them in pots, when they are in flower, and in their best state. But for as much as my end was Merit of the State of Learning (to my power) and not Glory; and because my purpose was rather to excite other men's wits than to magnifie mine own; I was desirous to prevent the uncertainness of mine own life and times, by uttering rather seeds than plants: Nay and further, (as the proverb is,) by sowing with the basket, rather than with the hand: Wherefore, since I have onely taken upon me to ring a bell, to call other wits together, (which is the meanest office,) it cannot but be consonant to my desire, to have that bell heard as far as can be. And since they are but sparks which can work but upon matter prepared, I have the more reason to wish that those sparks may fly abroad, that they may the better find and light upon those minds and spirits which are apt to be kindled. And therefore the privateness of the language considered, wherein it is written, excluding so many readers; as on the other side, the obscurity of the argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I must account it a second birth of that work, if it might be translated into Latin, without manifest loss of the sense and matter. For this purpose I could not represent to myself any man into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that work should fall than yourself; for by that I have heard and read, I know no man, a greater master in commanding words to serve matter. Nevertheless, I am not ignorant of the worth of your labours, whether such as your place and profession imposeth, or such as your own virtue may upon your voluntary election take in hand. But I can lay before you no other perswasions than either the work itself may affect you with; or the honour of his majesty, to whom it is dedicated, or your particular inclination to myself; who, as I never took so much comfort in any labours of my own, so I shall never acknowledge myself more obliged in any thing to the labours of another, than in that which shall assist it. Which your labour, if I can by my place, profession, means, friends, travel, work, deed, requite unto you, I shall esteem myself so streightly bound thereunto, as I shall be ever most ready both to take and seek occasion of thankfulness. So leaving it nevertheless, *Salva Amicitia*, as reason is to your good liking. I remain."

ANALYSIS

OF

LORD BACON'S ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

"MUNDUS INTELLECTUALIS."

DEDICATION TO KING JAMES 161
Division of the work..... 162
I. The excellence of knowledge and the merit of propagating it 162
1. Objections to learning 162
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THE EXCELLENCE OF LEARNING,

AND

THE MERIT OF DISSEMINATING IT.

OBJECTIONS TO LEARNING.

To clear the way, and, as it were, to make silence, to have the true testimonies concerning the dignity of learning to be better heard, without the interruption of tacit objections.

Objections of divines 162
Objections of politicians..... 164
Objections from the errors of learned men 166

OBJECTIONS WHICH DIVINES MAKE TO LEARNING.

1. The aspiring to knowledge was the cause of the fall..... 162
2. Knowledge generates pride..... 162
3. Solomon says there is no end of making books, and he that increases knowledge increases anxiety 163

We must not so place our felicity in knowledge as to forget our mortality: but to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not presume by the contemplation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God.

4. St. Paul warns us not to be spoiled through vain philosophy 153

The sense of men resembles the sun, which opens and reveals the terrestrial globe but conceals the stars and celestial globe: hence men fall who seek to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses.

5. Learned men are inclined to be heretics, and learned men to atheism 163

It is an assured truth and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion.

Let no man, upon a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works; divinity or philosophy.

OBJECTIONS WHICH POLITITIANS MAKE TO LEARNING.

1. Learning softens men's minds and makes them unfit for arms..... 164

Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar the dictator; whereof the one was Aristotle's scholar in philosophy, and the other was Cicero's rival in eloquence: or if any man had rather call for scholars that were great generals, than generals that were great scholars, let him take Epaminondas the Theban, or Xenophon the Athenian.

2. Learning makes men unfit for civil affairs.... 164

It is accounted an error to commit a natural body to empiric physicians, which commonly have a few pleasing receipts, whereupon they are confident and adventurous, but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexions of patients, nor peril of accidents, nor the true method of cures; we see it is a like error to rely upon advocates or lawyers, which are only men of practice, and not grounded in their books, who are many times easily surprised, when matter falleth out besides their experience to the prejudices of the causes they handle: so by like reason, it cannot be but a matter of doubtful consequence, if states be managed by empiric statesmen, not well mingled with men grounded in learning.

3. It makes them irresolute by variety of reading 164

It teacheth them when and upon what ground to resolve, and to carry things in suspense till they resolve.

4. It makes them too peremptory by strictness of rules 165

It teacheth them when and upon what ground to resolve; yea, and how to carry things in suspense without prejudice, till they resolve; if it make men positive and regular, it teacheth them what things are in their nature demonstrative, and what are conjectural; and as well the use of distinctions and exceptions, as the latitude of principles and rules.

(1605 edition)

5. It makes them immoderate by greatness of example..... 164

It teacheth men the force of circumstances, the errors of comparisons, and all the cautions of application.

6. It makes them incompatible by dissimilitude of examples..... 165

Let a man look into the errors of Clement the Seventh, so livelily described by Guicciardine, who served under him, or into the errors of Cicero, painted out by his own pencil in his epistles to Atticus, and he will fly space from being irresolute. Let him look into the errors of Phocion, and he will beware how he be obstinate or inflexible. Let him but read the fable of Ixion, and it will hold him from being vaporous or imaginative. Let him look into the errors of Cato the Second, and he will never be one of the Antipodes, to tread opposite to the present world.

7. It disposes men to leisure and retirement..... 165

It were strange if that, which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation, should induce slothfulness: of all men they are the most indefatigable, if it be towards any business that can detain their minds.

The most active or busy men that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business. And then the question is, but how those spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent; whether in pleasures or in studies: as was well answered by Demosthenes, to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure, and told him, that his orations did smell of the lamp: "Indeed," said Demosthenes, "there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamp light."

8. It relaxes discipline by making men more ready to argue than to obey..... 164

To say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, is to affirm, that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwarting, and mutinous.

OBJECTIONS TO LEARNING FROM THE ERRORS OF LEARNED MEN.

1. From their fortunes.
2. From their manners.
3. From the nature of their studies.

FIRST.

OBJECTIONS TO LEARNING FROM THE FORTUNES OF LEARNED MEN.

1. Learned men are poor and live in obscurity.

Learned men forgotten in states, and not living in the eyes of men, are like the images of Cassius and Brutus in the Funeral of Junia: of which not being represented, as many others were, Tacitus saith, "Eo ipso præfulgebant, quod non visebantur."

2. Learned men are engaged in mean employments, as the education of youth.

We see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel, than into a vessel seasoned; and what mould they lay about a young plant, than about a plant corroborate: so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps.

SECONDLY.

OBJECTIONS TO LEARNING FROM THE MANNERS OF LEARNED MAN.

1. Learned men endeavour to impose the laws of ancient severity upon dissolute times.

Solon, when he was asked whether he had given his citizens the best laws, answered wisely, "Yea, of such as they would receive;" and Plato, finding that his own heart could not agree with the corrupt manners of his country, refused to bear place or office: saying, "That a man's country was to be used as his parents were, that is, with humble persuasions, and not with contestations."

2. Learned men prefer the public good to their own interest.

The corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes; never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune.

3. Learned men fail sometimes in applying themselves to individuals.

The reasons of this:

1. The largeness of their minds, which cannot descend to particulars.

He that cannot contract the sight of his mind, as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth a great faculty.

2. Learned men reject from choice and judgment.

The honest and just bounds of observation, by one person upon another, extend no farther but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution in respect of a man's self; but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous.

4. Learned men are negligent in their behaviour.

Learned men should not stoop to persons, although they ought to submit to occasions.[1]

THIRDLY.

OBJECTIONS TO LEARNING FROM THE NATURE OF THE STUDIES OF LEARNED MEN.

DISTEMPERS OF LEARNING.

1. Fantastical learning.
2. Contentious learning.
3. Delicate learning.

Vain imaginations: vain altercations: vain affectations.

Delicate learning..... 170

1. It is the study of words, and not of matter.

How is it possible but this should have an

[1] See note (A) at the end of this Treatise.

operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent or limned book; which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter? It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity, for words are but the images of matter; and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

2. Origin of the prevalence of delicate learning in late times [1] 170
3. Delicate learning exists more or less in all times 170
4. Attention to style ought not to be neglected .. 170

But yet, notwithstanding, it is a thing not hastily to be condemned, to clothe and adorn the obscurity, even of philosophy itself, with sensible and plausible elocution:

But the excess of this is so justly contemptible, that as Hercules, when he saw the image of Adonis, Venus's minion, in a temple, said in disdain, "Nil sacri es;" so there is none of Hercules's followers in learning, that is, the more severe and laborious sort of inquirers into truth, but will despise those delicacies and affectations, as indeed capable of no divineness.

Contentious Learning.

1. It is vanity of matter, useless knowledge, and is worse than vanity of words 170

As many substances in nature, which are solid, do putrefy and corrupt into worms: so it is the property of good and sound knowledge, to putrefy and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and, as I may term them, vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness, and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality.

2. Badges of false science 170
   1. Novelty of terms.
   2. Strictness of positions.
3. Contentious learning reigned chiefly amongst the schoolmen 170

The wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.

4. Unprofitable curiosity is of two sorts 171
   1. Fruitless speculation.
   2. Erroneous modes of investigation.

Were it not better for a man in a fair room to set up one great light, or branching candlestick of lights, than to go about with a small watch candle into every corner?

The generality of the schoolmen are for a while good and proportionable; but then, when you descend into their distinctions and decisions, instead of a fruitful womb, for the use and benefit of man's life, they end in monstrous altercations and barking questions.

5. It is to be lamented that the learning of the schoolmen was so confined 171

If those schoolmen, to their great thirst of truth and unwearied travail of wit, had joined variety and universality of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights, to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge; but as they are, they are great undertakers indeed, and fierce with dark keeping.

Fantastical Learning.

1. It is falsehood, and is the foulest of all the distempers of learning.
2. Different sorts, and their connection.
   1. Imposture.
   2. Credulity.
      1. In matters of fact.
         1. In ecclesiastical history.
         2. In natural history.
      2. In arts and sciences.
         1. In arts and sciences.

Surely to alchymy this right is due, that it may be compared to the husbandman whereof Æsop makes the fable; that, when he died, told his sons, that he had left unto them gold buried under ground in his vineyard; and they digged over all the ground, and gold they found none; but by reason of their stirring and digging the mould about the roots of their vines, they had a great vintage the year following: so assuredly the search and stir to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitful inventions and experiments, as well for the disclosing of nature, as for the use of man's life.

   2. Authors.

Authors should be as consuls to advise, not as dictators to command.

Let great authors have their due, as time, which is the author of authors, be not deprived of his due, which is, further and further to discover truth.

PECCANT HUMOURS OF LEARNING.

1. The extreme affecting either of antiquity or novelty 172

"State super vias antiquas, et videte quænam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea."

"Antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi." These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient "ordine retrogrado," by a computation backward from ourselves.[2]

2. A suspicion that there is nothing new.
3. A conceit that of former opinions or sects, after variety and examination, the best hath prevailed 173

The truth is, that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.

4. The over early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into arts and methods 173

As young men, when they knit and shape perfectly, do seldom grow to a further stature; so knowledge, while it is in aphorisms and observations, it is in growth; but when it once is comprehended in exact methods, it may perchance be further polished and illustrated, and accommodated for use and practice; but it increaseth no more in bulk and substance.[3]

[1] See note (B) at the end of this Treatise.

[2] See note (C) at the end of this Treatise.

[3] See note (D) at the end of this Treatise.

5. The abandoning universality..... 173

No perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or a level: neither is it possible to discover the more remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand but upon the level of the same science, and ascend not to a higher science.[1]

6. The having too much reverence for the human mind..... 173

Upon these intellectualists, which are, notwithstanding, commonly taken for the most sublime and divine philosophers, Heraclitus gave a just censure, saying, "Men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great and common world."

7. The tainting doctrines with favourite opinions.

8. Impatience of doubt, and haste to assertion.[2]

9. The delivering knowledge too peremptorily.[3]

10. Being content to work on the labours of others instead of inventing..... 174

11. The mistaking the furthest end of knowledge.[4] 173

Men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of man: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrasse for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate.

ADVANTAGES OF LEARNING..... 174

I have no purpose to enter into a laudative of learning, or to make a hymn to the muses; (though I am of opinion that it is long since their rites were duly celebrated:) but my intent is, without varnish or amplification, justly to weigh the dignity of knowledge in the balance with other things, to take the true value thereof by testimonies and arguments divine and human.

Different proofs of the advantages of knowledge.

1. *Divine proofs*..... 174

1. Before the creation.[5]

2. After the creation.

1. Before the flood.

2. After the flood.

1. Before Christianity..... 175

In the law of the leprosy, it is said, "If the whiteness have overspread the flesh, the patient may pass abroad for clean; but if there be any whole flesh remaining, he is to be shut up for unclean;" one of them noteth a principle of nature, that putrefaction is more contagious before maturity than after: and another noteth a position of moral philosophy, that men abandoned to vice do not so much corrupt manners, as those that are half good and half evil.

2. After Christianity.

2. *Human proofs*..... 177

1. Learning relieves man's afflictions which arise from nature..... 177

Founders and uniters of states and cities, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, and other eminent persons in civil merit, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demi-gods; such as were Hercules, Theseus, Minos, Romulus, and the like: on the other side, such as were inventors and authors of new arts, endowments, and commodities towards man's life, were ever consecrated amongst the gods themselves: as were Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius, Apollo, and others: and justly; for the merit of the former is confined within the circle of an age or a nation, and is like fruitful showers, which though they be profitable and good, yet serve but for that season, and for a latitude of ground where they fall; but the other is indeed like the benefits of heaven, which are permanent and universal. The former, again, is mixed with strife and perturbation; but the latter hath the true character of divine presence, coming "in aura leni," without noise or agitation.[6]

2. Learning represses the inconveniences which grow from man to man..... 177

In Orpheus's theatre, all beasts and birds assembled; and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature: wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge; which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.

3. Proof of this position, by showing the conjunction between learning in the prince and happiness in the people..... 177

But for a tablet, or picture of smaller

[1] See note (E) at the end of this Treatise.

[2] See note (F) at the end of this Treatise.

[3] See note (G) at the end of this Treatise.

[4] See note (H) at the end of this Treatise.

[5] The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.

I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.

When there were no depths I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water.

Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth.

While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world.

When he prepared the heavens I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth:

When he established the clouds above: when he strengthened the fountains of the deep:

When he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth:

Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.

PROVERBS, chap. viii.

[6] See note (I) at the end of this Treatise.

volume, (not presuming to speak of your majesty that liveth,) in my judgment the most excellent is that of Queen Elizabeth, your immediate predecessor in this part of Britain; a princess that, if Plutarch were now alive to write lives by parallels, would trouble him, I think, to find for her a parallel amongst women. This lady was endued with learning in her sex singular, and rare even amongst masculine princes; whether we speak of learning, language, or of science, modern or ancient, divinity or humanity: and unto the very last year of her life she was accustomed to appoint set hours for reading, scarcely any young student in a university more daily, or more duly. As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regimen. For if there be considered of the one side, the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of justice, the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained, the flourishing state of learning, sortable to so excellent a patroness, the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of crown and subject, the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome, and then, that she was solitary and of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince with felicity in the people.[1] .. 178

3. There is a concurrence between learning and military virtue 181

When Cæsar, after war declared, did possess himself of the city of Rome; at which time entering into the inner treasury to take the money there accumulated, Metellus, being tribune, forbade him: whereto Cæsar said, "That if he did not desist, he would lay him dead in the place." And presently taking himself up, he added, "Adolescens, durius est mihi hoc dicere quum facere." Young man, it is harder for me to speak than to do it. A speech compounded of the greatest terror and greatest clemency that could proceed out of the mouth of man.

4. Learning improves private virtues 181

1. It takes away the barbarism of men's minds.

"Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros."

2. It takes away levity, temerity, and insolency.

3. It takes away vain admiration 182

If a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls excepted, will not seem much other than an ant hill, where as some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust.

4. It mitigates the fear of death or adverse fortune.

Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as "concomitantia."

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."

5. It disposes the mind not to be fixed in its defects 182

The unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account; nor the pleasure of that "suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem."

Certain it is that "veritas" and "bonitas" differ but as the seal and the print: for truth prints goodness; and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

5. Learning is power.[2]

6. Learning advances fortune 183

7. The pleasure of knowledge is the greatest of pleasures 183

We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality: and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable.

It is a view of delight, to stand or walk upon the shore side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain; but it is a pleasure incomparable, for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth; and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.

8. Learning insures immortality 183

If the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other?

Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Æsop's cock, that preferred the barleycorn before the gem; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo president of the Muses, and Pan god of the flocks, judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power; nor of Agrippina, "occidat matrem, modo imperet," that preferred empire with conditions never so detestable; or of Ulysses, "qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati," being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency; or of a number of the like popular judgments.

[1] This beautiful passage is omitted in the Treatise De Augmentis.

[2] See note (L) at the end of this Treatise.

For these things continue as they have been: but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: "justificata est sapientia a filiis suis."

BOOK II.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, AND WHAT IS OMITTED.

---

1. Dedication to the king..... 184
2. Preliminary considerations.
   1. Modes by which difficulties are overcome.
      1. Amplitude of reward *to encourage exertion.*
      2. Soundness of direction *to prevent confusion.*
      3. Conjunction of labours *to supply the frailty of man.*
   2. The objects about which the acts of merit towards learning are conversant.... 184
      1. The places of learning.
      2. The books of learning.
      3. The persons of the learned

I. THE PLACES OF LEARNING.

As water, whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and lose itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself, (and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed springheads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity,) so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same.

1. Works relating to places of learning.
   1. Foundations and buildings.
   2. Endowments with revenues.
   3. Endowments with franchises.
   4. Institutions for government.

II. THE BOOKS OF LEARNING..... 185

1. Libraries.

They are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed.

2. New editions of authors.

III. THE PERSONS OF THE LEARNED..... 185

1. Learned men should be countenanced.
2. There should be rewards.
   1. For readers in sciences extant.
   2. For inventors.
3. Defects of universities.

First defect. Colleges are all dedicated to professions.....185

If men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do; nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it.

It is injurious to government that there is not any collegiate education for statesmen 185

Second defect. The salaries of lecturers are too small.....185

If you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, "That those which stayed with the carriage should have equal part with those which were in the action."

Third defect. There are not sufficient funds for providing models, instruments, experiments, &c.[1]..... 186

Fourth defect. There is a neglect in the governors of consultation, and, in superiors of visitation as to the propriety of continuing or amending the established courses of study 186

4. Scholars study logic and rhetoric[2] 186

For minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calleth "sylva" and "supellex," stuff and variety, to begin with those arts, (as if one should learn to weigh, or to measure, or to paint the wind,) doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerate into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation.[2]

2. There is too great a divorce between invention and memory 186

Fifth defect. There is a want of mutual intelligence between different universities 186

Sixth defect. There is a want of proper rewards for inquiries in new and unlaboured parts of learning 186

The opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and the great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack: which surcharge, nevertheless, is not to be remedied by making no more books, but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Moses, might devour the serpents of the enchanters

[1] See note (M) at the end of this Treatise.
[2] See note (N) at the end of this Treatise.

I will now attempt to make a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste..... 187

DIVISION OF LEARNING, HUMAN AND DIVINE. 187

1. History relating to the *memory*.
2. Poetry relating to the *imagination*.
3. Philosophy relating to the *reason*.

HISTORY.

Division.
1. Natural.
2. Civil.
3. Ecclesiastical.
4. Literary.

LITERARY HISTORY..... 187

1. It is the history of learning from age to age.
2. It is in general deficient, but there are some slight memorials of particular sects and sciences.
3. The uses of literary history.

Natural History[1]..... 187

Division.
1. Of creatures.
2. Of marvels.
3. Of arts.

History of Creatures.

1. It is the history of nature in course.
2. It is extant and in perfection.

History of Marvels.

1. It is the history of nature wandering.
2. It is deficient.
3. Its uses.
   1. To correct the partiality of axioms.
   2. To discover the wonders of art.

   It is, as it were, hounding Nature in her wanderings to be able to lead her afterwards to the same place again.
4. Different marvels.

History of Arts[2]..... 188

1. It is in general deficient.
2. It is considered not elevating to inquire into matters mechanical..... 188

   The truth is, they be not the highest instances that give the securest information; as may be well expressed in the tale so common of the philosopher, that while he gazed upwards to the stars fell into the water; for if he had looked down he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking aloft he could not see the water in the stars. So it cometh often to pass, that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small.

   Aristotle noteth well, "that the nature of every thing is best seen in its smallest portions." And for that cause he inquireth the nature of a commonwealth, first in a family, and the simple conjugations of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, which are in every cottage.

   The turning of iron touched with the loadstone towards the north, was found out in needles of iron, not in bars of iron.

   As a man's disposition is never well known till he be crossed, nor Proteus ever changed shapes till he was straitened and held fast; so the passages and variations of nature cannot appear so fully in the liberty of nature, as in the trials and vexations of art.

CIVIL HISTORY..... 189

Division.
1. Memorials.
2. Perfect Histories.
3. Antiquities.

   Of pictures or images, we see, some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced.

Memorials.

1. Memorials are preparations for history.
2. Different sorts; commentaries, registers.
3. They are naturally imperfect.

Antiquities.

1. They are the remnant of history.

   They are as planks saved from the deluge of time.
2. Epitomes should be abolished.

   They are as the moths of history that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories.

Perfect History.

Division and their relative merits.....189
1. Chronicles.
2. Biography.
3. Relations.

Biography.

1. It is the most useful of all history.
2. It is to be lamented that biography is not more frequent..... 190

   One of the poets feigned that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears; and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals, and carried them to the river of Lethe; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river; only there were a few swans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple where it was consecrated.
3. Impropriety of disregarding posthumous fame 190

Chronicles.

1. Chronicles excel for celebrity..... 189
2. The heathen antiquities are deficient 189
3. Bacon recommends a history of England from the union of the roses to the union of the kingdoms..... 190

Relations.

1. They excel in verity and sincerity 189
2. It is to be lamented that there is not more diligence in relations..... 190

   The collection of such relations might be as a nursery garden, whereby to plant a fair and stately garden, when time should serve.
3. Annals and journals.

[1] The arrangement of this part is altered in the Treatise *De Augmentis*.

[2] See note (O) at the end of this Treatise.

Mixed History..... 191

1. A mixture of selected pieces of history.
2. Cosmography.

Ecclesiastical History.....191

1. It has a common division analogous to the division of common civil history.
    1. Ecclesiastical chronicles.
    2. Lives of the fathers.
    3. Relations of synods.
2. Proper division 191
    1. History of the church.
    2. History of prophecy.
    3. History of providence.

History of the Church.

1. It describes the state of the church in persecution, in remove, and in peace.
    The ark in the deluge: the ark in the wilderness: and the ark in the temple.
2. It is more wanting in sincerity than in quantity.

History of Prophecy.

1. It is the history of the prophecy and of the accomplishment.
2. Every prophecy should be sorted with the event.
3. It is deficient.

History of Providence.

1. It is the history of the correspondence between God's revealed will and his secret will.
2. It is not deficient.

Appendices to History.

1. Different sorts.
    1. Orations.
    2. Epistles.
    3. Apophthegms.
2. Relative advantages of orations, epistles, and apophthegms.
3. They are not deficient.

Poesy..... 192

1. Division.
    1. As it refers to *words*.
    2. As it refers to *matter*.
2. Poetry as it refers to words is but a character of style, and is not pertinent to this place.
3. Poetry as it refers to the *matter*.
    1. It is fiction, and relates to the imagination.
    2. It is in *words* restrained: in *matter* unlicensed.

    The imagination not being tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things.

    Pictoribus atque poetis,
    Quidlibet audendi, semper fuit æqua potestas.

4. Its use is to satisfy the mind in these points where nature does not satisfy it.

    It was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind into the nature of things.[1]

    Poesy joined with music hath had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where other learning stood excluded.

[1] Sir Philip Sidney says, poesy, the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge, lifts the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying its own divine essence.

5. Division of poesy.
    1. Common—the same as in history.
    2. Proper division.
        1. Narrative or heroical.
        2. Representative or dramatical.
        3. Allusive or parabolical.

Narrative Poesy.

Parabolical Poesy.

1. It was never common in ancient times.
2. Its uses.
    1. To elucidate truths.
    2. To conceal truths.[2]
    3. Of the interpretation of mysteries, parabolical poesy.

    In poesy there is no deficience; for, being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind: but to ascribe unto it that which is due, for the expressing of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs, we are beholding to poets more than to the philosopher's works; and for wit and eloquence, not much less than to orators' harangues. But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre. Let us now pass on to the judicial place or palace of the mind, which we are to approach and view with more reverence and attention.

Philosophy... 193

1. Division.
    1. From the light of nature.
        1. *Divine*, or natural religion.
        2. *Natural*, the knowledge of nature.
        3. *Human*, the knowledge of man.
    2. From divine inspiration or revealed religion.

PRIMITIVE OR GENERAL PHILOSOPHY.

It is a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common and of a higher stage.

Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord, or sweet accord, alike true in affection? Is not the trope of music, to avoid or slide from the close or cadence, common with the trope of rhetoric of deceiving expectation? Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music the same with the playing of light upon the water?

"*Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.*"

Because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of "Philosophia Prima," primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves.

This science is as a common parent, like unto Berecynthia, which had so much heavenly issue.

"*Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.*"

[2] This is much expanded in the Treatise De Augmentis.

NATURAL RELIGION 194
1. It is
That knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of his creatures.
2. The proper limits of this knowledge are that it sufficeth to convince atheism..... 194
3. It is not safe from contemplations of nature to judge upon questions of faith 195
Men and gods were not able to draw Jupiter down to the earth; but contrariwise, Jupiter was able to draw them up to heaven.
4. This is not deficient, but not restrained within proper limits.
5. Of angels.
It is no more unlawful to inquire the nature of evil spirits, than to inquire the force of poisons in nature, or the nature of sin and vice in morality.
6. Inquiries respecting angels are not deficient.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. Division.
1. Speculative *or inquisition of causes.*
2. Operative *or production of effects* 195
If then, it be true that Democritus said, "That the truth of nature lieth hid in certain deep mines and caves:" and if it be true likewise that the alchymists do so much inculcate, that Vulcan is a second nature, and imitateth that dexterously and compendiously, which nature worketh by ambages and length of time, it were good to divide natural philosophy into the mine and the furnace; and to make two professions or occupations of natural philosophers, some to be pioneers and some smiths; some to dig, and some to refine and hammer.
2. Connection between cause and effect 195

SPECULATIVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. Division.
1. Physic.
2. Metaphysic.
2. Of the impropriety of using new words for new ideas.
3. Of the meaning of the words physic and metaphysic..... 196

PHYSIC.

1. Physic contemplates the efficient cause what is inherent in matter and transitory..... 196
2. Physic is situate between natural history and metaphysic..... 196
3. Division of physic.
1. As it respects nature *united*..... 196
1. The doctrine of the contexture or configuration of things.
2. The doctrine concerning the principles of things.
2. As it respects nature *diffused.*
4. It is not deficient[1]..... 196

METAPHYSIC.

Formal Causes.

It inquires into *formal* and *final* causes..... 196
1. Inquiry whether forms are discoverable.
1. Their discovery is of the utmost importance.
They are ill discoverers that think there is no land, when they can see nothing but sea.
2. Plato discovered that *forms* were the true objects of knowledge.
Plato beheld all things as from a cliff.
2. By keeping a watchful and severe eye upon action and use, *forms* may be discovered 197
3. The forms of nature in her more simple existence are first to be determined..... 197
4. Physic makes inquiry of the same natures as metaphysic, but only as to efficient causes. 197
5. This part of metaphysic is defective.
6. The use of this part of metaphysic.
1. To abridge the infinity of individual experience.
That knowledge is worthiest, which is charged with least multiplicity; which appeareth to be Metaphysic; as that which considereth the simple forms or differences of things, which are few in number, and the degrees and co-ordinations whereof make all this variety.
2. To enfranchise the power of man by facilitating the production of effects.

Of Final Causes..... 198
1. The inquiry of final causes is not deficient, but has been misplaced.
1. The investigating *final causes* in *physics* has intercepted the true inquiry of real physical causes.
To say that the hairs of the eyelids are for a quickset and fence about the sight; or that the firmness of the skins and hides of living creatures is to defend them from the extremities of heat or cold; or that the bones are for the columns or beams, whereupon the frames of the bodies of living creatures are built; or that the leaves of trees are for protecting of the fruit; or that the clouds are for the watering of the earth; or that the solidness of the earth is for the station and mansion of living creatures, and the like, is well inquired and collected in Metaphysic; but in Physic they are impertinent. Nay, they are indeed but remoras and hinderances to stay and slug the ship from further sailing; and have brought this to pass, that the search of the physical causes hath been neglected, and passed in silence.
2. Of the errors in ancient philosophy from mixing *formal* and *final* causes.. 198
Not because those final causes are not true, and worthy to be inquired, being kept within their own province; but because their excursions into the limits of physical causes hath bred a vastness and solitude in that track.
2. There is no repugnance between *formal* and *final* causes..... 198
3. These opinions confirm divine providence.

Mathematic..... 198
1. Reason for classing it as a part of metaphysic.
2. From the nature of the mind to wander in generalities, mathematics have more laboured than any other form.
3. There is no difference in mathematics..... 198
4. Division of mathematics: 1st, pure; 2d, mixed.

Pure Mathematics.

1. It is that science which handles quantity determinate, merely severed from axioms of natural philosophy, and is geometry or arithmetic. 19

[1] In the Treatise De Augmentis there is in this place, a considerable addition.

2. Pure mathematics cure many intellectual defects.

If the wit be too dull, they sharpen it; if too wandering, they fix it; if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye and a body ready to put itself into all postures; so in the mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended.

Mixed Mathematics 199

1. Its subject is some axioms or points of natural philosophy, and considers quantity determined, as auxiliary and incident to them, as *perspective, music, architecture*, &c.
2. They will increase as nature is more disclosed.

OPERATIVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. It is the production of effects.
2. Division.
    1. Experimental.
    2. Philosophical.
    3. Magical.
3. Of the analogy between this division and the division of speculative natural philosophy... 199
4. The knowledge of physical causes will lead to new particulars.

Magical.

1. Natural magic is defective..... 199
2. Appendices hereto are,
    1st. A calendar of inventions.
    2d. A calendar of discoveries which may lead to other inventions..... 199

The invention of the mariner's needle, which giveth the direction, is of no less benefit for navigation than the invention of the sails, which give the motion.

3. Conclusion of natural philosophy, speculative and operative.

The voice of nature will consent, whether the voice of man do or not. And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight: so I like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceably, with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.

Of Doubts..... 200

1. Division of doubts.
    1. Particular.
    2. Total.
2. Particular doubts.
    1. Uses of registering doubts.
    2. Of the evil of continuing doubts.

That use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed, which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful.

Of a Calendar of Popular Errors.

General doubts, or those differences of opinions, touching the principles of nature which have caused the diversities of sects..... 200

Thus have we now dealt with two of the three beams of man's knowledge; that is "Radius directus," which is referred to nature, "Radius refractus," which is referred to God; and cannot report truly because of the inequality of the medium: there resteth "Radius reflexus," whereby man beholdeth and contemplateth himself.

HUMAN PHILOSOPHY, OR THE KNOWLEDGE OF MAN[1]..... 201

1. The knowledge of men deserves more accurate investigation, because it touches us more nearly.
2. The knowledge of man is to man the end of all knowledge: but of nature herself a portion only.

All partitions of knowledge should be accepted rather for lines and veins, than for sections and separations; that the continuance and entireness of knowledge be preserved.

3. Division of human philosophy.
    1. Man as an individual.
    2. Man as a member of society.

MAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL.

1. Division.
    1. The *undivided* state of man.
        1. Discovery.
        2. Impression.
    2. The *divided* state of man.

Discovery.

1. The art of ascertaining the state of the mind from the appearance of the body, as physiognomy, &c.
2. The art of ascertaining the state of the body from the appearance of the mind, as *exposition of dreams*, &c.

Physiognomy... 201

1. The discovery of the mind from the appearance of the body.
2. Aristotle has laboured physiognomy as far as relates to the countenance at rest; but not when in motion.
3. The lineaments of the body disclose the general inclinations of the mind: the motions its present dispositions.

A number of subtle persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability.

Impression.

1. It is the science of the relative action of the body and mind upon each other.
2. Of the action of the body on the mind.
    1. This has been inquired as a part of medicine.
    2. The doctrine that the body acts upon the mind does not derogate from the soul's dignity.

The infant in the mother's womb is compatible with the mother and yet separable, and the most absolute monarch is sometimes led by his servants and yet without subjection.

3. The action of the mind on the body.
    1. Physicians have ever considered "accidentia animi," as of great importance.
    2. The power of imagination as well to help as to hurt is a subject neglected, but deserving inquiry.

It cannot be concluded that because there be pestilent airs, able suddenly to kill a man in

[1] See note (P) at the end of this Treatise.

health, therefore there should be sovereign airs, able suddenly to cure a man in sickness.

3. There should be an inquiry of the seats and domiciles which the several faculties of the mind occupy in the body and the organs thereof.

The divided State of Man..... 202

Division.

1. The body.
2. The mind.

OF THE BODY.

Division.

1. Health.
2. Beauty.
3. Strength.
4. Pleasure.

Health.

1. Man's body is of all things most susceptible of remedy, but this remedy most susceptible of error.
2. No body is so variously compounded as the body of man.
   1. The variety in the composition of man's body is the cause of its being frequently distempered.

   The poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo: because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body and to reduce it to harmony.

   2. The variety in the composition of man's body has made the art of medicine more conjectural; and so given scope to error and imposture.

   The lawyer is judged by the virtue of his pleading, and not by the issue of the cause. The master of the ship is judged by the directing his course aright, and not by the fortune of the voyage. But the physician, and perhaps the politician, hath no particular acts demonstrative of his ability, but is judged most by the event.
3. The quack is often prized before the regular physician.
4. Physicians often prefer other pursuits to their own professions.

   You shall have of them antiquities, poets, humanists, statesmen, merchants, divines, and in every of these better seen than in their profession; and no doubt upon this ground, that they find that mediocrity and excellency in their art maketh no difference in profit or reputation towards their fortune; for the weakness of patients, and sweetness of life, and nature of hope, maketh men depend upon physicians with all their defects.
5. Diseases may be subdued.

   If we will excite and awake our observation, we shall see in familiar instances what a predominant faculty the subtilty of spirit hath over the variety of matter or form.
6. Medicine has been more laboured than advanced.
7. Deficiencies of medicine.
   1. Want of medical reports.
   2. Defective anatomies.
   3. Hasty conclusions that diseases are incurable.

   Sylla and the triumvirs never proscribed so many men to die, as they do by their ignorant edicts.
   4. A neglect to mitigate the pains of death.
   5. A neglect of acknowledged medicines 204
   6. A neglect of artificial mineral baths.
   7. The prescripts in use are too compendious to attain their end.

   It were a strange speech, which, spoken, or spoken oft, should reclaim a man from a vice to which he were by nature subject: it is order, pursuit, sequence, and interchange of application, which is mighty in nature.

Beauty 205

1. Cleanliness was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves.
2. Artificial decoration is neither fine enough to deceive, nor handsome to please, nor wholesome to use.[1]

Strength..... 205

1. It means any ability of body to which the body of man may be brought.
2. Division.
   1. Activity.
      1. Strength.
      2. Swiftness.
   2. Patience.
      1. Hardness against want.
      2. Endurance of pain.
1. General receptacle for acts of great bodily endurance.
2. The philosophy of athletics is not much investigated.
3. The mediocrity of athletics is for use; the excess for ostentation.

Pleasure..... 205

Their chief deficience is in laws to repress them.

It hath been well observed, that the arts which flourish in times while virtue is in growth, are military; and while virtue is in state, are liberal; and while virtue is in declination, are voluptuary.[2]

[1] In the Treatise De Augmentis, this passage is thus altered:

Adulterate decoration by painting and cerusse, is well worthy of the imperfections which attend it; being neither fine enough to deceive, nor handsome to please, nor wholesome to use.

We read of Jezabel that she painted her face: but there is no such report of Esther or Judith.

[2] In Bacon's Essay on Vicissitude of Things, he says,

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise.

Lloyd, in his life of Sir Edward Howard, says, almost in the same words,

In the youth of this state, as of all others, arms did flourish; in the middle state of it, learning; and in the declining (as covetousness and theft attend old age) mechanic arts and merchandise.

Q. 1. Is this observation founded on fact?

Q. 2. Supposing it to be founded on fact; what are the causes?—Does commerce lower the character? Is the service of mammon at variance with the service of God?

Q. 3. Supposing the mechanical arts and merchandise hitherto to have accompanied the decline of states, may they not both be traced to excess of civilization, instead of being supposed to flow from each other?

Q. 4. Supposing the opinion to be founded on fact; will not the evil now be prevented by the art of printing?

The Mind.

1. Division: 1st. As to the origin of the mind. 2d. As to its faculties.

The Origin of the Mind..... 205

1. To this appertains the consideration of the origin of the soul and its faculties.
2. This subject may be more diligently inquired than it hath been in philosophy: but it is referable to divinity.
3. Appendices to this knowledge: 1. Divination. 2. Fascination.

Divination 206

1. Division.
   1. Artificial. { 1. Rational. 2. Superstitious.
   2. Natural. { 1. Native. 2. By Influxion.

Artificial Divination.

2. Artificial is a prediction by argument, concluding upon signs and tokens.
3. Division: 1st. Rational. 2d. Superstitious.
4. Rational artificial divination is when the argument is coupled with a derivation of causes.

   The astronomer hath his predictions, as of conjunctions, aspects, eclipses, and the like. The physician hath his predictions of death, of recovery, of the accidents and issues of diseases. The politician hath his predictions; "O urbem venalem, et cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!" which stayed not long to be performed, in Sylla first, and after in Cæsar.
5. Superstitious artificial divination is when there is a mere casual coincidence of the event and prediction.

   Such as were the heathen observations upon the inspection of sacrifices, the flights of birds, the swarming of bees; and such as was the Chaldean astrology, and the like.
6. Artificial divination is not proper to this place, but should be referred to the sciences to which it appertains.

Natural Divinations.

1. It is a prediction from the internal nature of the soul.
2. Division: 1st. Native. 2d. By influxion.
3. Native divination is grounded on the supposition that the mind, when withdrawn and collected into itself, and not diffused into the organs of the body, hath, from the natural power of its own essence, some prenotion of future things: as in *sleep, ecstacies, propinquity of death*, &c..... 206
4. It is furthered: by abstinence.
5. Divination by influxion is grounded upon the supposition that the mind, as a mirror, takes illumination from the foreknowledge of God and spirits.
6. Divination of influxion[1] is furthered by abstinence.
7. Native divination is accompanied by repose and quiet: divination by influxion is fervent and impatient.

Fascination..... 206

1. It is the power of imagination upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant.
2. Of the erroneous opinions upon fascination.
3. Inquiry how to fortify the imagination.
4. The only defect in this subject is as to not distinguishing its extent.[2]

THE USE AND OBJECT OF THE FACULTIES OF MAN 206

1. Division of this knowledge: 1st. Relating to the understanding. 2d. Relating to the will.
2. The understanding produces *decrees*; the will *actions*.

   This Janus of imagination hath differing faces; for the face towards reason hath the print of truth, but the face towards action hath the print of good; which nevertheless are faces,

   "Qualis decet esse sororum."

   It was well said by Aristotle, "That the mind hath over the body that commandment which the lord hath over a bondman; but that reason hath over the imagination that commandment which a magistrate hath over a free citizen;" who may come also to rule in his turn.
3. Observations upon the imagination.

   Poesy is rather a pleasure or play of imagination, than a work or duty thereof.

Of the Understanding.

1. Knowledge respecting the understanding is to most wits the least delightful; and seems but a net of subtlety and spinosity; but it is the key of all other arts.

   As knowledge is "pabulum animi;" so in the nature of men's appetite to this food, most men are of the taste and stomach of the Israelites in the desert, that would fain have returned "ad ollas carnium."
2. Division..... 207
   1. Invention.
   2. Judgment.
   3. Memory.
   4. Tradition.

Invention..... 207

1. Division.
   1. Of arts and sciences.
   2. Of arguments.
2. The art of inventing arts and sciences is deficient.

   This is such a deficience as if, in the making of an inventory touching the state of a defunct, it should be set down, that there is no ready money. For as money will fetch all other commodities, so this knowledge is that which should purchase all the rest. And like as the West Indies had never been discovered, if the use of the mariner's needle had not been first discovered, though the one be vast regions, and the other a small motion; so it cannot be found strange if sciences be no further discovered, if the art itself of invention and discovery hath been passed over.
3. Proofs that the art of inventing arts and sciences is deficient.
   1. Their logic does not pretend to invent sciences or axioms..... 207

   Men are rather beholden to a wild goat for surgery, or to a nightingale for music, or to the ibis for some part of physic, or to the pot

[1] Query, Whether divination by influxion is not descriptive of the feeling which influences the benevolent and orderly class of society called Quakers?

[2] Here, in the Treatise De Augmentis, is an extensive addition upon Voluntary Motion—Sense and Sensibility—Perception and Sense—The Form of Light.

lid that flew open for artillery, or generally to chance, or any thing else, than to logic, for the invention of arts and sciences.

It was no marvel, the manner of antiquity being to consecrate inventors, that the Egyptians had so few human idols in their temples, but almost all brute.

Who taught the raven in a drought to throw pebbles into a hollow tree, where she espied water, that the water might rise so as she might come to it? Who taught the bee to sail through such a vast sea of air, and to find the way from a field in flower, a great way off, to her hive? Who taught the ant to bite every grain of corn that she burieth in her hill, lest it should take root and grow?

2. The forms of induction which logic propounds is defective 208

To conclude upon an enumeration of particulars, without instance contradictory, is no conclusion, but a conjecture; for who can assure, in many subjects upon those particulars which appear of a side, that there are not other on the contrary side which appear not? As if Samuel should have rested upon those sons of Jesse which were brought before him, and failed of David, who was absent in the field.

3. Allowing some axioms to be rightly induced, middle propositions cannot be inferred from them in subject of nature by syllogism.

Here was their chief error; they charged the deceit upon the senses; which in my judgment, notwithstanding all their cavillations, are very sufficient to certify and report truth, though not always immediately, yet by comparison, by help of instrument, and by producing and urging such things as are too subtile for the sense, to some effect comprehensible by the sense, and other like assistance. But they ought to have charged the deceit upon the weakness of the intellectual powers, and upon the manner of collecting and concluding upon the reports of the senses.

4. Bacon's intention to propound the art of inventing arts and sciences by two modes: 1st. *Experientia literata.* 2d. *Interpretatio naturæ.*[1]

INVENTION OF SPEECH OR ARGUMENT .. 209

1. It is more properly memory with application than invention.

We do account it a chase, as well of deer in an enclosed park as in a forest at large.

2. Modes of producing this recollection: 1st. Preparation. 2d. Suggestion.

Preparation.

1. It is the storing arguments on such things as are frequently discussed.
2. It consists chiefly of diligence.

Aristotle, said the sophists, "did as if one that professed the art of shoemaking should not teach how to make a shoe, but only exhibit, in a readiness, a number of shoes of all fashions and sizes." But yet a man might reply, that if a shoemaker should have no shoes in his shop, but only work as he is bespoken, he should be weakly customed.

Our Saviour, speaking of divine knowledge, saith, that the kingdom of heaven is like a good householder, that bringeth forth both new and old store.

3. This subject is more fully investigated under the head of rhetoric.

Suggestion 209

1. It directs the mind to certain marks, as a mode of exciting it to the production of acquired knowledge.
2. Different sorts of topics: 1. General. 2. Particular.

General Suggestion.

1. Its uses are to furnish arguments to dispute probably: to minister to our judgments: to conclude right, and to direct our inquiries.

A faculty of wise interrogating is half a knowledge. For as Plato saith, "Whosoever seeketh, knoweth that which he seeketh for in a general notion; else how shall he know it when he hath found it?"

Particular Suggestion.

1. It is a direction of invention in every particular knowledge.
2. Ars inveniendi adolescit cum inventis.

In going of a way, we do not only gain that part of the way which is passed, but we gain the better sight of that part of the way which remaineth.

Judgment 210

1. It relates to the nature of proofs and demonstrations.
2. Different modes of judging: 1. By induction, which is referred to the Novum Organum. 2. By syllogism.

Of Syllogism.

1. Syllogisms are agreeable to the mind, and have been much laboured.

The nature of man doth extremely covet to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and immoveable, and as a rest and support of the mind. And therefore as Aristotle endeavoureth to prove, that in all motion there is some point quiescent; and as he elegantly expoundeth the ancient fable of Atlas, that stood fixed, and bare up the heaven from falling, to be meant of the poles or axle-tree of heaven, whereupon the conversion is accomplished; so assuredly men have a desire to have an Atlas or axle-tree within, to keep them from fluctuation.

2. The art of judging by syllogism is the reduction of propositions to principles by an agreed middle term.
3. Syllogisms are direct, or ex absurdo.
4. Division of the art of judgment: 1st. The *analytic* art. 2. The doctrine of *elenches.*

The Analytic Art.

5. It is for direction.
6. It sets down the true form of arguments, from which any deviation leads to error.

The Doctrine of Elenches 210

7. It is for caution to detect fallacies.

In the more gross sorts of fallacies it happeneth, as Seneca maketh the comparison well, as in juggling feats, which though we know

[1] The Experientia Literata is contained in the Treatise De Augmentis; and his Interpretatio Naturæ constitutes his Novum Organum.

not how they are done, yet we know well it is not as it seemeth to be.

8. Elenches are well laboured by Plato and Aristotle.
9. The virtuous use of this knowledge is to redargue sophisms: the corrupt use for caption and contradiction.

The difference is good which was made between orators and sophisters that the one is as the greyhound, which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare, which hath her advantage in the turn.

10. Elenches extend to divers parts of knowledge.
11. The references touching the common adjuncts of essences is an elench.
12. Seducements that work by the strength of impression are elenches..... 211
13. Elenches of idols.

The mind of man, which I find not observed or inquired at all, and think good to place here, as that which of all others appertaineth most to rectify judgment: the force whereof is such, as it doth not dazzle or snare the understanding in some particulars, but doth more generally and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass, wherein the beams of things should reflect according to their true incidence; nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced.

14. The mind is more affected by affirmatives than negatives.[1]

As was well answered by Diagoras to him that showed him in Neptune's temple the greater number of pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck and had paid their vows to Neptune, saying, "Advise now, you that think it folly to invocate Neptune in tempest:" "Yea, but," said Diagoras, "where are they painted that are drowned?"

15. The mind supposes a greater equality then exists.[2]

The mathematicians cannot satisfy themselves, except they reduce the motions of the celestial bodies to perfect circles, rejecting spiral lines, and labouring to be discharged of eccentrics.

16 The mind is prejudiced by the false appearances imposed by every man's own individual nature and custom[3]..... 211

If a child were continued in a grot or cave under the earth until maturity of age, and came suddenly abroad, he would have strange and absurd imaginations. So in like manner, although our persons live in the view of heaven, yet our spirits are included in the caves of our own complexions and customs, which minister unto us infinite errors and vain opinions, if they be not recalled to examination.

17. The mind is misled by words.[4]
18. The cautions against these idols are defective. 211
19. The application of the different kinds of proofs to different subjects.
20. Different kinds of demonstrations.
    1. Immediate consent.
    2. Induction.
    3. Sophism.
    4. Congruity

The rigour and curiosity in requiring the more severe proofs in some things, and chiefly the facility in contenting ourselves with the more remiss proofs in others, hath been amongst the greatest causes of detriment and hinderance to knowledge.

21. This is deficient.

MEMORY[5]..... 212

Retaining knowledge is by writing or memory.

Writing.

The nature of the character is referred to grammar.
The disposition of our knowledge depends upon common-places.
Of common-places injuring the memory.

Because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of common-places, to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth "copia" of invention, and contracteth judgment to a strength.

The mode of common-placing is defective.

Memory..... 212

It is weakly inquired.
Precepts for memory have been exalted for ostentation, not for use.

I make no more estimate of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing, or the pouring forth of a number of verses or rhymes ex tempore, or the making of a satirical simile of every thing, or the turning of every thing to a jest, or the falsifying or contradicting of every thing by cavil, or the like, (whereof in the faculties of the mind there is great "copia," and such as by device and practice may be exalted to an extreme degree of wonder,) than I do of the tricks of tumblers, funambuloes, baladines; the one being the same in the mind that the other is in the body, matters of strangeness without worthiness.

Art of memory is built upon prenotion and emblem.
Prenotion is a limitation of an indefinite seeking by directing us to seek in a narrow compass.
Emblem reduces conceits intellectual to images sensible. (symbol) (image)

TRADITION..... 212

It is the transferring our knowledge to others.
Division of the subject.
1. The organ of speech.
2. The method of speech.
3. The ornament of speech

THE ORGAN OF SPEECH.

Whatever is capable of sufficient differences and perception by the sense is competent to express thought.

Different Signs of Thought.

1. Having similitude with the notion.
    1. Hieroglyphics.
    2. Gestures.
2. Not having similitude or words.

The antiquity of hieroglyphics.
Gestures are as transitory hieroglyphics.

See note (U) at the end of this Treatise.

[1] See note (Q) at the end of this Treatise.
[2] See note (R) at the end of this Treatise.
[3] See note (S) at the end of this Treatise.
[4] See note (T) at the end of this Treatise.

Periander, being consulted with how to preserve a tyranny newly usurped, bid the messenger attend and report what he saw him do; and went into his garden and topped all the highest flowers.

Hypotheses respecting the origin of words..... 213

Of Grammar.

Man still striveth to reintegrate himself in those benedictions, from which by his fault he hath been deprived; and as he hath striven against the first general curse by the invention of all other arts, so hath he sought to come forth of the second general curse, which was the confusion of tongues, by the art of grammar: whereof the use in a mother tongue is small, in a foreign tongue more; but most in such foreign tongues as have ceased to be vulgar tongues, and are turned only to learned tongues.

The accidents of words, as *measure, sound,* &c. is an appendix to grammar.

There are various sorts of ciphers.

As there be many of great account in their countries and provinces, which, when they come up to the seat of the estate, are but of mean rank and scarcely regarded; so these arts, being here placed with the principal and supreme sciences, seem petty things; yet to such as have chosen them to spend their labours and studies in them, they seem great matters.

THE METHOD OF SPEECH.

It is deficient.

Impatience of method.

Different sorts of methods.

The use of grammar is small in mother tongues—is greater in foreign living tongues; but greatest in dead languages..... 213

Duties of grammar are two.

1. Popular.
2. Philosophical.

Popular grammar is for the learning and speaking languages.

Philosophical grammar examines the power of words as they are the footsteps of reason..... 213

First Method. Magistral which teaches, or initiative which insinuates..... 214

He that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined; and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant inquiry; and so rather not to doubt, than not to err.

Knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented; and so is it possible of knowledge induced.

It is in knowledge as it is in plants; if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips: so the delivery of knowledges, as it is now used, is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But if you will have sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots.

Second Method. A concealed or revealed style. 214

Third Method. Method or aphorisms.

1. Delivery by aphorisms is a test of the knowledge of the writer.
2. Methodical delivery is better to procure consent than to generate action.
3. Aphorisms invite to augment knowledge.

Fourth Method. Delivery by *assertions with their proofs* or *interrogations.*

4. Delivery by interrogations should be used only to remove stray prejudices.

If it be immoderately followed, is as prejudicial to the proceeding of learning, as it is to the proceeding of an army to go about to besiege every little fort or hold. For if the field be kept, and the sum of the enterprise pursued, those smaller things will come in of themselves.

Fifth Method. Accommodation of delivery according to the matter which is to be treated.

Sixth Method. Delivery according to the anticipation in the minds of the hearers.

1. Those whose conceits are seated in popular opinions need only to dispute or to prove.
2. Those whose conceits are beyond popular opinions have a double labour. 1st. That they may be conceited. 2d. That they may prove.
3. Science not consonant to presuppositions must bring in aid similitudes.

Method considers the disposition of the work, and the limitation of propositions..... 215

It belongeth to architecture to consider not only the whole frame of a work, but the several beams and columns.

Observations upon the limits of propositions.

Of the method of imposture.

A mass of words of all arts, to give men countenance, that those which use the terms might be thought to understand the art; which collections are much like a fripper's or broker's shop, that hath ends of every thing but nothing of worth.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF SPEECH..... 215

1. Eloquence is in reality inferior to wisdom; but in popular opinions superior to it.

It is said by God to Moses, when he disabled himself for want of this faculty, Aaron shall be thy speaker, and thou shalt be to him as God.

2. The deficiences in eloquence are rather in some collections than in the art itself.
3. The office of rhetoric is to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will.
4. The disturbers of reason are fallacies of arguments: assiduity of impression, and violence of passion.
5. The counteractors of these disturbers are logic, morality and rhetoric.
6. Speech is more conversant in adorning what is good than in colouring evil.

"Virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection;" so seeing that she cannot be showed to the sense by corporal shape, the next degree is to show her to the imagination in lively representation.

7. The affections not being pliant to reason, rhetoric is necessary.
8. Difference between logic and rhetoric.

9. Deficiences of rhetoric 216
1. Want of a collection of the popular signs of good and evil; of the defects of Aristotle's collection.
2. Want of a collection of commonplaces. 217
10. Appendices to the art of delivery.
1. The art critical.
2. The art of instruction.

The Art Critical..... 217

Rules of criticism.

The Art of Instruction..... 217

1. It contains that difference of tradition which is proper for youth.
2. Different considerations.
1. The timing and seasoning of knowledges.
2. The judicious selection of difficulties and of easy studies.

It is one method to practise swimming with bladders, and another to practise dancing with heavy shoes.

3. The application of learning according to the mind to be instructed.

There is no defect in the faculties intellectual, but seemeth to have a proper cure contained in some studies: as, for example, if a child be bird-witted, that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the mathematics giveth a remedy thereunto; for in them, if the wit be caught away but a moment, one is to begin anew.

4. The continuance and intermission of exercises 218

As the wronging or cherishing of seeds or young plants is that that is most important to their thriving: so the culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a forcible, though unseen, operation, as hardly any length of time or contention of labour can countervail it afterwards.

OF THE WILL 218

1. Writers on this subject have described virtues without pointing out the mode of attaining them.

Those which have written seem to me to have done as if a man, that professeth to teach to write, did only exhibit fair copies of alphabets and letters joined, without giving any precepts or directions for the carriage of the hand and framing of the letters.

These Georgics of the mind, concerning the husbandry and tillage thereof, are no less worthy than the heroical descriptions of virtue, duty, and felicity.

2. Division of moral philosophy 219
1. The image of good.
2. The culture of the mind.

THE IMAGE OF GOOD.

1. Describes the nature of good.
2. Division.
1. The kinds of good.
2. The degrees of good.
3 The ancients were defective in not examining the springs of good and evil.
4. Good is: 1. Private. 2. Public.

There is formed in every thing a double nature of good: the one, as every thing is a total or substantive in itself; the other, as it is a part or member of a greater body; whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier, because it tendeth to the conservation of a more general form. Therefore we see the iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone; but yet if it exceed a certain quantity, it forsaketh the affection to the loadstone, and like a good patriot moveth to the earth, which is the region and country of massy bodies.

5. Public is more worthy than private good.

Pompeius Magnus, when being in commission of purveyance for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them, "Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam."

The Degrees of Good.

The questions respecting the supreme good are by Christianity disclosed.

6. An active is to be preferred to contemplative life.

Pythagoras being asked what he was, answered, "That if Hiero were ever at the Olympian games, he knew the manner, that some came to try their fortune for the prizes, and some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer and meet their friends, and some came to look on; and that he was one of them that came to look on." But men must know, that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on.

For contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

7. The ascendency of public good terminates many disputes of the ancient philosophers..... 220
1. It decides the controversies between Zeno and Socrates, and the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, whether felicity consisted in virtue or pleasure, or serenity of mind 220
2. It censures the philosophy of Epictetus, which placed felicity in things within our power.

Gonsalvo said to his soldiers, showing them Naples, and protesting, "He had rather die one foot forwards, than to have his life secured for long by one foot of retreat."

The conscience of good intentions, howsoever succeeding, is a more continual joy to nature, than all the provision which can be made for security and repose.

3. It censures the abuse of philosophy in Epictetus's time, in converting it into an occupation or profession..... 220

This philosophy introduces such a health of mind, as was that of Herodicus in body, who did nothing all his life, but intend his health.

'Sustine,' *and not* 'Abstine,' *was the commendation of Diogenes.*

4. It censures the hasty retiring from business.

The resolution of men truly moral ought to be such as the same Gonsalvo said the honour of a soldier should be, "e tela crassiore," and not so fine as that every thing should catch in it and endanger it.

PRIVATE GOOD..... 221

1. It is: 1st. Active. 2d. Passive.

Active Private Good.

2. Active is preferable to passive private good.

Vita sine proposito languida et vaga est.

3. Active private good has not an identity with the good of society..... 221

Passive Private Good.

4. It is: 1st. Conversative. 2d. Perfective.

Good Perfective..... 221

5. Good perfective is of a higher nature than good conversative.

Man's approach or assumption to divine or angelical nature is the perfection of his form.

6. The imitation of perfection is the tempest of life.[1]

As those which are sick, and find no remedy, do tumble up and down and change place, as if by a remove local they could obtain a remove internal; so is it with men in ambition, when, failing of the means to exalt their nature, they are in a perpetual estuation to exalt their place.

Good Conversative..... 221

7. It consists in the practice of that which is agreeable to our nature.

8. It is the most simple, but lowest good.

9. Good conversative consists in the steadiness and intensity of the enjoyment.

10. Doubts whether felicity results most from the steadiness or intensity.

The sophist saying that Socrates's felicity was the felicity of a block or stone; and Socrates saying that the sophist's felicity was the felicity of one that had the itch, who did nothing but itch and scratch.

As we see, upon the lute or like instrument, a ground, though it be sweet and have show of many changes, yet breaketh not the hand to such strange and hard stops and passages, as a set song or voluntary; much after the same manner was the diversity between a philosophical and a civil life. And therefore men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers; who, if there be a grain, or a cloud, or an ice which may be ground forth without taking too much of the stone, they help it; but if it should lessen and abate the stone too much, they will not meddle with it: so ought men so to procure serenity as they destroy not magnanimity.

PUBLIC GOOD..... 222

1. It is duty, and relates to a mind well framed towards others.

2. Error in confusing this science with politics.

As in architecture the direction of framing the posts, beams, and other parts of building, is not the same with the manner of joining them and erecting the building; and in mechanicals, the direction how to frame an instrument or engine is not the same with the manner of setting it on work and employing it, so the doctrine of conjugation of men in society differeth from that of their conformity thereunto.

3. Duties are: 1st. Common to all men. 2d. Peculiar to professions or particular pursuits..... 222

4. The duties common to all men has been excellently laboured.

5. The duties respecting particular professions have, of necessity, been investigated diffusedly.

6. A knowledge of the impostures of professions is incident to the knowledge of professional duties, and is deficient.

As the fable goeth of the basilisk, that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dieth: so is it with deceits and evil arts; which, if they be first espied, they lose their life; but if they prevent, they endanger.

We are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that write what men do, and not what they ought to do. For it is not possible to join serpentine wisdom with the columbine innocency, except men know exactly all the conditions of the serpent; his baseness and going upon his belly, his volubility and lubricity, his envy and sting, and the rest; that is, all forms and natures of evil: for without this, virtue lieth open and unfenced.

7. To this subject appertains the duties of husband and wife, parent and child, friendship, gratitude, &c.

8. This knowledge concerning duties considers comparative duties.

We see in the proceeding of Lucius Brutus against his own sons, which was so much extolled; yet what was said?

"Infeliz, utcunque ferent ea fata minores."

Men must pursue the things which are just in present, and leave the future to the Divine Providence.

THE CULTURE OF THE MIND..... 223

1. Inquiry must be made not only of the nature of virtue, but how it may be attained.

An exhibition of the nature of good without considering the culture of the mind, seemeth to be no better than a fair image, or statue, which is beautiful to contemplate, but is without life and motion.

2. Morality should be the handmaid of divinity.

3. We ought to cast up our account, what is in our power and what not..... 224

The husbandman cannot command, neither the nature of the earth, nor the seasons of the weather; no more can the physician the constitution of the patient, nor the variety of accidents: so in the culture and cure of the mind of man, two things are without our command; points of nature, and points of fortune; for to the basis of the one, and the conditions of the other, our work is limited and tied.

Of Men's Natures, or Inherent Dispositions.

4. The foundation of the culture of the mind is the knowledge of its nature.

There are minds which are proportioned to great matters, and others to small.

There are minds proportioned to intend many matters, and others to few.

Some minds are proportioned to that which may be despatched at once, or within a short return of time; others to that which begins afar off, and is to be won with length of pursuit.

[1] Q. Is not this the difference between the love of excelling and the love of excellence?

There is a disposition in conversation to soothe and please; and a disposition contrary to contradict and cross.

There is a disposition to take pleasure in the good of another.

5. This subject has been negligently inquired by moralists, with some beauty by astrologers, and by words in relations.

History, poesy, and daily experience are as goodly fields where these observations grow; whereof we make a few posies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary, that receipts might be made of them for the use of life.

6. Natural and accidental impressions should be noted.

The Affections..... 225

7. Inquiry should be made of the affections.

As the ancient politicians in popular states were wont to compare the people to the sea, and the orators to the winds; because, as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it; so the people would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation: so it may be fitly said, that the mind in the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed, if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation.

8. This subject has been investigated by Aristotle, and by the Stoics, and in different scattered works; but the poets and historians are the masters of the passions..... 225

9. Of the opposition of passions to each other.

The Origin of the Mind..... 226

10. Inquiries should be made of custom, exercise, habit, education, friendship, &c.

Of Custom and Habit.

11. Aristotle's error in stating too generally that those things which are natural cannot be changed.

12. Virtues and vices consist in habits.

13. Precepts for the formation of habits.[1]

1. Beware that at the first a task be taken neither too high nor too weak.[2]

2. Practise all things at two seasons; when the mind is best disposed and when it is worst disposed.

By the one you may gain a great step; by the other you may work out the knots and stonds of the mind, and make the middle times the more easy and pleasant.

3. Ever bear toward the contrary extreme of that to which you are inclined.

Like unto the rowing against the stream, or making a wand straight by bending him contrary to his natural crookedness.

4. The mind is brought to anything with more sweetness; if that whereunto we pretend be not first in the intention, but *tanquam aliud agendo.*

14. Of the powers of books and studies upon the mind.

Is not the opinion of Aristotle worthy to be regarded, wherein he saith, "That young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy, because they are not settled from the boiling heat of their affections, nor attempered with time and experience?"

But is it not true also, that much less young men are fit auditors of matters of policy, till they have been thoroughly seasoned in religion and morality; lest their judgments be corrupted, and made apt to think that there are no true differences of things but according to utility and fortune?[3]

15. There should be caution lest moral instruction make men too precise, arrogant, and incompatible..... 227

16. The minds of all men are at some times in a more perfect, and at other times in a more depraved state.

17. The fixation of good times..... 227

18. The obliteration of bad times..... 227

19. The golden rule of life is to choose right ends of life, and agreeing to virtue, and such as may be, in a reasonable sort, within our compass to attain.

As when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh, (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such time as he comes to it;) but, contrariwise, when nature makes a flower or living creature, she formeth rudiments of all the parts at one time: so in obtaining virtue by habit, while a man practiseth temperance, he doth not profit much to fortitude, nor the like; but when he dedicateth and applieth himself to good ends, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends doth commend unto him, he is invested of a precedent disposition to conform himself thereunto.

20. There is a sympathy between the good of the body and of the mind.

As we divided the good of the body into health, beauty, strength, and pleasure; so the good of the mind, inquired in rational and moral knowledges, tendeth to this, to make the mind sound, and without perturbation; beautiful, and graced with decency; and strong and agile for all duties of life.

MAN IN SOCIETY.

1. Reasons why ethics are in some respects more difficult than politics..... 228

1. Morality relates to man segregate: politics to man congregate.

Cato the censor said, "that the Romans were like sheep, for that a man might better drive a flock of them than one of them; for in a flock, if you could get but some few to go right, the rest would follow."

2. The object of morals is internal good; for policy external sufficeth.

3. States are not so suddenly subverted as individuals..... 228

States, as great engines, move slowly, and are not so soon put out of frame: for as in Egypt the seven good years sustained the seven

[1] See Bacon's Essay "Of Nature in Man," and "Of Custom and Education."

[2] Bacon's Essay "Of Nature in Man."

He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great, nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings.

[3] What says the morality of our universities to this opinion?

bad, so governments, for a time well grounded, do bear out errors following.

2. Division of civil knowledge.
   1. Conversation for comfort.
   2. Negotiation for use.
   3. Government for protection.

CONVERSATION..... 228

3. Wisdom of conversation ought not to be too much affected, much less despised.
4. Of behaviour.

The sum of behaviour is to retain a man's own dignity, without intruding upon the liberty of others.

Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and above all, it ought not to be too strait, or restrained for exercise or motion.

5. Evils of too much attention to behaviour.
   1. The danger of affectation.
   2. Waste of time.
   3. Waste of mind, and checking aspirings to higher virtues.
   4. Retarding action.
6. The knowledge of conversation is not deficient. 229

NEGOTIATION 229

1. This knowledge, to the derogation of learning, hath not been collected into writing.

Of the three wisdoms which we have set down to pertain to civil life, for wisdom of behaviour, it is by learned men for the most part despised, as an inferior to virtue, and an enemy to meditation; for wisdom of government, they acquit themselves well when they are called to it, but that happeneth to few; but for the wisdom of business, wherein man's life is most conversant, there be no books of it, except some few scattered advertisements, that have no proportion to the magnitude of this subject.

2. This knowledge is reducible to precept, illustrated by the proverbs of Solomon..... 229
3. Ancient fables and parables contain information upon this subject..... 231
4. The proper form of writing upon this subject is discourse upon history or examples.
5. Of discourses upon history of times, and upon lives, and upon letters..... 231

KNOWLEDGE OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LIFE.. 231

1. Preliminary observations.
   1. This is the wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune.

This is the knowledge "*sibi sapere:*" *sapere* is to move from the centre to the circumference:—*sibi sapere*, from the circumference to the centre.

   2. Many are wise for themselves, yet weak for the public.

Like ants, which are wise creatures for themselves, but very hurtful for the garden.

   3. Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ.

Livy attributeth it to Cato the first, "in hoc viro tanto vis animi et ingenii inerat, ut quocunque loco natus esset, sibi ipse fortunam facturus videretur."

The open declaration of this is impolitic, being taken and used as spurs to industry, and not as stirrups to insolency, rather for resolution than for presumption or outward declaration, have been ever thought sound and good; and are, no question, imprinted in the greatest minds, who are so sensible of this opinion, as they can scarce contain it within.

2. The knowledge of the advancement of life is deficient..... 231
3. The investigation of this subject concerns learning, both in honour and in substance.

Pragmatical men should not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark, that can mount, and sing, and please herself, and nothing else; but may know that she holdeth as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey.

It is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, "that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form;" that is, that there be not any thing in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine.

4. Learning esteems the architecture of fortune as of an inferior work..... 232
5. This doctrine is reducible to science.
6. Precepts respecting this knowledge.
7. The fundamental precept is to acquire knowledge of the particular motives by which those with whom we have to deal are actuated..... 232

Obtain that window which Momus did require: who seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault that there was not a window to look into them.

8. The sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief.
9. General modes of acquiring a knowledge of others..... 233
   1. A general acquaintance with knowing men.
   2. A good mediocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy: indulging rather in freedom of speech.
   3. A watchful and serene habit of observing when acting.
10. Modes by which the knowledge of man is acquired.
    1. By their faces.
    2. By words.
    3. By deeds.
    4. By their natures.
    5. By their ends.
    6. By the relations of others.
11. More trust is to be given to countenances and deeds, than to words..... 232

The Faces.

12. Much reliance cannot be placed upon the face at rest.
13. The face in motion cannot deceive a vigilant observer.

It is animi janua.

Words.

14. They are full of flattery..... 232
15. Modes in which words disclose character.... 232
    1. When sudden.

——— vino tortus et irâ.

    2. From affections.
    3. From counter simulation.

Deeds.

16. They are not to be trusted without a diligent consideration of their magnitude and nature.

Natures and End of Men.

17. This is the surest key to unlock men's minds.
18. The weakest men are best interpreted by their natures; the wisest by their ends.
    It is an error frequent for men to shoot over, and to suppose deeper ends, and more compass-reaches than are.[1]
19. Princes are best interpreted by their natures; private persons by their ends.
20. The variety and predominancy of affections are to be estimated.

Reports of Others.

21. Modes by which our defects and virtues may be estimated from report..... 233

Of the Knowledge of Ourselves..... 233

22. A man ought to make an exact estimate of his merits and defects: accounting these with the most, and those with the least.
    Though men look oft in a glass, yet they do suddenly forget themselves.

Particular Considerations respecting Self-Knowledge.

23. The consonance, or dissonance of his constitution and temper with the times.
    Tiberius was never seen in public. Augustus lived ever in men's eyes.
24. The adaptation of his nature to the different professions and courses of life.
25. The competitors in different professions; that the course may be taken where there is most solitude.
    As Julius Cæsar did, who at first was an orator or pleader; but when he saw the excellency of Cicero, Hortensius, Catulus, and others, for eloquence, and saw there was no man of reputation for the wars but Pompeius, upon whom the state was forced to rely, he forsook his course begun toward a civil and popular greatness, and transferred his designs to a martial greatness.
26. In the choice of friends to consult similar nature.
    As we may see in Cæsar; all whose friends and followers were men active and effectual, but not solemn, or of reputation.
27. Caution is not being misled by examples.
    In which error it seemeth Pompey was, of whom Cicero saith, that he was wont often to say, "Sylla potuit, ego non potero?"

The Art of Revealing a Man's Self.

28. From not properly revealing a man's self, the less able man is often esteemed before the more able.
29. The setting forth virtues, and covering defects is advantageous..... 234
30. Self-setting-forth requires art, lest it turn to arrogance.
31. The causes of the undervaluing merit.
    1. Self-obtrusion.
    2. Waste of ability.
    3. Too sudden elation with applause.

The Art of Covering Defects..... 234

32. The art of covering defects is of as much importance as a dexterous ostentation of virtue.. 234
33. Modes of concealing defects.
    1. Caution.
    2. Colour.
    3. Confidence.
34. A man should not dismantle himself by showing too much dulceness, goodness, and facility of nature, without sparkles of liberty, spirit, and edge.
35. The mind should be pliant and obedient to occasion..... 235
    Nothing is more politic than to make the wheels of our mind concentric and voluble with the wheels of fortune.
36. Precepts for the architect of his own fortune.
    1. He should not engage in too arduous matters..... 235

    Fatis accede deisque.

    2. He should be able to plan and to execute.
    3. He should observe a good mediocrity in the declaring or not declaring himself. 235
    4. He should judge of the proportion or value of things.
    We shall find the logical part, as I may term it, of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part erroneous; that is, they can well judge of consequences, but not of proportions and comparisons, preferring things of show and sense before things of substance and effect.[3]
    5. He should consider the order in which objects should be attained..... 236
        1. The mind should be amended.
        2. Wealth and measure should be attained.[2]
        3. Fame and reputation should be acquired.

    Because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after-game of reputation.[4]

[1] Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The examples of God teaches the lesson truly: "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust:" but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice.—Bacon's Essay on Goodness and Goodness of Nature.

[2] Men run after the satisfaction of their sottish appetites, foolish as fishes pursuing a rotten worm that covers a deadly hook: or like children with great noise pursuing a bubble rising from a walnut shell. B. J. Taylor.

[3] Money brings honour, friends, conquest and realms:
Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap.——
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand:
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.
To whom, thus Jesus patiently replied:
Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gained.
Witness, &c.

Bacon says, "God in the first day of creation made nothing but light, allowing one whole day to that work, without creating any material thing therein: so the experiments of light and not of profit should be first investigated."

[4] There are various sentiments similar to this in Shakspeare. "There is a tide in the affairs of men," &c. So in Antony and Cleopatra.

Who seeks and will not take when once 'tis offered,
Shall never find it more.

The Advancement of Learning was published in 1605. Shakspeare died in 1616. There is a copy of the Advance-

4. Honour should be sought.
6. He must not embrace matters which occupy too much time.

Sed fugit interea: fugit irreparabile tempus.

7. He should imitate nature, which does nothing in vain[1]..... 236
If he cannot make any thing of it for the present, yet to make it as a seed of somewhat in time to come.
8. He should reserve a power to retreat. 237
Following the wisdom in the ancient fable of the two frogs, which consulted when their plash was dry whither they should go; and the one moved to go down into a pit, because it was not likely the water would dry there; but the other answered, "True; but if it do, how shall we get out again?"
9. He should be cautious in his friendships and enmities.
"Et ama tanquam inimicus futurus, et odi tanquam amaturus."
37. Fortunes may be obtained without precept.
They come tumbling into some men's laps; and a number obtain good fortunes by diligence in a plain way, little intermeddling, and keeping themselves from gross errors.
38. Of vicious precepts for self-advancement.... 237
39. The number of bad precepts for advancement in life is greater than good..... 237
It is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest, and surely the fairer way is not much about.
40. In the pursuit of fortune, man ought to set before his eyes the general map of the world... 237
All things are vanity and vexation of spirit. —Being without well-being is a curse; and the greater the being, the greater the curse.
41. The incessant and sabbathless pursuit of fortune leaveth not the tribute which we owe to God of our time.
It is to small purpose to have an erected face towards heaven, and a perpetual grovelling spirit upon earth, eating dust, as doth the serpent.
42. The adopting vicious precepts cannot be tolerated by the intended good ends.
43. Fortune, like a woman, if too much wooed, is the further off..... 238
44. Divinity points upwards to the kingdom of God: philosophy inwards to the goods of the mind.
The human foundation hath somewhat of the sands, as we see in M. Brutus, when he brake forth into that speech,
"Te colui, virtus, ut rem; at tu nomen inane es;"
yet the divine foundation is upon the rock.

WISDOM OF GOVERNMENT..... 238
1. Government is a part of knowledge, secret and retired.
2. In the governors towards the government all things ought to be manifest.
3. Statesmen are the proper persons to write on universal justice..... 238
4. Of universal justice.
There are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams; and like as waters do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountains.
5. Of the wisdom of a law maker..... 238
6. Bacon intends a work in aphorisms upon universal justice.[2]
7. Of the laws of England..... 239
The whole book is not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are tuning their instruments; which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards: so have I been content to tune the instruments of the muses, that they may play that have better hands.
8. Observations upon the prospects of the progress of knowledge.

REVEALED RELIGION..... 239
1. It is the sabbath of all men's labours.
2. The prerogative of God extends to man's reason, and to his will.
3. Sacred theology is grounded upon the oracle of God.
4. The use of reason in matters spiritual is extensive.
The Christain Faith, as in all things so in this, deserveth to be highly magnified; holding and preserving the golden mediocrity in this point between the law of the heathen and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extremes. For the religion of the heathen had no constant belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument; and the religion of Mahomet, on the other side, interdicteth argument altogether: the one having the very face of error, and the other of imposture.
5. Uses of reason in spiritual matters..... 240
1. In the conception of revealed mysteries.
2. In inferences from revelation.
6. A treatise on the limits of reason in spiritual matters is wanting.
This would be an opiate to stay and bridle not only the vanity of curious speculations, wherewith the schools labour, but the fury of controversies, wherewith the church laboureth.
7. Parts of divinity.
1. The matter revealed.
2. The nature of the revelation.. 241

ment of Learning in existence, with Shakspeare's autograph in it. The same sentiment is expressed by Dryden.

Heaven has to all allotted soon or late,
Some lucky revolution of their fate;
Whose motions if we watch and guide with skill,
For human good *depends* on *human* will.
Our fortune rolls as from a smooth descent,
And from the first impression takes the bent;
But if unseized! she glides away like wind,
And leaves repenting folly far behind!

The same sentiment is contained in the Essays. "It is usually said of Fortune that she has locks before, but none behind." "Fortune is like Time, if you do not take him by the forelock; he turns his bald noddle to you;" or at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received; and after the belly, which is hard to clasp.

[1] Events are not in our power; but it always is to make a good use of the very worst. *Minute Philosopher.*

[2] See the Treatise "De Augmentis," where some progress is made in this science, now nobly advanced, and advancing by the labours of Bentham.—(See note V.)

THE NATURE OF THE REVELATION.

1. Its limits.
2. Its sufficiency.
3. Its acquisition.

8. The points fundamental and of perfection ought to be distinguished..... 241

We see Moses when he saw the Israelite and the Egyptian fight, he did not say, Why strive you? but drew his sword and slew the Egyptian: but when he saw the two Israelites fight, he said, You are brethren, why strive you?

The coat of our Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself; but the garment of the church was of divers colours.

The Limits of the Information..... 241

9. Considerations respecting the limits.
   1. The inspiration of individuals.
   2. The inspiration of the church.
   3. The proper use of reason.

The Sufficiency of the Information.... 241

10. Considerations respecting the sufficiency.
    1. Fundamental and perfective points of religion.

    They ought to be piously and wisely distinguished to abate controversy.

    2. The gradations of light for the generation of belief.

The Acquisition of the Information... 241

11. It rests upon the sound interpretation of Scripture.

They are the fountains of the waters of life.

12. Different modes of interpreting Scripture.
    1. Methodical.
    2. Solute or at large.

    This divine water which excelleth so much that of Jacob's well, is drawn forth much in the same kind as natural water useth to be out of wells and fountains; either it is first forced up into a cistern, and from thence fetched and derived for use; or else it is drawn and received in buckets and vessels immediately where it springeth.

13. Methodical mode of interpretation.

    It seems to be more ready, but is more subject to corrupt.

14. Objects of methodical interpretation.
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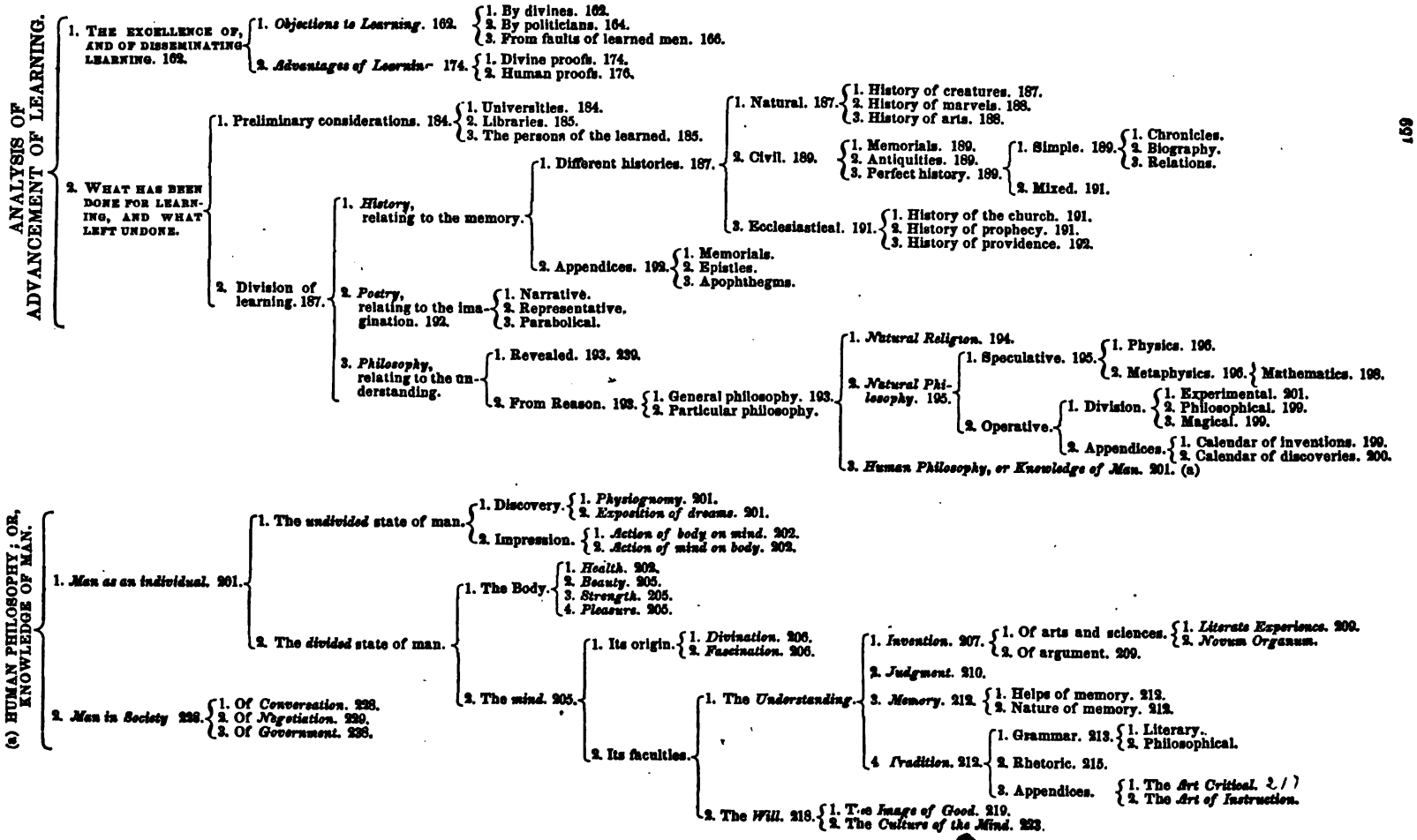
Thus have I made as it were a small Globe of the Intellectual World, as truly and faithfully as I could discover; with a note and description of those parts which seem to me not constantly occupate, or not well converted by the labour of man.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THE FIRST BOOK

OF

FRANCIS BACON

OF THE

PROFICIENCE AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING,

DIVINE AND HUMAN.

TO THE KING.

THERE were, under the law, excellent king, both daily sacrifices, and freewill-offerings; the one proceeding upon ordinary observance, the other upon a devout cheerfulness: in like manner there belongeth to kings from their servants both tribute of duty and presents of affection. In the former of these I hope I shall not live to be wanting, according to my most humble duty, and the good pleasure of your majesty's employments: for the latter I thought it more respective to make choice of some oblation, which might rather refer to the propriety and excellency of your individual person, than to the business of your crown and state.

Wherefore, representing your majesty many times unto my mind, and beholding you not with the inquisitive eye of presumption, to discover that which the Scripture telleth me is inscrutable, but with the observant eye of duty and admiration; leaving aside the other parts of your virtue and fortune, I have been touched, yea, and possessed with an extreme wonder at those your virtues and faculties, which the philosophers call intellectual; the largeness of your capacity, the faithfulness of your memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, and the facility and order of your elocution; and I have often thought, that of all the persons living that I have known, your majesty were the best instance to make a man of Plato's opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance, and that the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but our own native and original motions (which by the strangeness and darkness of this tabernacle of the body are sequestered) again revived and restored: such a light of nature I have observed in your majesty, and such a readiness to take flame and blaze from the least occasion presented, or the least spark of another's knowledge delivered. And as the Scripture saith of the wisest king, "That his heart was as the sands of the sea:" which though it be one of the largest bodies, yet it consisteth of the smallest and finest portions; so hath God given your majesty a composition of understanding admirable, being able to compass and comprehend the greatest matters, and nevertheless to touch and apprehend the least: whereas it should seem an impossibility in nature, for the same instrument to make itself fit for great and small works. And for your gift of speech, I call to mind what Cornelius Tacitus saith of Augustus Cæsar; "Augusto profluens, et quæ principem deceret, eloquentia fuit." For, if we note it well, speech that is uttered with labour and difficulty, or speech that savoureth of the affectation of art and precepts, or speech that is framed after the imitation of some pattern of eloquence, though never so excellent, all this has somewhat servile, and holding of the subject. But your majesty's manner of speech is indeed prince-like, flowing as from a fountain, and yet streaming and branching itself into nature's order, full of facility and felicity, imitating none, and inimitable by any. 'And as in your civil estate there appeareth to be an emulation and contention of your majesty's virtue with your fortune; a virtuous disposition with a fortunate regiment; a virtuous expectation, when time was, of your greater fortune, with a prosperous possession thereof in the due time; a virtuous observation of the laws of marriage, with most blessed and happy fruit of marriage; a virtuous and most Christian desire of peace, with a fortunate inclination in your neighbour princes thereunto: so likewise, in these intellectual matters,

there seemeth to be no less contention between the excellency of your majesty's gifts of nature, and the universality and perfection of your learning. For I am well assured that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been since Christ's time any king or temporal monarch, which has been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human. For let a man seriously and diligently revolve and peruse the succession of the emperors of Rome; of which Cæsar the dictator, who lived some years before Christ, and Marcus Antonius, were the best learned; and so descend to the emperors of Græcia, or of the West; and then to the lines of France, Spain, England, Scotland, and the rest, and he shall find this judgment is truly made. For it seemeth much in a king, if, by the compendious extractions of other men's wits and labours, he can take hold of any superficial ornaments and shows of learning; or if he countenance and prefer learning and learned men: but to drink indeed of the true fountains of learning, nay, to have such a fountain of learning in himself, in a king, and in a king born, is almost a miracle. And the more, because there is met in your majesty a rare conjunction, as well of divine and sacred literature, as of profane and human; so as your majesty standeth invested of that triplicity, which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes; the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher. This propriety, inherent and individual attribute in your majesty, deserveth to be expressed not only in the fame and admiration of the present time, nor in the history or tradition of the ages succeeding; but also in some solid work, fixed memorial, and immortal monument, bearing a character or signature both of the power of a king, and the difference and perfection of such a king.

Therefore I did conclude with myself, that I could not make unto your majesty a better oblation, than of some treatise tending to that end, whereof the sum will consist of these two parts; the former, concerning the excellency of learning and knowledge, and the excellency of the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof: the latter, what the particular acts and works are, which have been embraced and undertaken for the advancement of learning; and again, what defects and undervalues I find in such particular acts: to the end, that though I cannot positively or affirmatively advise your majesty, or propound unto you framed particulars; yet I may excite your princely cogitations to visit the excellent treasure of your own mind, and thence to extract particulars for this purpose, agreeable to your magnanimity and wisdom.

In the entrance to the former of these, to clear the way, and, as it were, to make silence, to have the true testimonies concerning the dignity of learning to be better heard, without the interruption of tacit objections; I think good to deliver it from the discredits and disgraces which it hath received, all from ignorance, but ignorance severally disguised; appearing sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines; sometimes in the severity and arrogancy of politicians; and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves.

I hear the former sort say, that knowledge is of those things which are to be accepted of with great limitation and caution; that the aspiring to overmuch knowledge, was the original temptation and sin, whereupon ensued the fall of man; that knowledge hath in it somewhat of the serpent, and therefore where it entereth into a man it makes him swell; "Scientia inflat:" that Solomon gives a censure, "That there is no end of making books, and that much reading is a weariness of the flesh;" and again in another place, "That in spacious knowledge there is much contristation, and that he that increaseth knowledge increaseth anxiety;" that St. Paul gives a caveat, "That we be not spoiled through vain philosophy;" that experience demonstrates how learned men have been arch-heretics, how learned times have been inclined to atheism, and how the contemplation of second causes doth derogate from our dependence upon God, who is the first cause.

To discover then the ignorance and error of this opinion, and the misunderstanding in the grounds thereof, it may well appear these men do not observe or consider, that it was not the pure knowledge of nature and universality, a knowledge by the light whereof man did give names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according unto their proprieties, which gave the occasion to the fall; but it was the proud knowledge of good and evil, with an intent in man to give law unto himself, and to depend no more upon God's commandments, which was the form of the temptation. Neither is it any quantity of knowledge, how great soever, that can make the mind of man to swell; for nothing can fill, much less extend the soul of man, but God and the contemplation of God; and therefore Solomon speaking of the two principal senses of inquisition, the eye and the ear, affirmeth that the eye is never satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing; and if there be no fulness, then is the continent greater than the content: so of knowledge itself, and the mind of man, whereto the senses are but reporters, he defineth likewise in these words, placed after that calendar or ephemerides, which he maketh of the diversities of times and seasons for all actions and purposes; and concludeth thus: "God hath made all things beautiful, or decent, in the true return of their seasons: Also he hath placed the world in man's

heart, yet cannot man find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end :" declaring, not obscurely, that God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or glass, capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to receive light; and not only delighted in beholding the variety of things, and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern the ordinances and decrees, which throughout all those changes are infallibly observed. And although he doth insinuate, that the supreme or summary law of nature, which he calleth, "The work which God worketh from the beginning to the end, is not possible to be found out by man;" yet that doth not derogate from the capacity of the mind, but may be referred to the impediments, as of shortness of life, ill conjunction of labours, ill tradition of knowledge over from hand to hand, and many other inconveniences, whereunto the condition of man is subject. For that nothing parcel of the world is denied to man's inquiry and invention, he doth in another place rule over, when he saith, "The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets." If then such be the capacity and receipt of the mind of man, it is manifest, that there is no danger at all in the proportion or quantity of knowledge, how large soever, lest it should make it swell or out-compass itself; no, but it is merely the quality of knowledge, which, be it in quantity more or less, if it be taken without the true corrective thereof, hath in it some nature of venom or malignity, and some effects of that venom, which is ventosity or swelling. This corrective spice, the mixture whereof maketh knowledge so sovereign, is charity, which the apostle immediately addeth to the former clause; for so he saith, "knowledge bloweth up, but charity buildeth up;" not unlike unto that which he delivereth in another place: "If I spake," saith he, "with the tongues of men and angels, and had not charity, it were but as a tinkling cymbal;" not but that it is an excellent thing to speak with the tongues of men and angels, but because, if it be severed from charity, and not referred to the good of men and mankind, it hath rather a sounding and unworthy glory, than a meriting and substantial virtue. And as for that censure of Solomon, concerning the excess of writing and reading books, and the anxiety of spirit which redoundeth from knowledge; and that admonition of St. Paul, "That we be not seduced by vain philosophy;" let those places be rightly understood, and they do indeed excellently set forth the true bounds and limitations, whereby human knowledge is confined and circumscribed; and yet without any such contracting or coarctation, but that it may comprehend all the universal nature of things; for these limitations are three: the first, that we not so place our felicity in knowledge, as we forget our mortality. The second, that we make application of our knowledge, to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or repining. The third, that we do not presume by the contemplation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God. For, as touching the first of these, Solomon doth excellently expound himself in another place of the same book, where he saith; "I saw well that knowledge recedeth as far from ignorance as light doth from darkness; and that the wise man's eyes keep watch in his head, whereas the fool roundeth about in darkness: but withal I learned, that the same mortality involveth them both." And for the second, certain it is, there is no vexation or anxiety of mind which resulteth from knowledge, otherwise than merely by accident; for all knowledge, and wonder (which is the seed of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in itself: but when men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their particular, and ministering to themselves thereby weak fears or vast desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of: for then knowledge is no more. "Lumen siccum," whereof Heraclitus the Profound said, "Lumen siccum optima anima;" but it becometh "Lumen madidum, or maceratum," being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections. And as for the third point, it deserveth to be a little stood upon, and not to be lightly passed over: for if any man shall think, by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things, to attain that light, whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy: for the contemplation of God's creatures and works produceth (having regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge; but having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is broken knowledge. And therefore it was most aptly said by one of Plato's school,—"That the sense of man carrieth a resemblance with the sun, which, as we see, openeth and revealeth all the terrestrial globe; but then again it obscureth and concealeth the stars and celestial globe; so doth the sense discover natural things, but it darkeneth and shutteth up divine." And hence it is true, that it hath proceeded, that divers great learned men have been heretical, whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses. And as for the conceit that too much knowledge should incline a man to atheism, and that the ignorance of second causes should make a more devout dependance upon God, which is the first cause; First, it is good to ask the question which Job asked of his friends; "Will you lie for God, as one man will do for another to gratify him?" For certain it is that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes; and if they would have it otherwise believed, it is mere imposture, as it were in favour

towards God; and nothing else but to offer to the Author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie. But farther, it is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of Providence; then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair. To conclude therefore, let no man, upon a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works; divinity or philosophy; but rather let men endeavour an endless progress or proficience in both; only let men beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together.

And as for the disgraces which learning receiveth from politicians, they be of this nature; that learning doth soften men's minds, and makes them more unapt for the honour and exercise of arms; that it doth mar and pervert men's dispositions for matter of government and policy; in making them too curious and irresolute by variety of reading; or too peremptory or positive by strictness of rules and axioms; or too immoderate and overweening by reason of the greatness of examples; or too incompatible and differing from the times by reason of the dissimilitude of examples; or at least, that it doth divert men's travails from action and business, and bringeth them to a love of leisure and privateness; and that it doth bring into states a relaxation of discipline, whilst every man is more ready to argue, than obey and execute. Out of this conceit, Cato, surnamed the Censor, one of the wisest men indeed that ever lived, when Carneades the philosopher came in embassage to Rome, and that the young men of Rome began to flock about him, being allured with the sweetness and majesty of his eloquence and learning, gave counsel in open senate, that they should give him his despatch with all speed, lest he should infect and enchant the minds and affections of the youth, and at unawares bring in an alteration of the manners and customs of the state. Out of the same conceit, or humour, did Virgil, turning his pen to the advantage of his country, and the disadvantage of his own profession, make a kind of separation between policy and government, and between arts and sciences, in the verses so much renowned, attributing and challenging the one to the Romans, and leaving and yielding the other to the Grecians; "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, Hæ tibi erunt artes, &c." So likewise we see that Anytus, the accuser of Socrates, laid it as an article of charge and accusation against him, that he did, with the variety and power of his discourses and disputations, withdraw young men from due reverence to the laws and customs of their country: and that he did profess a dangerous and pernicious science, which was, to make the worse matter seem the better, and to suppress truth by force of eloquence and speech.

But these, and the like imputations, have rather a countenance of gravity, than any ground of justice: for experience doth warrant, that both in persons and in times, there hath been a meeting and concurrence in learning and arms, flourishing and excelling in the same men and the same ages. For, as for men, there cannot be a better, nor the like instance, as of that pair, Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar the dictator; whereof the one was Aristotle's scholar in philosophy, and the other was Cicero's rival in eloquence: or if any man had rather call for scholars that were great generals, than generals that were great scholars, let him take Epaminondas the Theban, or Xenophon the Athenian; whereof the one was the first that abated the power of Sparta, and the other was the first that made way to the overthrow of the monarchy of Persia. And this concurrence is yet more visible in times than in persons, by how much an age is a greater object than a man. For both in Ægypt, Assyria, Persia, Græcia, and Rome, the same times that are most renowned for arms, are likewise most admired for learning; so that the greatest authors and philosophers, and the greatest captains and governors, have lived in the same ages. Neither can it otherwise be: for as, in man, the ripeness of strength of the body and mind cometh much about an age, save that the strength of the body cometh somewhat the more early; so in states, arms, and learning, whereof the one correspondeth to the body, the other to the soul of man, have a concurrence or near sequence in times.

And for matter of policy and government, that learning should rather hurt, than enable thereunto, is a thing very improbable: we see it is accounted an error to commit a natural body to empiric physicians, which commonly have a few pleasing receipts, whereupon they are confident and adventurous, but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexion of patients, nor the peril of accidents, nor the true method of cures: we see it is a like error to rely upon advocates or lawyers, which are only men of practice, and not grounded in their books, who are many times easily surprised, when matter falleth out besides their experience, to the prejudice of the causes

they handle: so, by like reason, it cannot be but a matter of doubtful consequence, if states be managed by empiric statesmen, not well mingled with men grounded in learning. But contrariwise, it is almost without instance contradictory, that ever any government was disastrous that was in the hands of learned governors. For howsoever it hath been ordinary with politic men to extenuate and disable learned men by the names of pedants; yet in the records of time it appeareth, in many particulars, that the governments of princes in minority (notwithstanding the infinite disadvantage of that kind of state) have nevertheless excelled the government of princes of mature age, even for that reason which they seek to traduce, which is, that by that occasion the state hath been in the hands of pedants: for so was the state of Rome for the first five years, which are so much magnified, during the minority of Nero, in the hands of Seneca, a pedant: so it was again for ten years' space or more, during the minority of Gordianus the younger, with great applause and contentation in the hands of Misitheus, a pedant: so it was before that, in the minority of Alexander Severus, in like happiness, in hands not much unlike, by reason of the rule of the women, who were aided by the teachers and preceptors. Nay, let a man look into the government of the bishops of Rome, as by name, into the government of Pius Quintus, and Sextus Quintus, in our times, who were both at their entrance esteemed but as pedantical friars, and he shall find that such popes do greater things, and proceed upon truer principles of estate, than those which have ascended to the papacy from an education and breeding in affairs of estate and courts of princes; for although men bred in learning are perhaps to seek in points of convenience, and accommodating for the present, which the Italians call "ragioni di stato," whereof the same Pius Quintus could not hear spoken with patience, terming them inventions against religion and the moral virtues; but on the other side, to recompence that, they are perfect in those same plain grounds of religion, justice, honour, and moral virtue, which, if they be well and watchfully pursued, there will be seldom use of those other, no more than of physic in a sound or well-dieted body. Neither can the experience of one man's life furnish examples and precedents for the events of one man's life: for, as it happeneth sometimes that the grandchild, or other descendant, resembleth the ancestor more than the son; so many times occurrences of present times may sort better with ancient examples, than with those of the latter or immediate times: and lastly, the wit of one man can no more countervail learning, than one man's means can hold way with a common purse.

And as for those particular seducements, or indispositions of the mind for policy and government, which learning is pretended to insinuate; if it be granted that any such thing be, it must be remembered withal, that learning ministereth in every of them greater strength of medicine or remedy than it offereth cause of indisposition or infirmity: for if by a secret operation, it make men perplexed and irresolute, on the other side, by plain precept, it teacheth them when and upon what ground to resolve; yea, and how to carry things in suspense without prejudice, till they resolve; if it make men positive and regular, it teacheth them what things are in their nature demonstrative, and what are conjectural; and as well the use of distinctions and exceptions, as the latitude of principles and rules. If it mislead by disproportion, or dissimilitude of examples, it teacheth men the force of circumstances, the errors of comparisons, and all the cautions of application; so that in all these it doth rectify more effectually than it can pervert. And these medicines it conveyeth into men's minds much more forcibly by the quickness and penetration of examples. For let a man look into the errors of Clement the Seventh, so livelily described by Guicciardine, who served under him, or into the errors of Cicero, painted out by his own pencil in his epistles to Atticus, and he will fly apace from being irresolute. Let him look into the errors of Phocion, and he will beware how he be obstinate or inflexible. Let him but read the fable of Ixion, and it will hold him from being vaporous or imaginative. Let him look into the errors of Cato the Second, and he will never be one of the antipodes, to tread opposite to the present world.

And for the conceit, that learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness, and make men slothful; it were a strange thing if that which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation should induce slothfulness; whereas contrariwise it may be truly affirmed, that no kind of men love business for itself, but those that are learned; for other persons love it for profit, as an hireling, that loves the work for the wages; or for honour, as because it beareth them up in the eyes of men, and refresheth their reputation, which otherwise would wear; or because it putteth them in mind of their fortune, and giveth them occasion to pleasure and displeasure; or because it exerciseth some faculty wherein they take pride, and so entertaineth them in good humour and pleasing conceits toward themselves; or because it advanceth any other their ends. So that, as it is said of untrue valours, that some men's valours are in the eyes of them that look on; so such men's industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments: only learned men love business, as an action according to nature, as agreeable to health of mind, as exercise is to health of body, taking pleasure in the action itself, and not in the purchase; so that of all men they are the most indefatigable, if it be

towards any business which can hold or detain their mind.

And if any man be laborious in reading and study, and yet idle in business and action, it groweth from some weakness of body or softness of spirit; such as Seneca speaketh of: "Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est;" and not of learning: well may it be, that such a point of a man's nature may make him give himself to learning, but it is not learning that breedeth any such point in his nature.

And that learning should take up too much time or leisure: I answer; the most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business, (except he be either tedious and of no despatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be better done by others;) and then the question is, but how those spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent; whether in pleasures or in studies; as was well answered by Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure, and told him that his orations did smell of the lamp: "Indeed," said Demosthenes, "there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamp-light." So as no man need doubt that learning will expulse business; but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure, which otherwise at unawares may enter, to the prejudice of both.

Again, for that other conceit, that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly a mere depravation and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For to say, that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood; it is to affirm, that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwarting, and mutinous; and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes.

And as to the judgment of Cato the Censor, he was well punished for his blasphemy against learning in the same kind wherein he offended; for when he was past threescore years old, he was taken with an extreme desire to go to school again, and to learn the Greek tongue, to the end to peruse the Greek authors; which doth well demonstrate, that his former censure of the Grecian learning was rather an affected gravity, than according to the inward sense of his own opinion. And as for Virgil's verses, though it pleased him to brave the world in taking to the Romans the art of empire, and leaving to others the arts of subjects; yet so much is manifest, that the Romans never ascended to that height of empire, till the time they had ascended to the height of other arts. For in the time of the two first Cæsars, which had the art of government in greatest perfection, there lived the best poet, Virgilius Maro; the best historiographer, Titus Livius; the best antiquary, Marcus Varro; and the best, or second orator, Marcus Cicero, that to the memory of man are known. As for the accusation of Socrates, the time must be remembered when it was prosecuted; which was under the thirty tyrants, the most base, bloody, and envious persons that have governed; which revolutions of state was no sooner over, but Socrates, whom they had made a person criminal, was made a person heroical, and his memory accumulate with honours divine and human; and those discourses of his, which were then termed corrupting of manners, were afterwards acknowledged for sovereign medicines of the mind and manners, and so have been received ever since till this day. Let this therefore serve for answer to politicians, which in their humorous severity, or in their feigned gravity, have presumed to throw imputations upon learning; which redargution, nevertheless, (save that we know not whether our labours may extend to other ages,) were not needful for the present, in regard of the love and reverence towards learning, which the example and countenance of two so learned princes, Queen Elizabeth, and your majesty, being as Castor and Pollux, "lucida sidera," stars of excellent light and most benign influence, hath wrought in all men of place and authority in our nation.

Now therefore we come to that third sort of discredit or diminution of credit, that groweth unto learning from learned men themselves, which commonly cleaveth fastest: it is either from their fortune; or from their manners; or from the nature of their studies. For the first, it is not in their power; and the second is accidental; the third only is proper to be handled: but because we are not in hand with true measure, but with popular estimation and conceit, it is not amiss to speak somewhat of the two former. The derogations, therefore, which grow to learning from the fortune or condition of learned men, are either in respect of scarcity of means, or in respect of privateness of life, and meanness of employments.

Concerning want, and that it is the case of learned men usually to begin with little, and not to grow rich so fast as other men, by reason they convert not their labours chiefly to lucre and increase: it were good to leave the commonplace in commendation of poverty to some friar to handle, to whom much was attributed by Machiavel in this point; when he said, "That the kingdom of the clergy had been long before at an

end, if the reputation and reverence towards the poverty of friars had not borne out the scandal of the superfluities and excesses of bishops and prelates." So a man might say, that the felicity and delicacy of princes and great persons had long since turned to rudeness and barbarism, if the poverty of learning had not kept up civility and honour of life: but without any such advantages, it is worthy the observation, what a reverend and honoured thing poverty of fortune was, for some ages, in the Roman state, which nevertheless was a state without paradoxes: for we see what Titus Livius saith in his introduction: "Cæterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam tam seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit." We see likewise, after that the state of Rome was not itself, but did degenerate, how that person, that took upon him to be counsellor to Julius Cæsar after his victory, where to begin his restoration of the state, maketh it of all points the most summary to take away the estimation of wealth: "Verum hæc, et omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniæ desinent: si neque magistratus, neque alia vulgo cupiendia, venalia erunt." To conclude this point, as it was truly said, that "rubor est virtutis color," though sometimes it come from vice; so it may be fitly said that "paupertas est virtutis fortuna," though sometimes it may proceed from misgovernment and accident. Surely Solomon hath pronounced it both in censure, "Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons; and in precept; "Buy the truth, and sell it not;" and so of wisdom and knowledge: judging that means were to be spent upon learning, and not learning to be applied to means. And as for the privateness, or obscureness (as it may be in vulgar estimation accounted) of life of contemplative men; it is a theme so common, to extol a private life not taxed with sensuality and sloth, in comparison and to the disadvantage of a civil life, for safety, liberty, pleasure, and dignity, or at least freedom from indignity, as no man handleth it, but handleth it well: such a consonancy it hath to men's conceits in the expressing, and to men's consents in the allowing. This only I will add, that learned men forgotten in states, and not living in the eyes of men, are like the images of Cassius and Brutus in the funeral of Junia: of which not being represented, as many others were, Tacitus saith, "Eo ipso præfulgebant, quod non visebantur."

And for meanness of employment, that which is most traduced to contempt is that the government of youth is commonly allotted to them; which age, because it is the age of least authority, it is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conversant, and which are conversant about youth. But how unjust this traducement is (if you will reduce things from popularity of opinion to measure of reason) may appear in that, we see men are more curious what they put in a new vessel, than into a vessel seasoned; and what mould they lay about a young plant, than about a plant corroborate; so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps. And will you hearken to the Hebrew Rabbins? "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams;" say the youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams. And let it be noted, that howsoever the condition of life of pedants hath been scorned upon theatres, as the ape of tyranny; and that the modern looseness or negligence hath taken no due regard to the choice of schoolmasters and tutors; yet the ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint, that states were too busy with their laws, and too negligent in point of education; which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived of late times by the colleges of the Jesuits; of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, "quo meliores, eo deteriores;" yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said to his enemy Pharnabaus, "Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses." And thus much touching the discredits drawn from the fortunes of learned men.

As touching the manners of learned men, it is a thing personal and individual: and no doubt there be amongst them, as in other professions, of all temperatures: but yet so as it is not without truth, which is said, that "abeunt studia in mores," studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them.

But upon an attentive and indifferent review, I for my part cannot find any disgrace to learning can proceed from the manners of learned men not inherent to them as they are learned; except it be a fault (which was the supposed fault of Demosthenes, Cicero, Cato the Second, Seneca, and many more) that, because the times they read of are commonly better than the times they live in, and the duties taught better than the duties practised, they contend sometimes too far to bring things to perfection, and to reduce the corruption of manners to honesty of precepts, or examples of too great height. And yet hereof they have caveats enough in their own walks. For Solon, when he was asked whether he had given his citizens the best laws, answered wisely, "Yea of such as they would receive:" and Plato, finding that his own heart could not agree with the corrupt manners of his country, refused to bear place or office; saying, "That a man's country was to be used as his parents were, that is, with humble persuasions, and not with contestations." And Cæsar's counsellor put in the same caveat. "Non ad vetera instituta revocans quæ jampridem

corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt:" and Cicero noteth this error directly in Cato the Second, when he writes to his friend Atticus: "Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum reipublicæ; loquitur enim tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli." And the same Cicero doth excuse and expound the philosophers for going too far, and being too exact in their prescripts, when he saith, "Isti ipsi præceptores virtutis et magistri, videnter fines officiorum paulo longius quam natura vellet protulisse ut cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet, consisteremus:" and yet himself might have said, "Monitus sum minor ipse meis:" for it was his own fault, though not in so extreme a degree.

Another fault likewise much of this kind hath been incident to learned men; which is, that they have esteemed the preservation, good, and honour of their countries or masters before their own fortunes or safeties. For so saith Demosthenes unto the Athenians: "If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians: but they be of that nature, as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow." And so Seneca, after he had consecrated that Quinquennium Neronis to the eternal glory of learned governors, held on his honest and loyal course of good and free counsel, after his master grew extremely corrupt in his government. Neither can this point otherwise be; for learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation: so that it is impossible for them to esteem that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment; and therefore are desirous to give their account to God, and so likewise to their masters under God (as kings and the states that they serve) in these words; "Ecce tibi lucrefeci," and not "Ecce mihi lucrefeci;" whereas the corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes; never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune: whereas men that feel the weight of duty, and know the limits of self-love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril; and if they stand in seditions and violent alterations, it is rather the reverence which many times both adverse parts do give to honesty, than any versatile advantage of their own carriage. But for this point of tender sense, and fast obligation of duty which learning doth endue the mind withal, howsoever fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore, needs the less disproof or excusation.

Another fault incident commonly to learned men, which may be more probably defended than truly denied, is, that they fail sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons; which want of exact application ariseth from two causes: the one, because the largeness of their mind can hardly confine itself to dwell in the exquisite observation or examination of the nature and customs of one person: for it is a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man: "Satus magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus." Nevertheless I shall yield, that he that cannot contract the sight of his mind, as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth a great faculty. But there is a second cause, which is no inability, but a rejection upon choice and judgment; for the honest and just bounds of observation, by one person upon another, extend no farther but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution in respect of a man's self: but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him or wind him or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous; which as in friendship it is want of integrity, so towards princes or superiors is want of duty. For the custom of the Levant, which is, that subjects do forbear to gaze or fix their eyes upon princes, is in the outward ceremony barbarous, but the moral is good; for men ought not by cunning and bent observations to pierce and penetrate into the hearts of kings, which the Scripture hath declared to be inscrutable.

There is yet another fault (with which I will conclude this part) which is often noted in learned men, that they do many times fail to observe decency and discretion in their behaviour and carriage, and commit errors in small and ordinary points of action, so as the vulgar sort of capacities do make a judgment of them in greater matters by that which they find wanting in them in smaller. But this consequence doth often deceive men, for which I do refer them over to that which was said by Themistocles, arrogantly and uncivilly being applied to himself out of his own mouth; but, being applied to the general state of this question, pertinently and justly; when being invited to touch a lute, he said, "he could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great state." So, no doubt, many may be well seen in the passages of government and policy, which are to seek in little and punctual occasions. I refer them also to that which Plato said of his master Socrates, whom he compared to the gallipots of apothecaries, which on the outside had apes, and owls, and antiques, but contained within sovereign and precious liquors and confections; acknowledging

that to an external report he was not without superficial levities and deformities, but was inwardly replenished with excellent virtues and powers. And so much touching the point of manners of learned men.

But in the mean time I have no purpose to give allowance to some conditions and courses base and unworthy, wherein divers professors of learning have wronged themselves, and gone too far; such as were those trencher philosophers, which in the later age of the Roman state were usually in the houses of great persons, being little better than solemn parasites; of which kind Lucian maketh a merry description of the philosopher that the great lady took to ride with her in her coach, and would needs have him carry her little dog, which he doing officiously and yet uncomely, the page scoffed, and said, "That he doubted, the philosopher of a Stoic would turn to be a Cynic." But above all the rest, the gross and palpable flattery, whereunto many not unlearned have abased and abused their wits and pens, turning, as Du Bartas saith, Hecuba into Helena, and Faustina into Lucretia, hath most diminished the price and estimation of learning. Neither is the modern dedication of books and writings, as to patrons, to be commended: for that books, such as are worthy the name of books, ought to have no patrons but truth and reason. And the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to entitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for; but these and the like courses may deserve rather reprehension than defence.

Not that I can tax or condemn the morigeration or application of learned men to men in fortune. For the answer was good that Diogenes made to one that asked him in mockery, "How it came to pass that philosophers were the followers of rich men, and not rich men of philosophers?" He answered soberly, and yet sharply, "Because the one sort knew what they had need of, and the other did not." And of the like nature was the answer which Aristippus made, when having a petition to Dionysius, and no ear given to him, he fell down at his feet; whereupon Dionysius stayed, and gave him the hearing, and granted it; and afterward some person, tender on the behalf of philosophy, reproved Aristippus, that he would offer the profession of philosophy such an indignity as for a private suit to fall at a tyrant's feet: but he answered, "It was not his fault, but it was the fault of Dionysius, that had his ears in his feet." Neither was it accounted weakness, but discretion in him that would not dispute his best with Adrianus Cæsar; excusing himself, "That it was reason to yield to him that commanded thirty legions." These and the like applications, and stooping to points of necessity and convenience, cannot be disallowed; for though they may have some outward baseness, yet in a judgment truly made, they are to be accounted submissions to the occasion, and not to the person.

Now I proceed to those errors and vanities which have intervened amongst the studies themselves of the learned, which is that which is principal and proper to the present argument; wherein my purpose is not to make a justification of the errors, but, by a censure and separation of the errors, to make a justification of that which is good and sound, and to deliver that from the aspersion of the other. For we see, that it is the manner of men to scandalize and deprave that which retaineth the state and virtue, by taking advantage upon that which is corrupt and degenerate: as the heathens in the primitive church used to blemish and taint the Christians with the faults and corruptions of heretics. But nevertheless I have no meaning at this time to make any exact animadversion of the errors and impediments in matters of learning, which are more secret and remote from vulgar opinion, but only to speak unto such as do fall under or near unto a popular observation.

There be therefore chiefly three vanities in studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced. For those things we do esteem vain, which are either false or frivolous, those which either have no truth, or no use: and those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or curious; and curiosity is either in matter or words; so that in reason as well as in experience, there fall out to be these three distempers, as I may term them, of learning; the first, fantastical learning; the second, contentious learning; and the last, delicate learning; vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations; and with the last I will begin. Martin Luther, conducted no doubt by a higher Providence, but in discourse of reason, finding what a province he had undertaken against the Bishop of Rome and the degenerate traditions of the church, and finding his own solitude being noways aided by the opinions of his own time, was enforced to awake all antiquity, and to call former times to his succour, to make a party against the present time. So that the ancient authors, both in divinity and in humanity, which had long time slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved. This by consequence did draw on a necessity of a more exquisite travail in the languages original, wherein those authors did write, for the better understanding of those authors, and the better advantage of pressing and applying their words. And thereof grew again a delight in their manner of style and phrase, and an admiration of that kind of writing; which was much furthered and precipitated by the enmity and opposition that the propounders of those primitive, but seeming new

opinions, had against the schoolmen; who were generally of the contrary part, and whose writings were altogether in a differing style and form; taking liberty to coin and frame new terms of art to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech, without regard to the pureness, pleasantness, and, as I may call it, lawfulness of the phrase or word. And again, because the great labour that then was with the people, (of whom the Pharisees were wont to say, "Execrabilis ista turba, quæ non novit legem,") for the winning and persuading of them, there grew of necessity in chief price and request eloquence and variety of discourse, as the fittest and forciblest access into the capacity of the vulgar sort: so that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and "copia" of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator, and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods, and imitation, and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge, and Ascham, with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men, that were studious, unto that delicate and polished kind of learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo; "Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone;" and the echo answered in Greek, Ὄνε, "Asine." Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards "copia" than weight.

Here, therefore, is the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter: whereof though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been, and will be "secundum majus et minus" in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent or limned book: which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter? It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity: for words are but the images of matter; and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

But yet, notwithstanding, it is a thing not hastily to be condemned, to clothe and adorn the obscurity, even of philosophy itself, with sensible and plausible elocution; for hereof we have great examples in Xenophon, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and of Plato also in some degree: and hereof, likewise, there is great use: for surely, to the severe inquisition of truth, and the deep progress into philosophy, it is some hinderance; because it is too early satisfactory to the mind of man, and quencheth the desire of further search, before we come to a just period: but then if a man be to have any use of such knowledge in civil occasions, of conference, counsel, persuasion, discourse, or the like; then shall he find it prepared to his hands in those authors which write in that manner. But the excess of this is so justly contemptible, that as Hercules, when he saw the image of Adonis, Venus's minion, in a temple, said in disdain, "Nil sacri es;" so there is none of Hercules's followers in learning, that is, the more severe and laborious sort of inquirers into truth, but will despise those delicacies and affectations, as indeed capable of no divineness. And thus much of the first disease or distemper of learning.

The second, which followeth, is in nature worse than the former: for as substance of matter is better than beauty of words, so, contrariwise, vain matter is worse than vain words: wherein it seemeth the reprehension of St. Paul was not only proper for those times, but prophetical for the times following; and not only respective to divinity, but extensive to all knowledge: "Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ." For he assigneth two marks and badges of suspected and falsified science: the one, the novelty and strangeness of terms; the other, the strictness of positions, which of necessity doth induce oppositions, and so questions and altercations. Surely, like as many substances in nature, which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms; so it is the property of good and sound knowledge, to putrefy and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and, as I may term them, vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness, and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter, or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen; who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, (but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle their dictator, as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges,) and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning, which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider

worketh his web, then it is endless and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.

This same unprofitable subtilty or curiosity is of two sorts; either in the subject itself that they handle, when it is a fruitless speculation or controversy, whereof there are no small number both in divinity and philosophy, or in the manner or method of handling of a knowledge, which amongst them was this; upon every particular position or assertion to frame objections, and to those objections, solutions; which solutions were for the most part not confutations but distinctions; whereas indeed the strength of all sciences is, as the strength of the old man's faggot, in the band. For the harmony of a science, supporting each part the other, is and ought to be the true and brief confutation and suppression of all the smaller sort of objections. But, on the other side, if you take out every axiom, as the sticks of the faggot, one by one, you may quarrel with them, and bend them and break them at your pleasure: so that, as was said of Seneca, "Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera;" so a man may truly say of the schoolmen, "Quæstionum minutiis, scientiarem frangunt soliditatem." For were it not better for a man in a fair room to set up one great light, or branching candlestick of lights, than to go about with a small watch candle into every corner? And such is their method, that rests not so much upon evidence of truth proved by arguments, authorities, similitudes, examples, as upon particular confutations and solutions of every scruple, cavillation, and objection; breeding for the most part one question as fast as it solveth another; even as in the former resemblance, when you carry the light into one corner, you darken the rest: so that the fable and fiction of Scylla seemeth to be a lively image of this kind of philosophy or knowledge: who was transformed into a comely virgin for the upper parts: but then "Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris:" so the generalities of the schoolmen are for a while good and proportionable; but then, when you descend into their distinctions and decisions, instead of a fruitful womb, for the use and benefit of man's life, they end in monstrous altercations and barking questions. So as it is not possible but this quality of knowledge must fall under popular contempt, the people being apt to contemn truth upon occasion of controversies and altercations, and to think they are all out of their way which never meet: and when they see such digladiation about subtilties, and matters of no use or moment, they easily fall upon that judgment of Dionysius of Syracuse, "Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum."

Notwithstanding, certain it is that if those schoolmen, to their great thirst of truth and unwearied travail of wit, had joined variety and universality of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights, to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge; but as they are, they are great undertakers indeed, and fierce with dark keeping: but as in the inquiry of the divine truth, their pride inclined to leave the oracle of God's word, and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions; so in the inquisition of nature, they ever left the oracle of God's works, and adored the deceiving and deformed images, which the unequal mirror of their own minds, or a few received authors or principles, did represent unto them. And thus much for the second disease of learning.

For the third vice or disease of learning, which concerneth deceit or untruth, it is of all the rest the foulest; as that which doth destroy the essential form of knowledge, which is nothing but a representation of truth: for the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected. This vice therefore brancheth itself into two sorts; delight in deceiving, and aptness to be deceived; imposture and credulity; which, although they appear to be of a diverse nature, the one seeming to proceed of cunning, and the other of simplicity, yet certainly they do for the most part concur: for as the verse noteth,

"Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est;"

an inquisitive man is a prattler; so, upon the like reason, a credulous man is a deceiver: as we see it in fame, that he that will easily believe rumours, will as easily augment rumours, and add somewhat to them of his own: which Tacitus wisely noteth, when he saith, "Fingunt simul creduntque:" so great an affinity hath fiction and belief.

This facility of credit, and accepting or admitting things weakly authorized or warranted, is of two kinds, according to the subject: for it is either a belief of history, or, as the lawyers speak, matter of fact; or else of matter of art and opinion. As to the former, we see the experience and inconvenience of this error in ecclesiastical history; which hath too easily received and registered reports and narrations of miracles wrought by martyrs, hermits, or monks of the desert, and other holy men, and their relics, shrines, chapels, and images: which though they had a passage for a time, by the ignorance of the people, the superstitious simplicity of some, and the politic toleration of others, holding them but as divine poesies; yet after a period of time, when the mist began to clear up, they grew to be esteemed but as old wives' fables, impostures of the clergy, illusions of spirits, and badges of antichrist, to the great scandal and detriment of religion.

So in natural history, we see there hath not been that choice and judgment used as ought to have been; as may appear in the writings of Plinius, Cardanus, Albertus, and divers of the Arabians, being fraught with much fabulous

matter, a great part not only untried; but notoriously untrue, to the great derogation of the credit of natural philosophy with the grave and sober kinds of wits: wherein the wisdom and integrity of Aristotle is worthy to be observed: that, having made so diligent and exquisite a history of living creatures, hath mingled it sparingly with any vain or feigned matter; and yet, on the other side, hath cast all prodigious narrations, which he thought worthy the recording, into one book; excellently discerning that matter of manifest truth, (such, whereupon observation and rule were to be built,) was not to be mingled or weakened with matter of doubtful credit; and yet again, that rarities and reports that seem incredible are not to be suppressed or denied to the memory of men.

And as for the facility of credit which is yielded to arts and opinions, it is likewise of two kinds; either when too much belief is attributed to the arts themselves, or to certain authors in any art. The sciences themselves, which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man than with his reason, are three in number; astrology, natural magic, and alchymy; of which sciences, nevertheless, the ends or pretences are noble. For astrology pretendeth to discover that correspondence or concatenation, which is between the superior globe and the inferior: natural magic pretendeth to call and reduce natural philosophy from variety of speculations to the magnitude of works: and alchymy pretendeth to make separation of all the unlike parts of bodies, which in mixtures of nature are incorporate. But the derivations and prosecutions to these ends, both in the theories and in the practices, are full of error and vanity; which the great professors themselves have sought to veil over and conceal by enigmatical writings, and refering themselves to auricular traditions and such other devices, to save the credit of impostures; and yet surely to alchymy this right is due, that it may be compared to the husbandman whereof Æsop makes the fable; that, when he died, told his sons, that he had left unto them gold buried under ground in his vineyard; and they digged over all the ground, and gold they found none; but by reason of their stirring and digging the mould about the roots of their vines, they had a great vintage the year following; so assuredly the search and stir to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitful inventions and experiments, as well for the disclosing of nature, as for the use of man's life.

And as for the over much credit that hath been given unto authors in sciences, in making them dictators, that their words should stand, and not consuls, to give advice; the damage is infinite that sciences have received thereby, as the principal cause that hath kept them low, at a stay, without growth or advancement. For hence it hath come, that in arts mechanical the first deviser comes shortest, and time addeth and perfecteth: but in sciences the first author goeth farthest, and time leaseth and corrupteth. So, we see, artillery, sailing, printing, and the like, were grossly managed at the first, and by time accommodated and refined: but contrariwise, the philosophies and sciences of Aristotle, Plato, Democritus, Hippocrates, Euclides, Archimedes, of most vigour at the first, and by time degenerate and embased; whereof the reason is no other, but that in the former many wits and industries have contributed in one; and in the latter many wits and industries have been spent about the wit of some one, whom many times they have rather depraved than illustrated. For as water will not ascend higher than the level of the first spring-head from whence it descendeth, so knowledge derived from Aristotle, and exempted from liberty of examination, will not rise again higher than the knowledge of Aristotle. And therefore, although the position be good, "Oportet discentem credere," yet it must be coupled with this, "Oportet edoctum judicare;" for disciples do owe unto their masters only a temporary belief, and a suspension of their own judgment until they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation, or perpetual captivity: and therefore, to conclude this point, I will say no more, but so let great authors have their due, as time, which is the author of authors, be not deprived of his due, which is, further and further to discover truth.

Thus have I gone over these three diseases of learning; besides the which, there are some other rather peccant humours than formed diseases; which nevertheless are not so secret and intrinsic, but that they fall under a popular observation and traducement, and are therefore not to be passed over.

The first of these is the extreme affecting of two extremities; the one antiquity, the other novelty: wherein it seemeth the children of time do take after the nature and malice of the father. For as he devoureth his children, so one of them seeketh to devour and suppress the other; while antiquity envieth there should be new additions, and novelty cannot be content to add, but it must deface: surely, the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, "State super vias antiquas, et videte quænam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea." Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak truly, "Antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi." These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient "ordine retrogrado," by a computation backwards from ourselves.

Another error, induced by the former, is a distrust that any thing should be now to be found

out, which the world should have missed and passed over, so long time; as if the same objection were to be made to time that Lucian maketh to Jupiter and other the heathen gods; of which he wondereth that they begot so many children in old time, and begot none in his time; and asketh whether they were become septuagenary, or whether the law Papia, made against old men's marriages, had restrained them. So it seemeth men doubt lest time is become past children and generation; wherein, contrariwise, we see commonly the levity and inconstancy of men's judgments, which, till a matter be done, wonder that it can be done; and, as soon as it is done, wonder again that it was no sooner done: as we see in the expedition of Alexander into Asia, which at first was prejudged as a vast and impossible enterprise: and yet afterwards it pleaseth Livy to make no more of it than this: "Nil aliud, quàm bene ausus est vana contemnere:" and the same happened to Columbus in the western navigation. But in intellectual matters it is much more common; as may be seen in most of the propositions of Euclid; which, till they be demonstrate, they seem strange to our assent; but being demonstrate, our mind accepteth of them by a kind of relation, (as the lawyers speak,) as if we had known them before.

Another error, that hath also some affinity with the former, is a conceit that of former opinions or sects, after variety and examination, the best hath still prevailed, and suppressed the rest; so as, if a man should begin the labour of a new search, he were but like to light upon somewhat formerly rejected, and by rejection brought into oblivion: as if the multitude, or the wisest, for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound; for the truth is, that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.

Another error, of a diverse nature from all the former, is the over early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into arts and methods; from which time commonly sciences receive small or no augmentation. But as young men, when they knit and shape perfectly, do seldom grow to a further stature: so knowledge, while it is in aphorisms and observations, it is in growth; but when it once is comprehended in exact methods, it may perchance be further polished and illustrated, and accommodated for use and practice; but it increaseth no more in bulk and substance.

Another error which doth succeed that which we last mentioned, is, that after the distribution of particular arts and sciences, men have abandoned universality, or "philosophia prima;" which cannot but cease and stop all progression. For no perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or level, neither is it possible to discover the more remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand but upon the level of the same science, and ascend not to a higher science.

Another error hath proceeded from too great a reverence, and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man: by means whereof, men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature, and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. Upon these intellectualists, which are, notwithstanding, commonly taken for the most sublime and divine philosophers, Heraclitus gave a just censure, saying, "Men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great and common world;" for they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God's works; and contrariwise, by continual meditation and agitation of wit, do urge and as it were invocate their own spirits to divine, and give oracles unto them, whereby they are deservedly deluded.

Another error that hath some connexion with this latter, is, that men have used to infect their meditations, opinions, and doctrines, with some conceits which they have most admired, or some sciences which they have most applied; and given all things else a tincture according to them, utterly untrue and improper. So hath Plato intermingled his philosophy with theology, and Aristotle with logic; and the second school of Plato, Proclus and the rest, with the mathematics. For these were the arts which had a kind of primogeniture with them severally. So have the alchymists made a philosophy out of a few experiments of the furnace; and Gilbertus, our countryman, hath made a philosophy out of the observations of a loadstone. So Cicero, when, reciting the several opinions of the nature of the soul, he found a musician that held the soul was but a harmony, saith pleasantly, "Hic ab arte sua non recessit," &c. But of these conceits Aristotle speaketh seriously and wisely, when he saith, "Qui respiciunt ad pauca, de facili pronuntiant."

Another error is an impatience of doubt, and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action, commonly spoken of by the ancients; the one plain and smooth in the beginning, and in the end impassable; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even: so it is in contemplation; if a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts he shall end in certainties.

Another error is in the manner of the tradition and delivery of knowledge, which is for the most part magistral and peremptory, and not ingenuous and faithful; in a sort as may be soonest believed, and not easiliest examined. It is true, that in

compendious treatises for practice, that form is not to be disallowed: but in the true handling of knowledge, men ought not to fall, either, on the one side, into the vein of Velleius the Epicurean: "Nil tam metuens, quàm ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur:" nor, on the other side, into Socrates' ironical doubting of all things; but to propound things sincerely, with more or less asseveration, as they stand in a man's own judgment proved more or less.

Other errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves, whereunto they bend their endeavours; for whereas the more constant and devoted kind of professors of any science ought to propound to themselves to make some additions to their science, they convert their labours to aspire to certain second prizes: as to be a profound interpreter or commentor, to be a sharp champion or defender, to be a methodical compounder or abridger, and so the patrimony of knowledge cometh to be sometimes improved, but seldom augmented.

But the greatest error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge: for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession: and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a tarrasse for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate. But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action: howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak of use and action, that end before mentioned of the applying of knowledge to lucre and profession; for I am not ignorant how much that diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered;

"Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."

Neither is my meaning, as was spoken of Socrates, to call philosophy down from heaven to converse upon the earth; that is, to leave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge only to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man; so the end ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that knowledge may not be, as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, or as a bond-woman, to acquire and gain to her master's use; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Thus have I described and opened, as by a kind of dissection, those peccant humours, (the principal of them,) which have not only given impediment to the proficience of learning, but have given also occasion to the traducement thereof: wherein if I have been too plain, it must be remembered, "Fidelia vulnera amantis, sed dolosa oscula malignantis." This, I think, I have gained, that I ought to be the better believed in that which I shall say pertaining to commendation; because I have proceeded so freely in that which concerneth censure. And yet I have no purpose to enter into a laudative of learning, or to make a hymn to the muses; (though I am of opinion that it is long since their rites were duly celebrated:) but my intent is, without varnish or amplification, justly to weigh the dignity of knowledge in the balance with other things, to take the true value thereof by testimonies and arguments divine and human.

First, therefore, let us seek the dignity of knowledge in the archetype or first platform, which is in the attributes and acts of God, as far as they are revealed to man, and may be observed with sobriety; wherein we may not seek it by the name of learning; for all learning is knowledge acquired, and all knowledge in God is original: and therefore we must look for it by another name, that of wisdom or sapience, as the Scriptures call it.

It is so then, that in the work of the creation we see a double emanation of virtue from God; the one referring more properly to power, the other to wisdom; the one expressed in making the subsistence of the matter, and the other in disposing the beauty of the form. This being supposed, it is to be observed, that for any thing which appeareth in the history of the creation, the confused mass and matter of heaven and earth was made in a moment; and the order and disposition of that chaos or mass was the work of six days; such a note of difference it pleased God to put upon the works of power, and the works of wisdom; wherewith concurreth, that in the former it is not set down that God said, "Let there be heaven and earth," as it is set down of the works following; but actually, that God made heaven and earth: the one carrying the style of a manufacture, and the other of a law, decree, or counsel

To proceed to that which is next in order from God to spirits. We find, as far as credit is to be given to the celestial hierachy of that supposed Dionysius the senator of Athens, the first place or degree is given to the angels of love, which are termed Seraphim; the second to the angels of light, which are termed Cherubim; and the third, and so following places, to thrones, principalities, and the rest, which are all angels of power and ministry; so as the angels of knowledge and illumination are placed before the angels of office and domination.

To descend from spirits and intellectual forms to sensible and material forms; we read the first form that was created was light, which hath a relation and correspondence in nature and corporal things, to knowledge in spirits and incorporal things.

So in the distribution of days, we see, the day wherein God did rest, and contemplate his own works, was blessed above all the days wherein he did effect and accomplish them.

After the creation was finished, it is set down unto us, that man was placed in the garden to work therein; which work, so appointed to him, could be no other than work of contemplation; that is, when the end of work is but for exercise and experiment, not for necessity; for there being then no reluctation of the creature, nor sweat of the brow, man's employment must of consequence have been matter of delight in the experiment, and not matter of labour for the use. Again, the first acts which man performed in Paradise consisted of the two summary parts of knowledge; the view of creatures, and the imposition of names. As for the knowledge which induced the fall, it was, as was touched before, not the natural knowledge of creatures, but the moral knowledge of good and evil; wherein the supposition was, that God's commandments or prohibitions were not the originals of good and evil, but that they had other beginnings, which man aspired to know; to the end to make a total defection from God, and to depend wholly upon himself.

To pass on: in the first event or occurrence after the fall of man, we see, (as the Scriptures have infinite mysteries, not violating at all the truth of the story or letter,) an image of the two estates, the contemplative state and the active state, figured in the two persons of Abel and Cain, and in the two simplest and most primitive trades of life; that of the shepherd, (who, by reason of his leisure, rest in a place, and living in view of heaven, is a lively image of a contemplative life,) and that of the husbandman: where we see again the favour and election of God went to the shepherd, and not to the tiller of the ground.

So in the age before the flood, the holy records within those few memorials which are there entered and registered, have vouchsafed to mention and honour the name of the inventors and authors of music and works in metal. In the age after the flood, the first great judgment of God upon the ambition of man was the confusion of tongues; whereby the open trade and intercourse of learning and knowledge was chiefly embarred.

To descend to Moses the lawgiver, and God's first pen: he is adorned by the Scriptures with this addition and commendation, that he was "seen in all the learning of the Egyptians;" which nation, we know, was one of the most ancient schools of the world: for so Plato brings in the Egyptian priest saying unto Solon: "You Grecians are ever children; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge." Take a view of the ceremonial law of Moses; you shall find, besides the prefiguration of Christ, the badge of difference of the people of God, the exercise and impression of obedience, and other divine uses and fruits thereof, that some of the most learned rabbins have travelled profitably and profoundly to observe, some of them a natural, some of them a moral sense, or reduction of many of the ceremonies and ordinances. As in the law of the leprosy, where it is said, "If the whiteness have overspread the flesh, the patient may pass abroad for clean; but if there be any whole flesh remaining, he is to be shut up for unclean;" one of them noteth a principle of nature, that putrefaction is more contagious before maturity than after: and another noteth a position of moral philosophy, that men abandoned to vice, do not so much corrupt manners, as those that are half-good and half-evil. So in this and very many other places in that law, there is to be found, besides the theological sense, much aspersion of philosophy.

So likewise in that excellent book of Job, if it be revolved with diligence, it will be found pregnant and swelling with natural philosophy; as for example, cosmography, and the roundness of the world, "Qui extendit aquilonem super vacuum, et appendit terram super nihilum;" wherein the pensileness of the earth, the pole of the north, and the finiteness or convexity of heaven are manifestly touched: so again, matter of astronomy; "Spiritus ejus ornavit cœlos, et obstetricante manu ejus eductus est Coluber tortuosus." And in another place; "Nunquid conjungere valebis micantes stellas Pleiadas, aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare?" Where the fixing of the stars, ever standing at equal distance, is with great elegancy noted. And in another place; "Qui facit Arcturum, et Oriona, et Hyadas, et interiora Austri;" where again he takes knowledge of the depression of the southern pole, calling it the secrets of the south, because the southern stars were in that climate unseen. Matter of generation; "Annon sicut lac mulsisti me, et sicut caseum coagulasti me?" &c. Matter of

minerals; "Habet argentum venarum suarum principia: et auro locus est in quo conflatur, ferrum de terra tollitur, et lapis solutus calore in æs vertitur:" and so forwards in that chapter.

So likewise in the person of Solomon the king, we see the gift or endowment of wisdom and learning, both in Solomon's petition, and in God's assent thereunto, preferred before all other terrene and temporal felicity. By virtue of which grant or donative of God, Solomon became enabled, not only to write those excellent parables, or aphorisms concerning divine and moral philosophy; but also to compile a natural history of all verdure, from the cedar upon the mountain to the moss upon the wall, (which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb,) and also of all things that breathe or move. Nay, the same Solomon the king, although he excelled in the glory of treasure and magnificent buildings, of shipping and navigation, of service and attendance, of fame and renown, and the like, yet he maketh no claim to any of those glories, but only to the glory of inquisition of truth; for so he saith expressly, "The glory of God is to conceal a thing, but the glory of a king is to find it out;" as if, according to the innocent play of children, the Divine Majesty took delight to hide his works, to the end to have them found out; and as if kings could not obtain a greater honour than to be God's playfellows in that game; considering the great commandment of wits and means, whereby nothing needeth to be hidden from them.

Neither did the dispensation of God vary in the times after our Saviour came into the world; for our Saviour himself did first show his power to subdue ignorance, by his conference with the priests and doctors of the law, before he showed his power to subdue nature by his miracles. And the coming of the Holy Spirit was chiefly figured and expressed in the similitude and gift of tongues, which are but "vehicula scientiæ."

So in the election of those instruments, which it pleased God to use for the plantation of the faith, notwithstanding that at the first he did employ persons altogether unlearned, otherwise than by inspiration, more evidently to declare his immediate working, and to abase all human wisdom or knowledge; yet, nevertheless, that counsel of his was no sooner performed, but in the next vicissitude and succession he did send his divine truth into the world, waiting on with other learnings, as with servants or handmaids: for so we see St. Paul, who was the only learned amongst the apostles, had his pen most used in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

So again, we find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the church were excellently read, and studied in all the learning of the heathen; insomuch, that the edict of the Emperor Julianus, whereby it was interdicted unto Christians to be admitted into schools, lectures, or exercises of learning, was esteemed and accounted a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian faith, than were all the sanguinary prosecutions of his predecessors: neither could the emulation and jealousy of Gregory the First of that name, bishop of Rome, ever obtain the opinion of piety or devotion; but contrariwise received the censure of humour, malignity, and pusillanimity, even amongst holy men; in that he designed to obliterate and extinguish the memory of heathen antiquity and authors. But contrariwise, it was the Christian church, which, amidst the inundations of the Scythians on the one side from the north-west, and the Saracens from the east, did preserve, in the sacred lap and bosom thereof, the precious relics even of heathen learning, which otherwise had been extinguished, as if no such thing had ever been.

And we see before our eyes, that in the age of ourselves and our fathers, when it pleased God to call the church of Rome to account for their degenerate manners and ceremonies and sundry doctrines obnoxious, and framed to uphold the same abuses; at one and the same time it was ordained by the Divine Providence, that there should attend withal a renovation, and new spring of all other knowledges: and, on the other side, we see the Jesuits, (who partly in themselves, and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning,) we see, I say, what notable service and reparation they have done to the Roman see.

Wherefore, to conclude this part, let it be observed, that there be two principal duties and services, besides ornament and illustration, which philosophy and human learning do perform to faith and religion. The one, because they are an effectual inducement to the exaltation of the glory of God: For as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider and magnify the great and wonderful works of God; so if we should rest only in the contemplation of the exterior of them, as they first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury unto the majesty of God, as if we should judge or construe of the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out toward the street in his shop. The other, because they minister a singular help and preservative against unbelief and error: for our Saviour saith, "You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God;" laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error; first, the Scriptures, revealing the will of God; and then the creatures expressing his power: whereof the latter is a key unto the former: not only opening our understanding to conceive the true sense of the Scriptures, by the general notions of reason and rules of speech; but chiefly opening our belief, in drawing us into a due meditation of the omni-

potency of God, which is chiefly signed and engraven upon his works. Thus much therefore for divine testimony and evidence concerning the true dignity and value of learning.

VII. As for human proofs, it is so large a field, as, in a discourse of this nature and brevity, it is fit rather to use choice of those things which we shall produce, than to embrace the variety of them. First, therefore, in the degrees of human honour amongst the heathen, it was the highest to obtain to a veneration and adoration as a God. This unto the Christians is as the forbidden fruit. But we speak now separately of human testimony: according to which, that which the Grecians call "apotheosis," and the Latins, "relatio inter divos," was the supreme honour which man could attribute unto man: especially when it was given, not by a formal decree or act of state, as it was used among the Roman emperors, but by an inward assent and belief. Which honour, being so high, had also a degree or middle term: for there were reckoned, above human honours, honours heroical and divine: in the attribution and distribution of which honours, we see, antiquity made this difference: that whereas founders and uniters of states and cities, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, and other eminent persons in civil merit, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demi-gods; such as were Hercules, Theseus, Minos, Romulus, and the like: on the other side, such as were inventors and authors of new arts, endowments, and commodities towards man's life, were ever consecrated amongst the gods themselves: as were Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius, Apollo, and others: and justly; for the merit of the former is confined within the circle of an age or a nation; and is like fruitful showers, which though they be profitable and good, yet serve but for that season, and for a latitude of ground where they fall; but the other is indeed like the benefits of heaven, which are permanent and universal. The former, again, is mixed with strife and perturbation; but the latter hath the true character of divine presence, coming "in aura leni," without noise or agitation.

Neither is certainly that other merit of learning, in repressing the inconveniences which grow from man to man, much inferior to the former, of relieving the necessities which arise from nature; which merit was lively set forth by the ancients in that feigned relation of Orpheus's theatre, where all beasts and birds assembled; and, forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature: wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge; which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or that sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.

But this appeareth more manifestly, when kings themselves, or persons of authority under them or other governors in commonwealths and popular estates, are endued with learning. For although he might be thought partial to his own profession, that said, "Then should people and estates be happy, when either kings were philosophers, or philosophers kings;" yet so much is verified by experience, that under learned princes and governors there have been ever the best times: for howsoever kings may have their imperfections in their passions and customs; yet if they be illuminate by learning, they have those notions of religion, policy, and morality which do preserve them, and refrain them from all ruinous and peremptory errors and excesses; whispering evermore in their ears, when counsellors and servants stand mute and silent. And senators or counsellors likewise, which be learned, do proceed upon more safe and substantial principles than counsellors which are only men of experience; the one sort keeping dangers afar off, whereas the other discover them not till they come near hand, and then trust to the agility of their wit to ward off or avoid them.

Which felicity of times under learned princes, (to keep still the law of brevity, by using the most eminent and selected examples,) doth best appear in the age which passed from the death of Domitian emperor until the reign of Commodus; comprehending a succession of six princes, all learned or singular favourers and advancers of learning, which age, for temporal respects, was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman empire (which then was a model of the world) enjoyed; a matter revealed and prefigured unto Domitian in a dream the night before he was slain; for he thought there was grown behind upon his shoulders a neck and a head of gold; which came accordingly to pass in those golden times which succeeded: of which princes we will make some commemoration; wherein although the matter will be vulgar, and may be thought fitter for a declamation than agreeable to a treatise infolded as this is, yet because it is pertinent to the point in hand, "neque semper arcum tendit Apollo," and to name them only were too naked and cursory, I will not omit it altogether.

The first was Nerva; the excellent temper of whose government is by a glance in Cornelius Tacitus touched to the life: "Postquam divus Nerva res olim insociabiles miscuisset, imperium et libertatem." And in token of his learning, the last act of his short reign, left to memory, was a missive to his adopted son Trajan, proceeding upon some inward discontent at the ingrati

tude of the times, comprehended in a verse of Homer's:

"Telis, Phœbe, tuis lachrymas ulciscere nostras."

Trajan, who succeeded, was for his person not learned: but if we will hearken to the speech of our Saviour, that saith, "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophet's reward," he deserveth to be placed amongst the most learned princes: for there was not a greater admirer of learning, or benefactor of learning: a founder of famous libraries, a perpetual advancer of learned men to office, and a familiar converser with learned professors and preceptors, who were noted to have then most credit in court. On the other side, how much Trajan's virtue and government was admired and renowned, surely no testimony of grave and faithful history doth more livelily set forth, than that legend tale of Gregorius Magnus, Bishop of Rome, who was noted for the extreme envy he bore towards all heathen excellency: and yet he is reported, out of the love and estimation of Trajan's moral virtues, to have made unto God passionate and fervent prayers for the delivery of his soul out of hell; and to have obtained it, with a caveat that he should make no more such petitions. In this prince's time also, the persecutions against the Christians received intermission, upon the certificate of Plinius Secundus, a man of excellent learning and by Trajan advanced.

Adrian, his successor, was the most curious man that lived, and the most universal inquirer; insomuch as it was noted for an error in his mind, that he desired to comprehend all things, and not to reserve himself for the worthiest things; falling into the like humour that was long before noted in Philip of Macedon; who, when he would needs overrule and put down an excellent musician in an argument touching music, was well answered by him again, "God forbid, sir," saith he, "that your fortune should be so bad, as to know these things better than I." It pleased God likewise to use the curiosity of this emperor as an inducement to the peace of his church in those days. For having Christ in veneration, not as a God or Saviour, but as a wonder or novelty; and having his picture in his gallery, matched with Apollonius, with whom, in his vain imagination, he thought he had some conformity; yet it served the turn to allay the bitter hatred of those times against the Christian name, so as the church had peace during his time. And for his government civil, although he did not attain to that of Trajan's in glory of arms, or perfection of justice, yet in deserving of the weal of the subject he did exceed him. For Trajan erected many famous monuments and buildings; insomuch that Constantine the Great in emulation was wont to call him "Parietaria," (wall flower,) because his name was upon so many walls: but his buildings and works were more of glory and triumph than use and necessity. But Adrian spent his whole reign, which was peaceable, in a perambulation or survey of the Roman empire; giving order, and making assignation where he went, for re-edifying of cities, towns, and forts decayed; and for cutting of rivers and streams, and for making bridges and passages, and for policying of cities and commonalties with new ordinances and constitutions, and granting new franchises and incorporations; so that his whole time was a very restoration of all the lapses and decays of former times.

Antoninus Pius, who succeeded him, was a prince excellently learned; and had the patient and subtle wit of a schoolman; insomuch as in common speech, which leaves no virtue untaxed, he was called "cymini sector," (a carver or divider of cumin,) which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had and settled spirit, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes; a fruit no doubt of the exceeding tranquillity and serenity of his mind; which being noways charged or encumbered, either with fears, remorses, or scruples, but having been noted for a man of the purest goodness, without all fiction or affectation, that hath reigned or lived, made his mind continually present and entire. He likewise approached a degree nearer unto Christianity, and became as Agrippa said unto St. Paul, "half a Christian;" holding their religion and law in good opinion, and not only ceasing persecution, but giving way to the advancement of Christians.

There succeeded him the first "divi-fratres," the two adoptive brethren, Lucius Commodus Verus (son to Ælius Verus, who delighted much in the softer kind of learning, and was wont to call the poet Martial his Virgil) and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: whereof the latter, who obscured his colleague and survived him long, was named the philosopher: who as he excelled all the rest in learning, so he excelled them likewise in perfection of all royal virtues; insomuch as Julianus the emperor, in his book entitled "Cæsares," being as a pasquin or satire to deride all his predecessors, feigned that they were all invited to a banquet of the gods, and Silenus the Jester sat at the nether end of the table, and bestowed a scoff on every one as they came in; but when Marcus Philosophus came in, Silenus was gravelled and out of countenance, not knowing where to carp at him; save at the last he gave a glance at his patience towards his wife. And the virtue of this prince, continued with that of his predecessor, made the name of Antoninus so sacred in the world, that though it were extremely dishonoured in Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, who all bore the name, yet when Alexander Severus refused the name, because he was a stranger to the family, the senate with one acclamation said, "Quo modo Augustus, sic et Antoninus." In such

renown and veneration was the name of these two princes in those days, that they would have it as a perpetual addition in all the emperors' styles. In this emperor's times also the church for the most part was in peace; so as in this sequence of six princes we do see the blessed effects of learning in sovereignty, painted forth in the greatest table of the world.

But for a tablet, or picture of smaller volume, (not presuming to speak of your majesty that liveth,) in my judgment the most excellent is that of Queen Elizabeth, your immediate predecessor in this part of Britain; a princess that, if Plutarch were now alive to write lives by parallels, would trouble him, I think, to find for her a parallel amongst women. This lady was endued with learning in her sex singular, and rare even amongst masculine princes; whether we speak of learning, language, or of science, modern, or ancient, divinity or humanity: and unto the very last year of her life she was accustomed to appoint set hours for reading, scarcely any young student in any university more daily, or more duly. As for her government, I assure myself I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regimen. For if there be considered of the one side, the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of justice, the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained, the flourishing state of learning, sortable to so excellent a patroness, the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of crown and subject, the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome: and then, that she was solitary and of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince with felicity in the people.

Neither hath learning and influence an operation only upon civil merit and moral virtue, and the arts or temperature of peace and peaceable government; but likewise it hath no less power and efficacy in enablement towards martial and military virtue and prowess; as may be notably represented in the examples of Alexander the Great, and Cæsar the Dictator, mentioned before, but now in fit place to be resumed; of whose virtues and acts in war there needs no note or recital, having been the wonders of time in that kind: but of their affections towards learning, and perfections in learning, it is pertinent to say somewhat.

Alexander was bred and taught under Aristotle the great philosopher, who dedicated divers of his books of philosophy unto him: he was attended with Callisthenes and divers other learned persons, that followed him in camp, throughout his journeys and conquests. What price and estimation he had learning in doth notably appear in these three particulars: first, in the envy he used to express that he bore towards Achilles, in this, that he had so good a trumpet of his praises as Homer's verses; secondly, in the judgment or solution he gave touching that precious cabinet of Darius, which was found among his jewels; whereof question was made what thing was worthy to be put into it; and he gave his opinion for Homer's works: thirdly, in his letter to Aristotle, after he had set forth his books of nature, wherein he expostulated with him for publishing the secrets or mysteries of philosophy; and gave him to understand that himself esteemed it more to excel other men in learning and knowledge than in power and empire. And what use he had of learning doth appear, or rather shine, in all his speeches and answers, being full of science, and use of science, and that in all variety.

And herein again it may seem a thing scholastical, and somewhat idle, to recite things that every man knoweth; but yet, since the argument I handle leadeth me thereunto, I am glad that men shall perceive I am as willing to flatter, if they will so call it, an Alexander, or a Cæsar, or an Antoninus, that are dead many hundred years since, as any that now liveth: for it is the displaying of the glory of learning in sovereignty that I propound to myself, and not a humour of declaiming in any man's praises. Observe then the speech he used of Diogenes, and see if it tend not to the true state of one of the greatest questions of moral philosophy; whether the enjoying of outward things, or the contemning of them, be the greatest happiness: for when he saw Diogenes so perfectly contented with so little, he said to those that mocked at his condition; "Were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes." But Seneca inverteth it, and saith; "Plus erat, quod hic nollet accipere, quàm quod ille posset dare." (There were more things which Diogenes would have refused, than there were which Alexander could have given.)

Observe again that speech which was usual with him, "That he felt his mortality chiefly in two things, sleep and lust;" and see if it were not a speech extracted out of the depth of natural philosophy, and liker to have come out of the mouth of Aristotle or Democritus, than from Alexander.

See again that speech of humanity and poesy: when upon the bleeding of his wounds, he called unto him one of his flatterers, that was wont to ascribe to him divine honour, and said, "Look, this is very blood; this is not such a liquor as Homer speaketh of, which ran from Venus's hand, when it was pierced by Diomedes."

See likewise his readiness in reprehension of logic, in the speech he used to Cassander, upon a complaint that was made against his father Antipater; for when Alexander happened to say, "Do you think these men would have come from so far to complain, except they had just cause of grief?" And Cassander answered, "Yea, that was the matter, because they thought they should not be disproved." Said Alexander laughing: "See the subtilties of Aristotle, to take a matter both ways, 'pro et contra,'" &c.

But note again how well he could use the same art, which he reprehended, to serve his own humour; when bearing a secret grudge to Callisthenes, because he was against the new ceremony of his adoration, feasting one night where the same Callisthenes was at the table, it was moved by some after supper, for entertainment sake, that Callisthenes, who was an eloquent man, might speak of some theme or purpose, at his own choice: which Callisthenes did; choosing the praise of the Macedonian nation for his discourse, and performing the same with so good manner, as the hearers were much ravished; whereupon Alexander, nothing pleased, said, "It was easy to be eloquent upon so good a subject. But," saith he, "turn your style, and let us hear what you can say against us:" which Callisthenes presently undertook, and did with that sting and life, that Alexander interrupted him, and said, "The goodness of the cause made him eloquent before, and despite made him eloquent then again."

Consider further, for tropes of rhetoric, that excellent use of a metaphor or translation, wherewith he taxed Antipater, who was an imperious and tyrannous governor: for when one of Antipater's friends commended him to Alexander for his moderation, that he did not degenerate, as his other lieutenants did, into the Persian pride in use of purple, but kept the ancient habit of Macedon, of black; "True," saith Alexander, "but Antipater is all purple within." Or that other, when Parmenio came to him in the plain of Arbela, and showed him the innumerable multitude of his enemies, especially as they appeared by the infinite number of lights, as it had been a new firmament of stars, and thereupon advised him to assail them by night: whereupon he answered, "That he would not steal the victory."

For matter of policy, weigh that significant distinction, so much in all ages embraced, that he made between his two friends, Hephæstion and Craterus, when he said, "That the one loved Alexander, and the other loved the king:" describing the principal difference of princes' best servants, that some in affection love their person, and others in duty love their crown.

Weigh also that excellent taxation of an error, ordinary with counsellors of princes, that they counsel their masters according to the model of their own mind and fortune, and not of their masters; when, upon Darius's great offers, Parmenio had said, "Surely I would accept these offers, were I as Alexander;" saith Alexander, "So would I, were I as Parmenio."

Lastly, weigh that quick and acute reply, which he made when he gave so large gifts to his friends and servants, and was asked what he did reserve for himself, and he answered, "Hope:" weigh, I say, whether he had not cast up his account right, because hope must be the portion of all that resolve upon great enterprises. For this was Cæsar's portion when he went first into Gaul, his estate being then utterly overthrown with largesses. And this was likewise the portion of that noble prince, howsoever transported with ambition, Henry, Duke of Guise, of whom it was usually said, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations.

To conclude therefore: as certain critics are used to say hyperbolically, "That if all sciences were lost, they might be found in Virgil;" so certainly this may be said truly, there are the prints and footsteps of learning in those few speeches which are reported of this prince: the admiration of whom, when I consider him not as Alexander the Great, but as Aristotle's scholar, hath carried me too far.

As for Julius Cæsar, the excellency of his learning needeth not be argued from his education, or his company, or his speeches; but in a further degree doth declare itself in his writings and works; whereof some are extant and permanent, and some unfortunately perished. For, first, we see, there is left unto us that excellent history of his own wars, which he entitled only a commentary, wherein all succeeding times have admired the solid weight of matter, and the real passages and lively images of actions and persons, expressed in the greatest propriety of words and perspicuity of narration that ever was; which that it was not the effect of a natural gift, but of learning and precept, is well witnessed by that work of his, entitled, "De Analogia," being a grammatical philosophy, wherein he did labour to make this same "vox ad placitum" to become "vox ad licitum," and to reduce custom of speech to congruity of speech; and took, as it were, the picture of words from the life of reason.

So we receive from him, as a monument both of his power and learning, the then reformed computation of the year; well expressing, that he took it to be as great a glory to himself to observe and know the law of the heavens, as to give law to men upon the earth.

So likewise in that book of his, "Anti-Cato," it may easily appear that he did aspire as well to victory of wit as victory of war; undertaking therein a conflict against the greatest champion with the pen that then lived, Cicero the orator.

So again in his book of "Apophthegms,"

which he collected, we see that he esteemed it more honour to make himself but a pair of tables, to take the wise and pithy words of others, than to have every word of his own to be made an apophthegm or an oracle, as vain princes, by custom of flattery, pretend to do. And yet if I should enumerate divers of his speeches, as I did those of Alexander, they are truly such as Solomon noteth, when he saith, "Verba sapientum tanquam aculei, et tanquam clavi in altum defixi:" whereof, I will only recite three, not so delectable for elegancy, but admirable for vigour and efficacy.

As, first, it is reason he be thought a master of words, that could with one word appease a mutiny in his army, which was thus: The Romans, when their generals did speak to their army, did use the word "Milites;" but when the magistrates spake to the people they did use the word "Quirites." The soldiers were in tumult, and seditiously prayed to be cashiered; not that they so meant, but by expostulations thereof to draw Cæsar to other conditions; wherein he being resolute not to give way, after some silence, he began his speech, "Ego, Quirites:" which did admit them already cashiered; wherewith they were so surprised, crossed, and confused, as they would not suffer him to go on in his speech, but relinquished their demands, and made it their suit to be again called by the name of "Milites."

The second speech was thus: Cæsar did extremely affect the name of king; and some were set on, as he passed by, in popular acclamation to salute him king; whereupon, finding the cry weak and poor, he put it off thus, in a kind of jest, as if they had mistaken his surname; "Non rex sum, sed Cæsar;" a speech, that if it be searched, the life and fulness of it can scarce be expressed: for, first, it was a refusal of the name, but yet not serious: again, it did signify an infinite confidence and magnanimity, as if he presumed Cæsar was the greater title; as by his worthiness it is come to pass till this day; but chiefly it was a speech of great allurement toward his own purpose; as if the state did strive with him but for a name, whereof mean families were vested; for Rex was a surname with the Romans, as well as King is with us.

The last speech which I will mention, was used to Metellus; when Cæsar, after war declared, did possess himself of the city of Rome; at which time entering into the inner treasury to take the money there accumulated, Metellus, being tribune, forbade him; whereto Cæsar said, "That if he did not desist he would lay him dead in the place." And presently taking himself up, he added, "Adolescens, durius est mihi hoc dicere quàm facere." Young man, it is harder for me to speak than to do it. A speech compounded of the greatest terror and greatest clemency that could proceed out of the mouth of man.

But to return, and conclude with him: it is evident, himself knew well his own perfection in learning, and took it upon him; as appeared when, upon occasion some spake what a strange resolution it was in Lucius Sylla to resign his dictature; he scoffing at him, to his own advantage, answered, "That Sylla could not skill of letters, and therefore knew not how to dictate."

And here it were fit to leave this point, touching the concurrence of military virtue and learning, for what example would come with any grace after those two of Alexander and Cæsar? were it not in regard of the rareness of circumstance, that I find in one other particular, as that which did so suddenly pass from extreme scorn to extreme wonder; and it is of Xenophon the philosopher, who went from Socrates's school into Asia, in the expedition of Cyrus the younger, against King Artaxerxes. This Xenophon at that time was very young, and never had seen the wars before; neither had any command in the army, but only followed the war as a voluntary for the love and conversation of Proxenus his friend. He was present when Falinus came in message from the great king to the Grecians, after that Cyrus was slain in the field, and they a handful of men left to themselves in the midst of the king's territories, cut off from their country by many navigable rivers, and many hundred miles. The message imported, that they should deliver up their arms, and submit themselves to the king's mercy. To which message before answer was made, divers of the army conferred familiarly with Falinus: and amongst the rest Xenophon happened to say, "Why, Falinus, we have now but these two things left, our arms and our virtue! and if we yield up our arms, how shall we make use of our virtue?" Whereto Falinus, smiling on him, said, "If I be not deceived, young gentleman, you are an Athenian: and I believe you study philosophy, and it is pretty that you say: but you are much abused, if you think your virtue can withstand the king's power." Here was the scorn; the wonder followed; which was, that this young scholar, or philosopher, after all the captains were murdered in parley by treason, conducted those ten thousand foot, through the heart of all the king's high countries, from Babylon to Græcia in safety, in despite of all the king's forces, to the astonishment of the world, and the encouragement of the Grecians in time succeeding to make invasion upon the kings of Persia: as was after purposed by Jason the Thessalian, attempted by Agesilaus the Spartan, and achieved by Alexander the Macedonian; all upon the ground of the act of that young scholar.

To proceed now from imperial and military virtue to moral and private virtue: first, it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses:

"Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros."

It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds: but indeed the accent had need be upon "fideliter:" for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of any thing, which is the root of all weakness: for all things are admired, either because they are new, or because they are great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation throughly, but will find that printed in his heart, "Nil novi super terram." Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain, and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies, and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, "It seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battle of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of." So certainly, if a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, (the divineness of souls except,) will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where as some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to-and-fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death, or adverse fortune; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue, and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus, who went forth one day and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken; and went forth the next day and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead: and thereupon said, "Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori." And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as "concomitantia:"

"Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."

It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind; sometimes purging the ill-humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath "rationem totius," which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account; nor the pleasure of that "suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem." The good parts he hath he will learn to show to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them; the faults he hath he will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them: like an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe. Whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay further, in general and in sum, certain it is that "veritas" and "bonitas" differ but as the seal and the print: for truth prints goodness; and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

From moral virtue let us pass on to matter of power and commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of the commanded: to have commandment over beasts, as herdsmen have, is a thing contemptible; to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour; to have commandment over galley-slaves is a disparagement rather than an honour. Neither is the commandment of tyrants much better, over people which have put off the generosity of their minds: and therefore it was ever holden that honours in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies; because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore, when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Cæsar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

"victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo."

But the commandment of knowledge is yet higher than the commandment over the will; for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself: for there is no power on earth which setteth up a throne or chair of state in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure that arch-heretics, and false prophets, and impostors are transported with, when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men; so great, that, if they have once tasted of it, it is seldom seen that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandon it. But as this is that which the author of the "Revelation" calleth the depth

or profoundness "of Satan;" so by argument of contraries, the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understanding, by force of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule.

As for fortune and advancement, the beneficence of learning is not so confined to give fortune only to states and commonwealths, as it doth not likewise give fortune to particular persons. For it was well noted long ago, that Homer hath given more men their livings, than either Sylla, or Cæsar, or Augustus ever did, notwithstanding their great largesses and donatives, and distributions of lands to so many legions: and no doubt it is hard to say, whether arms or learning have advanced greater numbers. And in case of sovereignty we see, that if arms or descent have carried away the kingdom, yet learning hath carried the priesthood, which ever hath been in some competition with empire.

Again, for the pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning, it far surpasseth all other in nature: for, shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner; and must not, of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceed the pleasures of the affections? We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality: and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly,

"Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis," &c.

"It is a view of delight," saith he, "to stand or walk upon the shore side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain; but it is pleasure incomparable, for the mind of man to be settled, landed and fortified in the certainty of truth; and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men."

Lastly, leaving the vulgar arguments, that by learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come, and the like; let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is, immortality or continuance: for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families; to this buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time, infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar; no nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but lose of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages: so that, if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other? Nay further, we see, some of the philosophers which were least divine, and most immersed in the senses, and denied generally the immortality of the soul, yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, they thought, might remain after death, which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affections; so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem unto them to be. But we, that know by divine revelation, that not only the understanding but the affections purified, not only the spirit but the body changed, shall be advanced to immortality, do disclaim these rudiments of the senses. But it must be remembered both in this last point, and so it may likewise be needful in other places, that in probation of the dignity of knowledge or learning, I did in the beginning separate divine testimony from human, which method I have pursued, and so handled them both apart.

Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Æsop's cock, that preferred the barleycorn before the gem; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo president of the Muses, and Pan god of the flocks, judged for plenty; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power; nor of Agrippina, "occidat matrem, modo imperet," that preferred empire with conditions never so de-

testable; or of Ulysses, "qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati," being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency; or of a number of the like popular judgments. For these things continue as they have been: but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: "Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis."

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

OF THE

PROFICIENCE AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING,

DIVINE AND HUMAN.

TO THE KING.

It might seem to have more convenience, though it come often otherwise to pass, excellent king, that those which are fruitful in their generations, and have in themselves the foresight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the good estate of future times, unto which they know they must transmit and commend over their dearest pledges. Queen Elizabeth was a sojourner in the world, in respect of her unmarried life, and was a blessing to her own times: and yet so as the impression of her good government, besides her happy memory, is not without some effect which doth survive her. But to your majesty, whom God hath already blessed with so much royal issue, worthy to continue and represent you forever; and whose youthful and fruitful bed doth yet promise many of the like renovations; it is proper and agreeable to be conversant, not only in the transitory parts of good government, but in those acts also which are in their nature permanent and perpetual: amongst the which, if affection do not transport me, there is not any more worthy than the further endowment of the world with sound and fruitful knowledge. For why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules's columns, beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star as your majesty to conduct and prosper us? To return therefore where we left, it remaineth to consider of what kind those acts are, which have been undertaken and performed by kings and others for the increase and advancement of learning: wherein I purpose to speak actively without digressing or dilating.

Let this ground therefore be laid, that all works are overcome by amplitude of reward, by soundness of direction, and by the conjunction of labours. The first multiplieth endeavour, the second preventeth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man: but the principal of these is direction: for "claudus in via antevertit cursorem extra viam;" and Solomon excellently setteth it down, "If the iron be not sharp, it requireth more strength; but wisdom is that which prevaileth;" signifying that the invention or election of the mean is more effectual than any enforcement or accumulation of endeavours. This I am induced to speak, for that (not derogating from the noble intention of any that have been deservers towards the state of learning) I do observe, nevertheless, that their works and acts are rather matters of magnificence and memory, than of progression and proficience; and tend rather to augment the mass of learning in the multitude of learned men, than to rectify or raise the sciences themselves.

The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects: the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth

scatter and lose itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself, (and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed spring-heads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity,) so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same.

The works which concern the seats and places of learning are four; foundations and buildings, endowments with revenues, endowments with franchises and privileges, institutions and ordinances for government; all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles; much like the stations which Virgil prescribeth for the hiving of bees:

"Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
Quo neque sit ventis aditus," &c.

The works touching books are two; first libraries, which are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed: secondly, new editions of authors, with more correct impressions, more faithful translations, more profitable glosses, more diligent annotations, and the like.

The works pertaining to the persons of learned men, besides the advancement and countenancing of them in general, are two: the reward and designation of readers in sciences already extant and invented; and the reward and designation of writers and inquirers concerning any parts of learning not sufficiently laboured and prosecuted.

These are summarily the works and acts, wherein the merits of many excellent princes and other worthy personages have been conversant. As for any particular commemorations, I call to mind what Cicero said, when he gave general thanks; "Difficile non aliquem, ingratum, quenquam præterire." Let us rather, according to the Scriptures, look unto that part of the race which is before us, than look back to that which is already attained.

First, therefore, amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten, that this dedicating of foundations and donations to professory learning hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of state, because there is no education collegiate which is free; where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of estate.

And because founders of colleges do plant, and founders of lectures do water, it followeth well in order to speak of the defect which is in public lectures; namely, in the smallness and meanness of the salary or reward which in most places is assigned unto them; whether they be lectures of arts, or of professions. For it is necessary to the progression of sciences that readers be of the most able and sufficient men; as those which are ordained for generating and propagating of sciences, and not for transitory use. This cannot be, except their condition and endowment be such as may content the ablest man to appropriate his whole labour, and continue his whole age in that function and attendance; and therefore must have a proportion answerable to that mediocrity or competency of advancement, which may be expected from a profession or the practice of a profession. So as, if you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, "That those which stayed with the carriage should have equal part with those which were in the action;" else will the carriages be ill attended. So readers in sciences are indeed the guardians of the stores and provisions of sciences, whence men in active courses are furnished, and therefore ought to have equal entertainment with them; otherwise if the fathers in sciences be of the weakest sort, or be ill-maintained,

"Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati."

Another defect I note, wherein I shall need some alchymist to help me, who call upon men to sell their books, and to build furnaces; quitting and forsaking Minerva and the Muses as barren virgins, and relying upon Vulcan. But certain

is, that unto the deep, fruitful, and operative study of many sciences, especially natural philosophy and physic, books be not the only instrumentals; wherein also the beneficence of men hath not been altogether wanting: for we see spheres, globes, astrolabes, maps, and the like, have been provided as appurtenances to astronomy and cosmography, as well as books; we see likewise, that some places instituted for physic have annexed the commodity of gardens for simples of all sorts, and do likewise command the use of dead bodies for anatomies. But these do respect but a few things. In general, there will hardly be any main proficience in the disclosing of nature, except there be some allowance for expenses about experiments; whether they may be experiments appertaining to Vulcanus or Dædalus, furnace or engine, or any other kind; and therefore as secretaries and spials of princes and states bring in bills for intelligence, so you must allow the spials and intelligencers of nature to bring in their bills; or else you shall be ill advertised.

And if Alexander made such a liberal assignation to Aristotle of treasure for the allowance of hunters, fowlers, fishers, and the like, that he might compile an history of nature, much better do they deserve it that travail in arts of nature.

Another defect which I note, is an intermission or neglect in those which are governors in universities, of consultation; and in princes or superior persons, of visitation: to enter into account and consideration, whether the readings, exercises, and other customs appertaining unto learning, anciently begun, and since continued, be well instituted or not; and thereupon to ground an amendment or reformation in that which shall be found inconvenient. For it is one of your majesty's own most wise and princely maxims, "That in all usages and precedents, the times be considered wherein they first began; which, if they were weak or ignorant, it derogateth from the authority of the usage, and leaveth it for suspect." And therefore in as much as most of the usages and orders of the universities were derived from more obscure times, it is the more requisite they be re-examined. In this kind I will give an instance or two, for example sake, of things that are the most obvious and familiar: the one is a matter, which though it be ancient and general, yet I hold to be an error; which is, that scholars in universities come too soon and too unripe to logic and rhetoric, arts fitter for graduates than children and novices: for these two, rightly taken, are the gravest of sciences, being the art of arts; the one for judgment, the other for ornament: and they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter; and therefore for minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calleth "sylva" and "supellex," stuff and variety, to begin with those arts, (as if one should learn to weigh, or to measure, or to paint the wind,) doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerate into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation. And further, the untimely learning of them hath drawn on, by consequence, the superficial and unprofitable teaching and writing of them, as fittest indeed to the capacity of children. Another is a lack I find in the exercises used in the universities, which do make too great a divorce between invention and memory; for their speeches are either premeditate, "in verbis conceptis," where nothing is left to invention; or merely extemporal, where little is left to memory: whereas in life and action there is least use of either of these, but rather of intermixtures of premeditation and invention, notes and memory; so as the exercise fitteth not the practice, nor the image the life: and it is ever a true rule in exercises, that they be framed as near as may be to the life of practice; for otherwise they do pervert the motions and faculties of the mind, and not prepare them. The truth whereof is not obscure, when scholars come to the practices of professions, or other actions of civil life; which when they set into, this want is soon found by themselves, and sooner by others. But this part, touching the amendment of the institutions and orders of universities, I will conclude with the clause of Cæsar's letter to Oppius and Balbus, "Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt; de iis rebus rogo vos, ut cogitationem suscipiatis."

Another defect, which I note, ascendeth a little higher than the preceding: for as the proficience of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the universities of Europe than now there is. We see there be many orders and foundations, which though they be divided under several sovereignties and territories, yet they take themselves to have a kind of contract, fraternity, and correspondence one with the other; insomuch as they have provincials and generals. And surely, as nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in commonalties, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops; so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that fraternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.

The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken; unto which point it is an inducement to

enter into a view and examination what parts of learning have been prosecuted, and what omitted: for the opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and the great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack; which surcharge, nevertheless, is not to be remedied by making no more books, but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Moses, might devour the serpents of the enchanters.

The removing of all the defects formerly enumerated, except the last, and of the active part also of the last, (which is the designation of writers,) are "opera basilica;" towards which the endeavours of a private man may be but as an image in a crossway, that may point at the way, but cannot go it: but the inducing part of the latter, which is the survey of learning, may be set forward by private travel. Wherefore I will now attempt to make a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man; to the end that such a plot, made and recorded to memory, may both minister light to any public designation, and also serve to excite voluntary endeavours: wherein, nevertheless, my purpose is, at this time, to note only omissions and deficiencies, and not to make any redargution of errors, or incomplete prosecutions; for it is one thing to set forth what ground lieth unmanured, and another thing to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured.

In the handling and undertaking of which work I am not ignorant what it is that I do now move and attempt, nor insensible of mine own weakness to sustain my purpose; but my hope is that if my extreme love to learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection; for that "it is not granted to man to love and to be wise." But, I know well, I can use no other liberty of judgment than I must leave to others; and I, for my part, shall be indifferently glad either to perform myself, or accept from another, that duty of humanity: "Nam qui erranti comiter monstrat viam," &c. I do foresee, likewise, that of those things which I shall enter and register as deficiencies and omissions, many will conceive and censure that some of them are already done and extant; others to be but curiosities, and things of no great use; and others to be of too great difficulty, and almost impossibility to be compassed and effected: but for the two first, I refer myself to the particulars; for the last, touching impossibility, I take it those things are to be held possible which may be done by some person, though not by every one; and which may be done by many, though not by any one; and which may be done in the succession of ages, though not within the hourglass of one man's life; and which may be done by public designation, though not by private endeavour. But, notwithstanding, if any man will take to himself rather that of Solomon, "Dicit piger, Leo est in via," than that of Virgil, "Possunt quia posse videntur," I shall be content that my labours be esteemed but as the better sort of wishes; for as it asketh some knowledge to demand a question not impertinent, so it requireth some sense to make a wish not absurd.

The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of Man's Understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his Memory, Poesy to his Imagination, and Philosophy to his Reason. Divine learning receiveth the same distribution; for the spirit of man is the same, though the revelation of oracle and sense be diverse: so as theology consisteth also of the history of the church; of parables, which is divine poesy; and of holy doctrine or precept: for as for that part which seemeth supernumerary, which is prophecy, it is but divine history; which hath that prerogative over human, as the narration may be before the fact as well as after.

History is Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary; whereof the first three I allow as extant, the fourth I note as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented from age to age, as many have done the works of nature, and the state civil and ecclesiastical; without which the history of the world seemeth to me to be as the statue of Polyphemus with his eye out: that part being wanting which doth most show the spirit and life of the person: and yet I am not ignorant that in divers particular sciences, as of the jurisconsults, the mathematicians, the rhetoricians, the philosophers, there are set down some small memorials of the schools, authors, and books; and so likewise some barren relations touching the invention of arts or usages. But a just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals of knowledges and their sects. their inventions, their traditions, their diverse administrations and managings, their flourishings, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all other events concerning learning, throughout the ages of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting. The use and end of which work I do not so much design for curiosity, or satisfaction of those that are the lovers of learning, but chiefly for a more serious and grave purpose; which is this, in few words, that it will make learned men wise in the use and administration of learning. For it is not St. Augustine's nor St. Ambrose's works that will make so wise a divine as ecclesiastical history, thoroughly read and observed; and the same reason is of learning.

History of Nature is of three sorts; of nature in course, of nature erring or varying, and of nature altered or wrought: that is, history of creatures, history of marvels, and history of arts. The first of these, no doubt, is extant, and that

in good perfection; the two latter are handled so weakly and unprofitably, as I am moved to note them as deficient. For I find no sufficient or competent collection of the works of nature which have a digression and deflexion from the ordinary course of generations, productions, and motions; whether they be singularities of place and region, or the strange events of time and chance, or the effects of yet unknown properties, or the instances of exception to general kinds. It is true, I find a number of books of fabulous experiments and secrets, and frivolous impostures for pleasure and strangeness; but a substantial and severe collection of the heteroclites or irregulars of nature, well examined and described, I find not; especially not with due rejection of fables and popular errors; for as things now are, if an untruth in nature be once on foot, what by reason of the neglect of examination, and countenance of antiquity, and what by reason of the use of the opinion in similitudes and ornaments of speech, it is never called down.

The use of this work, honoured with a precedent in Aristotle, is nothing less than to give contentment to the appetite of curious and vain wits, as the manner of mirabilaries is to do; but for two reasons, both of great weight; the one to correct the partiality of axioms and opinions, which are commonly framed only upon common and familiar examples; the other because from the wonders of nature is the nearest intelligence and passage towards the wonders of art: for it is no more but by following, and as it were hounding Nature in her wanderings to be able to lead her afterwards to the same place again. Neither am I of opinion, in this history of marvels, that superstitious narrations of sorceries, witchcrafts, dreams, divinations, and the like, where there is an assurance and clear evidence of the fact, be altogether excluded. For it is not yet known in what cases and how far effects attributed to superstition do participate of natural causes: and therefore howsoever the practice of such things is to be condemned, yet from the speculation and consideration of them light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences, but for the further disclosing of nature. Neither ought a man to make scruple of entering into these things for inquisition of truth, as your majesty hath showed in your own example; who with the two clear eyes of religion and natural philosophy have looked deeply and wisely into these shadows, and yet proved yourself to be of the nature of the sun, which passeth through pollutions, and itself remains as pure as before. But this I hold fit, that these narrations, which have mixture with superstition, be sorted by themselves, and not be mingled with the narrations which are merely and sincerely natural. But as for the narrations touching the prodigies and miracles of religions, they are either not true, or not natural; and therefore impertinent for the story of nature.

For history of Nature wrought or mechanical, I find some collections made of agriculture, and likewise of manual arts; but commonly with a rejection of experiments familiar and vulgar. For it is esteemed a kind of dishonour unto learning to descend to inquiry or meditation upon matters mechanical, except they be such as may be thought secrets, rarities, and special subtilties; which humour of vain and supercilious arrogancy is justly derided in Plato; where he brings in Hippias, a vaunting sophist, disputing with Socrates, a true and unfeigned inquisitor of truth; where the subject being touching beauty, Socrates, after his wandering manner of inductions, put first an example of a fair virgin, and then of a fair horse, and then of a fair pot well glazed, whereat Hippias was offended, and said, "More than for courtesy's sake, he did think much to dispute with any that did allege such base and sordid instances:" whereunto Socrates answered, "You have reason, and it becomes you well, being a man so trim in your vestments," &c. and so goeth on in an irony. But the truth is, they be not the highest instances that give the securest information; as may be well expressed in the tale so common of the philosopher, that while he gazed upwards to the stars fell into the water; for if he had looked down he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking aloft he could not see the water in the stars. So it cometh often to pass, that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small: and therefore Aristotle noteth well, "that the nature of every thing is best seen in its smallest portions." And for that cause he inquireth the nature of a commonwealth, first in a family, and the simple conjugations of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, which are in every cottage. Even so likewise the nature of this great city of the world, and the policy thereof, must be first sought in mean concordances and small portions. So we see how that secret of nature, of the turning of iron touched with the loadstone towards the north, was found out in needles of iron, not in bars of iron.

But if my judgment be of any weight, the use of History Mechanical is of all others the most radical and fundamental towards natural philosophy; such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the fume of subtile, sublime, or delectable speculation, but such as shall be operative to the endowment and benefit of man's life: for it will not only minister and suggest for the present many ingenious practices in all trades, by a connexion and transferring of the observations of one art to the use of another, when the experiences of several mysteries shall fall under the consideration of one man's mind: but further, it will give a more true and

real illumination concerning causes and axioms than is hitherto attained. For like as a man's disposition is never well known till he be crossed, nor Proteus ever changed shapes till he was straitened and held fast; so the passages and variations of nature cannot appear so fully in the liberty of nature, as in the trials and vexations of art.

For Civil History, it is of three kinds; not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images; for of pictures or images, we see, some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced. So of histories we may find three kinds, Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities; for Memorials are history unfinished, or the first or rough draughts of history; and Antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time.

Memorials, or preparatory history, are of two sorts; whereof the one may be termed Commentaries, and the other Registers. Commentaries are they which set down a continuance of the naked events and actions, without the motives or designs, the counsels, the speeches, the pretexts, the occasions and other passages of action: for this is the true nature of a Commentary; though Cæsar, in modesty mixed with greatness, did for his pleasure apply the name of a Commentary to the best history of the world. Registers are collections of public acts, as decrees of council, judicial proceedings, declarations and letters of state, orations and the like, without a perfect continuance or contexture of the thread of the narration.

Antiquities, or remnants of history, are, as was said, "tanquam tabula naufragii;" when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.

In these kinds of imperfect histories, I do assign no deficience, for they are "tanquam imperfecte mista;" and therefore any deficience in them is but their nature. As for the corruptions and moths of history, which are Epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished, as all men of sound judgment have confessed; as those that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories, and wrought them into base and unprofitable dregs.

History, which may be called Just and Perfect History, is of three kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent: for it either representeth a time, or a person, or an action The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narrations or Relations. Of these, although the first be the most complete and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory, yet the second excelleth it in profit and use, and the third in verity and sincerity: for history of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces and deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters. But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wires, "maxima è minimis suspendens," it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true and inward resorts thereof. But Lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent in whom actions both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation. So again Narrations and relations of actions, as the War of Peloponnesus, the Expedition of Cyrus Minor, the Conspiracy of Catiline, cannot but be more purely and exactly true than histories of times, because they may choose an argument comprehensible within the notice and instructions of the writer: whereas he that undertaketh the story of a time, especially of any length, cannot but meet with many blanks and spaces which he must be forced to fill up out of his own wit and conjecture.

For the History of Times, I mean of civil history, the providence of God hath made the distribution: for it hath pleased God to ordain and illustrate two exemplar states of the world for arms, learning, moral virtue, policy, and laws; the state of Græcia, and the state of Rome; the histories whereof occupying the middle part of time, have, more ancient to them, histories which may by one common name be termed the Antiquities of the world; and after them, histories which may be likewise called by the name of Modern History.

Now to speak of the deficiencies. As to the heathen antiquities of the world, it is in vain to note them for deficient; deficient they are no doubt, consisting most of fables and fragments; but the deficience cannot be holpen; for antiquity is like fame, "caput inter nubila condit;" her head is muffled from our sight. For the history of the exemplar states, it is extant in good perfection. Not but I could wish there were a perfect course of history for Græcia from Theseus to Philopœmen, (what time the affairs of Græcia were drowned and extinguished in the affairs of Rome;) and for Rome from Romulus to Justinianus, who may be truly said to be "ultimus Romanorum." In which sequences of story the text of Thucydides and Xenophon in the one, and the text of Livius, Polybius, Sallustius, Cæsar, Appianus, Tacitus, Herodianus in the other, to be kept entire without any diminution at all, and only to be supplied and continued. But this is matter of magnificence, rather to be commended than required: and we speak now of parts of

learning supplemental, and not of supererogation.

But for modern Histories, whereof there are some few very worthy, but the greater part beneath mediocrity, (leaving the care of foreign stories to foreign states, because I will not be "curiosus in aliena republica,") I cannot fail to represent to your majesty the unworthiness of the history of England in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland in the latest and largest author that I have seen: supposing that it would be honour for your majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so were joined in one history for the times passed; after the manner of the sacred history, which draweth down the story of the ten tribes and of the two tribes, as twins, together. And if it shall seem that the greatness of this work may make it less exactly performed, there is an excellent period of a much smaller compass of time, as to the story of England; that is to say, from the uniting of the roses to the uniting of the kingdoms; a portion of time, wherein, to my understanding, there hath been the rarest varieties that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known: for it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown by arms and title; an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage: and therefore times answerable, like waters after a tempest, full of working and swelling, though without extremity of storm: but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot, being one of the most sufficient kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king, whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably; in whose time also began that great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the stage. Then the reign of a minor: then an offer of an usurpation, though it was but as "febris ephemera:" then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried, and yet her government so masculine that it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence. And now last, this most happy and glorious event, that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be united in itself: and that oracle of rest, given to Æneas, "Antiquam exquirite matrem," should now be performed and fulfilled upon the nations of England and Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother name of Britain, as a full period of all instability and peregrinations: so that as it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle; so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations, (in which, I hope, it is now established forever,) had these prelusive changes and varieties.

For Lives, I do find it strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent. For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that states are most collected into monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report or barren eulogies. For herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction: for he feigneth that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears; and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals, and carried them to the river of Lethe; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river: only there were a few swans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple where it was consecrated.

And although many men, more mortal in their affections than in their bodies, do esteem desire of name and memory but as a vanity and ventosity,

"Animi nil magnæ laudis egentes;"

which opinion cometh from that root, "non prius laudes contempsimus, quam laudanda facere desivimus;" yet that will not alter Solomon's judgment, "Memoria justi cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet:" the one flourisheth, the other either consumeth to present oblivion, or turneth to an ill odour. And therefore in that style or addition, which is and hath been long well received and brought in use, "felicis memoriæ, piæ memoriæ, bonæ memoriæ," we do acknowledge that which Cicero saith, borrowing it from Demosthenes, that "bona fama propria possessio defunctorum;" which possession I cannot but note that in our times it lieth much waste, and that therein there is a deficience.

For Narrations and Relations of particular actions, there were also to be wished a greater diligence therein: for there is no great action but hath some good pen which attends it. And because it is an ability not common to write a good history, as may well appear by the small number of them: yet if particularity of actions memorable were but tolerably reported as they pass, the compiling of a complete history of times might be the better expected, when a writer should arise that were fit for it: for the collection of such relations might be as a nursery garden, whereby to plant a fair and stately garden, when time should serve.

There is yet another portion of history which Cornelius Tacitus maketh, which is not to be for-

got, especially with that application which he accoupleth it withal, "Annals and Journals;" appropriating to the former matters of estate, and to the latter acts and accidents of a meaner nature. For giving but a touch of certain magnificent buildings, he addeth, "Cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare." So as there is a kind of contemplative heraldry, as well as civil. And as nothing doth derogate from the dignity of a state more than confusion of degrees; so it doth not a little embase the authority of a history, to intermingle matters of triumph or matters of ceremony, or matters of novelty, with matters of state. But the use of a journal hath not only been in the history of time, but likewise in the history of persons, and chiefly of actions; for princes in ancient time had, upon point of honour and policy both, journals kept of what passed day by day: for we see the chronicle which was read before Ahasuerus, when he could not take rest, contained matters of affairs indeed, but such as had passed in his own time, and very lately before; but the journal of Alexander's house expressed every small particularity, even concerning his person and court; and it is yet a use well received in enterprises memorable, as expeditions of war, navigations, and the like, to keep diaries of that which passeth continually.

I cannot likewise be ignorant of a form of writing which some grave and wise men have used, containing a scattered history of those actions which they have thought worthy of memory, with politic discourse and observation thereupon: not incorporated into the history, but separately, and as the more principal in their intention; which kind of ruminated history I think more fit to place amongst books of policy, whereof we shall hereafter speak, than amongst books of history: for it is the true office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment: but mixtures are things irregular, whereof no man can define.

So also is there another kind of history manifoldly mixed, and that is History of Cosmography: being compounded of natural history, in respect of the regions themselves; of history civil, in respect of the habitations, regiments, and manners of the people; and the mathematics, in respect of the climates and configurations towards the heavens: which part of learning of all others, in this latter time, hath obtained most proficience. For it may be truly affirmed to the honour of these times, and in a virtuous emulation with antiquity, that this great building of the world had never thorough lights made in it, till the age of us and our fathers; for although they had knowledge of the antipodes,

"Neoque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis,
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper:"

yet that might be by demonstration, and not in fact: and if by travel, it requireth the voyage but of half the globe. But to circle the earth, as the heavenly bodies do, was not done nor enterprised till these latter times: and therefore these times may justly bear in their word, not only "plus ultra," in precedence of the ancient "non ultra," and "imitabile fulmen" in precedence of the ancient "non imitabile fulmen,"

"Demens qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen;" &c.

but likewise "imitabile cœlum;" in respect of the many memorable voyages, after the manner of heaven, about the globe of the earth.

And this proficience in navigation and discoveries may plant also an expectation of the further proficience and augmentation of all sciences; because it may seem they are ordained by God to be coevals, that is, to meet in one age. For so the prophet Daniel, speaking of the latter times, fortelleth, "Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia:" as if the openness and thorough passage of the world and the increase of knowledge were appointed to be in the same ages: as we see it is already performed in great part: the learning of these latter times not much giving place to the former two periods or returns of learning, the one of the Grecians, the other of the Romans.

History Ecclesiastical receiveth the same divisions with history civil: but further, in the propriety thereof, may be divided into the History of the Church, by a general name; History of Prophecy; and History of Providence. The first describeth the times of the "militant church," whether it be fluctuant, as the ark of Noah; or movable, as the ark in the wilderness; or at rest, as the ark in the temple: that is, the state of the church in persecution, in remove, and in peace. This part I ought in no sort to note as deficient; only I would that the virtue and sincerity of it were according to the mass and quantity. But I am not now in hand with censures, but with omissions.

The second, which is History of Prophecy, consisteth of two relatives, the prophecy, and the accomplishment; and therefore the nature of such a work ought to be, that every prophecy of the Scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same, throughout the ages of the world; both for the better confirmation of faith, and for the better illumination of the church touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: allowing nevertheless that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies; being of the nature of their author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day; and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages;

though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age. This is a work which I find deficient; but is to be done with wisdom, sobriety, and reverence, or not at all.

The third, which is History of Providence, containeth that excellent correspondence which is between God's revealed will and his secret will: which though it be so obscure, as for the most part it is not legible to the natural man; no, nor many times to those that behold it from the tabernacle; yet at some times it pleaseth God, for our better establishment and the confuting of those which are as without God in the world, to write it in such text and capital letters, that as the prophet saith, "he that runneth by may read it;" that is, mere sensual persons, which hasten by God's judgments and never bend or fix their cogitations upon them, are nevertheless in their passage and race urged to discern it. Such are the notable events and examples of God's judgments, chastisements, deliverances, and blessings: and this is a work which hath passed through the labours of many, and therefore I cannot present as omitted.

There are also other parts of learning which are Appendices to history: for all the exterior proceedings of man consist of words and deeds; whereof history doth properly receive and retain in memory the deeds; and if words, yet but as inducements and passages to deeds: so are there other books and writings, which are appropriate to the custody and receipt of words only; which likewise are of three sorts; Orations, Letters, and brief Speeches or Sayings. Orations are pleadings, speeches of counsel, laudatives, invectives, apologies, reprehensions, orations of formality or ceremony, and the like. Letters are according to all the variety of occasions, advertisements, advices, directions, propositions, petitions, commendatory, expostulatory, satisfactory; of compliment, of pleasure, of discourse, and all other passages of action. And such as are written from wise men, are of all the words of man, in my judgment, the best; for they are more natural than orations and public speeches, and more advised than conferences or present speeches. So again letters of affairs from such as manage them, or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves. For Apophthegms, it is a great loss of that book of Cæsar's; for as his history, and those few letters of his which we have, and those apophthegms which were of his own, excel all men's else, so I suppose would his collection of apophthegms have done; for as for those which are collected by others, either I have no taste in such matters, or else their choice hath not been happy. But upon these three kinds of writings, I do not insist, because I have no deficiencies to propound concerning them.

Thus much therefore concerning history; which is that part of learning which answereth to one of the cells, domiciles, or offices of the mind of man; which is that of the Memory.

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination; which, being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things; "Pictoribus atque poetis, &c." It is taken in two senses, in respect of words, or matter: in the first sense it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present: in the latter, it is, as hath been said, one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse.

The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical: because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore poesy feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence: because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary, and less interchanged, therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations: so as it appeareth that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And therefore it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things. And we see, that by these insinuations and congruities with man's nature and pleasure, joined also with the agreement and consort it hath with music, it hath had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where other learning stood excluded.

The division of poesy which is aptest in the propriety thereof, (besides those divisions which are common unto it with history, as feigned chronicles, feigned lives, and the appendices of history, as feigned epistles, feigned orations, and the rest,) is into Poesy, Narrative, Representative, and Allusive.

The Narrative is a mere imitation of history, with the excesses before remembered; choosing

for subject commonly wars and love, rarely state, and sometimes pleasure or mirth.

Representative is as a visible history; and is an image of actions as if they were present, as history is of actions in nature as they are, that is past.

Allusive or parabolical is a narration applied only to express some special purpose or conceit: which latter kind of parabolical wisdom was much more in use in the ancient times, as by the fables of Æsop, and the brief sentences of the Seven, and the use of hieroglyphics, may appear. And the cause was, for that it was then of necessity to express any point of reason, which was more sharp or subtile than the vulgar in that manner; because men in those times wanted both variety of examples and subtilty of conceit: and as hieroglyphics were before letters, so parables were before arguments: And nevertheless now, and at all times, they do retain much life and vigour; because reason cannot be so sensible, nor examples so fit.

But there remaineth yet another use of poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it; that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity; as in the fable that the giants being overthrown in their war against the gods, the Earth, their mother, in revenge thereof brought forth Fame:

> "Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
> Extremam, ut perhibent, Coo Enceladoque sororem
> Progenuit."

Expounded, that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of the people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the state, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine. So in the fable, that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid: expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. So in the fable, that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the Centaur, who was part a man and part a beast. expounded ingeniously, but corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence, and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice. Nevertheless, in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first, and the exposition then devised, than that the moral was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertions of the Stoics upon the fictions of the ancient poets; but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself, (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter schools of the Grecians,) yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but what they might have upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm; for he was not the inventor of many of them.

In this third part of learning, which is poesy, I can report no deficience. For being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind: but to ascribe unto it that which is due, for the expressing of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs, we are beholden to poets more than to the philosophers' works; and for wit and eloquence, not much less than to orators' harangues. But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre. Let us now pass on to the judicial place or palace of the mind, which we are to approach and view with more reverence and attention.

The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation. The light of nature consisteth in the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses: for as for knowledge which man receiveth by teaching, it is cumulative and not original; as in a water that, besides his own spring-head, is fed with other springs and streams. So then, according to these two differing illuminations or originals, knowledge is first of all divided into Divinity and Philosophy.

In Philosophy, the contemplations of man do either penetrate unto God,—or are circumferred to nature,—or are reflected or reverted upon himself. Out of which several inquiries there do arise three knowledges, Divine philosophy, Natural philosophy, and Human philosophy or Humanity. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple character, of the power of God, the difference of nature, and the use of man. But because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of "Philosophia Prima," primitive or summary phi-

losophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves; which science whether I should report as deficient or not, I stand doubtful. For I find a certain rhapsody of natural theology, and of divers parts of logic; and of that part of natural philosophy which concerneth the principles; and of that other part of natural philosophy which concerneth the soul or spirit: all these strangely commixed and confused; but being examined, it seemeth to me rather a depredation of other sciences, advanced and exalted unto some height of terms, than any thing solid or substantive of itself. Nevertheless I cannot be ignorant of the distinction which is current, that the same things are handled but in several respects. As, for example, that logic considereth of many things as they are in notion, and this philosophy as they are in nature; the one in appearance, the other in existence; but I find this difference better made than pursued. For if they had considered quantity, similitude, diversity, and the rest of those external characters of things, as philosophers, and in nature, their inquiries must of force have been of a far other kind than they are. For doth any of them, in handling quantity, speak of the force of union, how and how far it multiplieth virtue? Doth any give the reason, why some things in nature are so common, and in so great mass, and others so rare, and in so small quantity? Doth any, in handling similitude and diversity, assign the cause why iron should not move to iron, which is more like, but move to the loadstone, which is less like? Why in all diversities of things there should be certain participles in nature, which are almost ambiguous to which kind they should be referred? But there is a mere and deep silence touching the nature and operation of those common adjuncts of things, as in nature; and only a resuming and repeating of the force and use of them in speech or argument. Therefore, because in a writing of this nature I avoid all subtilty, my meaning touching this original or universal philosophy is thus, in a plain and gross description by negative: "That it be a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common and of a higher stage."

Now that there are many of that kind need not to be doubted. For example; is not the rule, "Si inæqualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt inæqualia," an axiom as well of justice as of the mathematics? And is there not a true coincidence between commutative and distributive justice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion? Is not that other rule, "Quæ in eodem tertio conveniunt, et inter se conveniunt," a rule taken from the mathematics, but so potent in logic as all syllogisms are built upon it? Is not the observation, 'Omnia mutantur, nil interit," a contemplation, in philosophy thus, that the quantum of nature is eternal? in natural theology thus, that it requireth the same omnipotence to make somewhat nothing, which at the first made nothing somewhat? according to the Scripture, "Didici quod omnia opera, quæ fecit Deus, perseverent in perpetuum: non possumus eis quicquam addere nec auferre." Is not the ground, which Machiavel wisely and largely discourseth concerning governments, that the way to establish and preserve them is to reduce them "ad principia," a rule in religion and nature, as well as in civil administration? Was not the Persian magic a reduction or correspondence of the principles and architectures of nature to the rules and policy of governments? Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet accord, alike true in affection? Is not the trope of music, to avoid or slide from the close or cadence, common with the trope of rhetoric of deceiving expectation? Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music the same with the playing of light upon the water?

"Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus."

Are not the organs of the senses of one kind with the organs of reflection, the eye with a glass, the ear with a cave or strait determined and bounded? Neither are these only similitudes, as men of narrow observation may conceive them to be, but the same footsteps of nature, treading or printing upon several subjects or matters. This science, therefore, as I understand it, I may justly report as deficient: for I see sometimes the profounder sort of wits, in handling some particular argument, will now and then draw a bucket of water out of this well for their present use; but the spring-head thereof seemeth to me not to have been visited: being of so excellent use, both for the disclosing of nature and the abridgment of art.

This science being therefore the first placed as a common parent, like unto Berecynthia, which had so much heavenly issue,

"Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes:"

we may return to the former distribution of the three philosophies, divine, natural, and human.

And as concerning Divine Philosophy or Natural Theology, it is that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of his creatures; which knowledge may be truly termed divine in respect of the object, and natural in respect of the light. The bounds of this knowledge are, that it sufficeth to convince atheism, but not to inform religion: and therefore there was never miracle wrought by God to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God; but miracles have been wrought to convert idolaters and the superstitious, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God. For as all works do show forth the power and skill of the workman, and not his

image; so it is of the works of God, which do show the omnipotency and wisdom of the maker, but not his image; and therefore therein the heathen opinion differeth from the sacred truth: for they supposed the world to be the image of God, and man to be an extract or compendious image of the world; but the Scriptures never vouchsafe to attribute to the world that honour, as to be the image of God, but only the work of his hands; neither do they speak of any other image of God, but man: wherefore by the contemplation of nature to induce and enforce the acknowledgment of God, and to demonstrate his power, providence, and goodness, is an excellent argument, and hath been excellently handled by divers.

But on the other side, out of the contemplation of nature, or ground of human knowledge, to induce any verity or persuasion concerning the points of faith, is in my judgment not safe: "Da fidei, quæ fidei sunt." For the heathen themselves conclude as much, in that excellent and divine fable of the golden chain: "That men and gods were not able to draw Jupiter down to earth; but contrariwise, Jupiter was able to draw them up to heaven."

So as we ought not attempt to draw down or submit the mysteries of God to our reason; but contrariwise to raise and advance our reason to the divine truth. So as in this part of knowledge, touching divine philosophy, I am so far from noting any deficience, as I rather note an excess: whereunto I have digressed; because of the extreme prejudice which both religion and philosophy have received and may receive, by being commixed together; as that which undoubtedly will make an heretical religion, and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy.

Otherwise it is of the nature of angels and spirits, which is an appendix of theology, both divine and natural, and is neither inscrutable nor interdicted; for although the Scripture saith, "Let no man deceive you in sublime discourse touching the worship of angels, pressing into that he knoweth not," &c. yet, notwithstanding, if you observe well that precept it may appear thereby that there be two things only forbidden, adoration of them, and opinion fantastical of them; either to extol them farther than appertaineth to the degree of a creature, or to extol a man's knowledge of them farther than he hath ground. But the sober and grounded inquiry, which may arise out of the passages of Holy Scriptures, or out of the gradations of nature, is not restrained. So of degenerate and revolted spirits, the conversing with them or the employment of them is prohibited, much more any veneration towards them; but the contemplation or science of their nature, their power, their illusions, either by Scripture or reason, is a part of spiritual wisdom. For so the apostle saith, "We are not ignorant of his stratagems." And it is no more unlawful to inquire the nature of evil spirits, than to inquire the force of poisons in nature, or the nature of sin and vice in morality. But this part touching angels and spirits I cannot note as deficient, for many have occupied themselves in it; I may rather challenge it, in many of the writers thereof, as fabulous and fantastical.

Leaving therefore divine philosophy or natural theology (not divinity or inspired theology, which we reserve for the last of all, as the haven and sabbath of all man's contemplations) we will now proceed to Natural Philosophy.

If then it be true that Democritus said, "That the truth of nature lieth hid in certain deep mines and caves:" and if it be true likewise that the alchymists do so much inculcate, that Vulcan is a second nature, and imitateth that dexterously and compendiously, which nature worketh by ambages and length of time, it were good to divide natural philosophy into the mine and furnace; and to make two professions or occupations of natural philosophers, some to be pioneers and some smiths; some to dig, and some to refine and hammer; and surely I do best allow of a division of that kind, though in more familiar and scholastical terms; namely, that these be the two parts of natural philosophy,—the inquisition of causes, and the production of effects; speculative and operative, natural science, and natural prudence. For as in civil matters there is a wisdom of discourse, and a wisdom of direction; so is it in natural. And here I will make a request, that for the latter, or at least for a part thereof, I may revive and reintegrate the misapplied and abused name of Natural Magic; which in the true sense is but natural wisdom, or natural prudence; taken according to the ancient acceptation, purged from vanity and superstition. Now although it be true, and I know it well, that there is an intercourse between causes and effects, so as both these knowledges, speculative and operative, have a great connection between themselves; yet because all true and fruitful natural philosophy hath a double scale or ladder ascendant and descendent; ascending from experiments to the invention of causes, and descending from causes to the invention of new experiments; therefore I judge it most requisite that these two parts be severally considered and handled.

Natural Science or Theory is divided into Physic and Metaphysic; wherein I desire it may be conceived that I use the word metaphysic in a differing sense from that that is received: and in like manner, I doubt not but it will easily appear to men of judgment, that in this and other particulars, wheresoever my conception and notion may differ from the ancient, yet I am studious to keep the ancient terms. For hoping well to deliver myself from mistaking, by the order and perspicuous expressing of that I do propound: I am otherwise zealous and affectionate to recede as

little from antiquity, either in terms or opinions, as may stand with truth and the proficience of knowledge. And herein I cannot a little marvel at the philosopher Aristotle, that did proceed in such a spirit of difference and contradiction towards all antiquity: undertaking not only to frame new words of science at pleasure, but to confound and extinguish all ancient wisdom: insomuch as he never nameth or mentioneth an ancient author or opinion, but to confute and reprove; wherein for glory, and drawing followers and disciples, he took the right course. For certainly there cometh to pass, and hath place in human truth, that which was noted and pronounced in the highest truth: "Veni in nomine Patris, nec recipitis me; si quis venerit in nomine suo, eum recipietis." But in this divine aphorism, (considering to whom it was applied, namely to Antichrist, the highest deceiver,) we may discern well that the coming in a man's own name, without regard of antiquity or paternity, is no good sign of truth, although it be joined with the fortune and success of an "Eum recipietis." But for this excellent person Aristotle, I will think of him that he learned that humour of his scholar, with whom, it seemeth, he did emulate; the one to conquer all opinions, as the other to conquer all nations: wherein nevertheless, it may be, he may at some men's hands, that are of a bitter disposition, get a like title as his scholar did:

> "Felix terrarum prædo, non utile mundo
> Editus exemplum, &c."

So,

> "Felix doctrinæ prædo."

But to me, on the other side, that do desire as much as lieth in my pen to ground a sociable intercourse between antiquity and proficience, it seemeth best to keep away with antiquity, "usque ad aras;" and therefore to retain the ancient terms, though I sometimes alter the uses and definitions, according to the moderate proceeding in civil government; where although there be some alteration, yet that holdeth which Tacitus wisely noteth, "eadem magistratuum vocabula."

To return, therefore, to the use and acceptation of the term Metaphysic, as I do now understand the word; it appeareth, by that which hath been already said, that I intend "philosophia prima," Summary Philosophy and Metaphysic, which heretofore have been confounded as one, to be two things. For, the one I have made as a parent or common ancestor to all knowledge; and the other I have now brought in as a branch or descendant of natural science. It appeareth likewise that I have assigned to Summary Philosophy the common principles and axioms which are promiscuous and indifferent to several sciences: I have assigned unto it likewise the inquiry touching the operation of the relative and adventitious characters of essences, as quantity, similitude, diversity, possibility, and the rest: with this distinction and provision; that they be handled as they have efficacy in nature, and not logically. It appeareth likewise, that Natural Theology, which heretofore hath been handled confusedly with metaphysic, I have enclosed and bounded by itself. It is therefore now a question what is left remaining for metaphysic; wherein I may without prejudice preserve thus much of the conceit of antiquity, that physic should contemplate that which is inherent in matter, and therefore transitory; and metaphysic that which is abstracted and fixed. And again, that physic should handle that which supposeth in nature only a being and moving; and metaphysic should handle that which supposeth further in nature a reason, understanding, and platform. But the difference, perspicuously expressed, is most familiar and sensible. For as we divided natural philosophy in general into the inquiry of causes, and productions of effects; so that part which concerneth the inquiry of causes we do subdivide according to the received and sound division of causes; the one part, which is physic, inquireth and handleth the material and efficient causes; and the other, which is metaphysic, handleth the formal and final causes.

Physic, taking it according to the deriviation, and not according to our idiom for medicine, is situate in a middle term or distance between natural history and metaphysic. For natural history describeth the variety of things; physic, the causes, but variable or respective causes; and metaphysic, the fixed and constant causes.

> "Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit,
> Uno eodemque igni:"

Fire is the cause of induration, but respective to clay: fire is the cause of colliquation, but respective to wax; but fire is no constant cause either of induration or colliquation: so then the physical causes are but the efficient and the matter. Physic hath three parts; whereof two respect nature united or collected, the third contemplateth nature diffused or distributed. Nature is collected either into one entire total, or else into the same principles or seeds. So as the first doctrine is touching the contexture or configuration of things, as "de mundo, de universitate rerum." The second is the doctrine concerning the principles or originals of things. The third is the doctrine concerning all variety and particularity of things; whether it be of the different substances, or their different qualities and natures; whereof there needeth no enumeration, this part being but as a gloss, or paraphrase, that attendeth upon the text of natural history. Of these three I cannot report any as deficient. In what truth or perfection they are handled, I make not now any judgment: but they are parts of knowledge not deserted by the labour of man.

For Metaphysic, we have assigned unto it the inquiry of formal and final causes; which assignation, as to the former of them, may seem to be

nugatory and void; because of the received and inveterate opinion, that the inquisition of man is not competent to find out essential forms or true differences: of which opinion we will take this hold, that the invention of forms is of all other parts of knowledge the worthiest to be sought, if it be possible to be found. As for the possibility, they are ill discoverers that think there is no land, when they can see nothing but sea. But it is manifest that Plato, in his opinion of ideas, as one that had a wit of elevation situate as upon a cliff, did descry, "That forms were the true object of knowledge;" but lost the real fruit of his opinion, by considering of forms as absolutely abstracted from matter, and not confined and determined by matter; and so turning his opinion upon theology, wherewith all his natural philosophy is infected. But if any man shall keep a continual watchful and severe eye upon action, operation, and the use of knowledge, he may advise and take notice what are the forms, the disclosures whereof are fruitful and important to the state of man. For as to the forms of substances, man only except, of whom it is said, "Formavit hominem de limo terræ, et spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ," and not as of all other creatures, "Producant aquæ, producat terra;" the forms of substances, I say, as they are now by compounding and transplanting multiplied, are so perplexed, as they are not to be inquired; no more than it were either possible or to purpose to seek in gross the forms of those sounds which make words, which by composition and transposition of letters are infinite. But, on the other side, to inquire the form of those sounds or voices which make simple letters, is easily comprehensible; and being known, induceth and manifesteth the forms of all words, which consist and are compounded of them. In the same manner, to inquire the form of a lion, of an oak, of gold; nay, of water, of air, is a vain pursuit: but to inquire the forms of sense, of voluntary motion, of vegetation, of colours, of gravity and levity, of density, of tenuity, of heat, of cold, and all other natures and qualities, which, like an alphabet, are not many, and of which the essences, upheld by matter, of all creatures do consist; to inquire, I say, the true forms of these, is that part of metaphysic which we now define of. Not but that physic doth make inquiry, and take consideration of the same natures: but how? Only as to the material and efficient causes of them, and not as to the forms. For example; if the cause of whiteness in snow or froth be inquired, and it be rendered thus, that the subtile intermixture of air and water is the cause, it is well rendered; but nevertheless, is this the form of whiteness? No; but it is the efficient, which is ever but "vehiculum formæ." This part of metaphysic I do not find laboured and performed; whereat I marvel not: because I hold it not possible to be invented by that course of invention which hath been used; in regard that men, which is the root of all error, have made too untimely a departure and too remote a recess from particulars.

But the use of this part of metaphysic, which I report as deficient, is of the rest the most excellent in two respects: the one, because it is the duty and virtue of all knowledge to abridge the infinity of individual experience, as much as the conception of truth will permit, and to remedy the complaint of "vita brevis, ars longa;" which is performed by uniting the notions and conceptions of sciences: for knowledges are as pyramids, whereof history is the basis. So of Natural Philosophy, the basis is natural history; the stage next the basis is physic; the stage next the vertical point is metaphysic. As for the vertical point, "Opus quod operatur Deus à principio usque ad finem," the summary law of nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it. But these three be the true stages of knowledge, and are to them that are depraved no better than the giants' hills:

"Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum."

But to those which refer all things to the glory of God, they are as the three acclamations, "Sancte, sancte, sancte;" holy in the description or dilatation of his works; holy in the connexion or concatenation of them; and holy in the union of them in a perpetual and uniform law. And therefore the speculation was excellent in Parmenides and Plato, although but a speculation in them, that all things by scale did ascend to unity. So then always that knowledge is worthiest, which is charged with least multiplicity; which appeareth to be metaphysic; as that which considereth the simple forms or differences of things, which are few in number, and the degrees and coordinations whereof make all this variety.

The second respect, which valueth and commendeth this part of metaphysic, is, that it doth enfranchise the power of man unto the greatest liberty and possibility of works and effects. For physic carrieth man in narrow and restrained ways, subject to many accidents of impediments, imitating the ordinary flexuous courses of nature; but "latæ undique sunt sapientibus viæ:" to sapience, which was anciently defined to be "rerum divinarum et humanarum scientia," there is ever choice of means: for physical causes give light to new invention "in simili materia." But whosoever knoweth any form, knoweth the utmost possibility of superinducing that nature upon any variety of matter; and so is less restrained in operation, either to the basis of the matter, or the condition of the efficient: which kind of knowledge Solomon likewise, though in a more divine sort, elegantly describeth: "Non arctabuntur gressus tui, et currens non habebis offendiculum."

The ways of sapience are not much liable either to particularity or chance.

The second part of metaphysic is the inquiry of final causes, which I am moved to report not as omitted, but as misplaced; and yet if it were but a fault in order, I would not speak of it: for order is matter of illustration, but pertaineth not to the substance of sciences. But this misplacing hath caused a deficience, or at least a great improficience in the sciences themselves. For the handling of final causes, mixed with the rest in physical inquiries, hath intercepted the severe and diligent inquiry of all real and physical causes, and given men the occasion to stay upon these satisfactory and specious causes, to the great arrest and prejudice of further discovery. For this I find done not only by Plato, who ever anchoreth upon that shore, but by Aristotle, Galen, and others which do usually likewise fall upon these flats of discoursing causes. For to say that the hairs of the eyelids are for a quickset and fence about the sight; or that the firmness of the skins and hides of living creatures is to defend them from the extremities of heat or cold; or that the bones are for the columns or beams, whereupon the frames of the bodies of living creatures are built; or that the leaves of trees are for protecting of the fruit; or that the clouds are for the watering of the earth; or that the solidness of the earth is for the station and mansion of living creatures, and the like, is well inquired and collected in metaphysic; but in physic they are impertinent. Nay, they are indeed but remoras and hinderances to stay and slug the ship from further sailing; and have brought this to pass, that the search of the physical causes hath been neglected, and passed in silence. And therefore the natural philosophy of Democritus and some others, (who did not suppose a mind or reason in the frame of things, but attributed the form thereof, able to maintain itself, to infinite essays or proofs of nature, which they term fortune,) seemeth to me, as far as I can judge by the recital and fragments which remain unto us, in particularities of physical causes, more real and better inquired than that of Aristotle and Plato; whereof both intermingled final causes, the one as a part of theology, and the other as a part of logic, which were the favourite studies respectively of both those persons. Not because those final causes are not true, and worthy to be inquired, being kept within their own province; but because their excursions into the limits of physical causes hath bred a vastness and solitude in that track. For otherwise, keeping their precincts and borders, men are extremely deceived if they think there is an enmity or repugnancy at all between them. For the cause rendered, that the hairs about the eyelids are for the safeguard of the sight, doth not impugn the cause rendered, that pilosity is incident to orifices of moisture; "Muscosi fontes," &c. Nor the cause rendered, that the firmness of hides is for the armour of the body against extremities of heat and cold, doth not impugn the cause rendered, that contraction of pores is incident to the outwardest parts, in regard of their adjacence to foreign or unlike bodies; and so of the rest: both causes being true and compatible, the one declaring an intention, the other a consequence only.

Neither doth this call in question, or derogate from divine providence, but highly confirm and exalt it. For as in civil actions he is the greater and deeper politician, that can make other men the instruments of his will and ends, and yet never acquaint them with his purpose, so as they shall do it, and yet not know what they do, than he that imparteth his meaning to those he employeth; so is the wisdom of God more admirable, when nature intendeth one thing, and providence draweth forth another, than if he had communicated to particular creatures and motions the characters and impressions of his providence. And thus much for metaphysic; the latter part whereof I allow as extant, but wish it confined to its proper place.

Nevertheless there remaineth yet another part of natural philosophy, which is commonly made a principal part, and holdeth rank with physic special and metaphysic, which is Mathematic; but I think it more agreeable to the nature of things, and to the light of order, to place it as a branch of metaphysic: for the subject of it being quantity, (not quantity indefinite, which is but a relative, and belongeth to "philosophia prima," as hath been said, but quantity determined or proportionable,) it appeareth to be one of the essential forms of things; as that that is causative in nature of a number of effects; insomuch as we see, in the schools both of Democritus and of Pythagoras, that the one did ascribe figure to the first seeds of things, and the other did suppose numbers to be the principles and originals of things: and it is true also, that of all other forms, as we understand forms, it is the most abstracted and separable from matter, and therefore most proper to metaphysic: which hath likewise been the cause why it hath been better laboured and inquired than any of the other forms, which are more immersed in matter.

For it being the nature of the mind of man, to the extreme prejudice of knowledge, to delight in the spacious liberty of generalities, as in a champaign region, and not in the enclosures of particularity; the mathematics of all other knowledge were the goodliest fields to satisfy that appetite.

But for the placing of this science, it is not much material: only we have endeavoured, in these our partitions, to observe a kind of perspective, that one part may cast light upon another.

The Mathematics are either pure or mixed. To the pure mathematics are those sciences

belonging which handle quantity determinate, merely severed from any axioms of natural philosophy; and these are two, Geometry and Arithmetic; the one handling quantity continued, and the other dissevered.

Mixed hath for subject some axioms or parts of natural philosophy, and considereth quantity determined, as it is auxiliary and incident unto them.

For many parts of nature can neither be invented with sufficient subtilty, nor demonstrated with sufficient perspicuity, nor accommodated unto use with sufficient dexterity, without the aid and intervening of the mathematics: of which sort are perspective, music, astronomy, cosmography, architecture, enginery, and divers others.

In the mathematics I can report no deficience, except it be that men do not sufficiently understand the excellent use of the pure mathematics, in that they do remedy and cure many defects in the wit and faculties intellectual. For if the wit be too dull they sharpen it; if too wandering, they fix it; if too inherent in the sense they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye and a body ready to put itself into all postures; so in the mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended. And as for the mixed mathematics, I may only make this prediction, that there cannot fail to be more kinds of them, as nature grows further disclosed. Thus much of natural science, or the part of nature speculative.

For Natural Prudence, or the part operative of natural philosophy, we will divide it into three parts, experimental, philosophical, and magical; which three parts active have a correspondence and analogy with the three parts speculative, natural history, physic, and metaphysic: for many operations have been invented, sometimes by a casual incidence and occurrence, sometimes by a purposed experiment: and of those which have been found by an intentional experiment, some have been found out by varying or extending the same experiment, some by transferring and compounding divers experiments the one into the other, which kind of invention an empiric may manage.

Again, by the knowledge of physical causes there cannot fail to follow many indications and designations of new particulars, if men in their speculation will keep one eye upon use and practice. But these are but coastings along the shore, "premendo littus iniquum:" for, it seemeth to me there can hardly be discovered any radical or fundamental alterations and innovations in nature, either by the fortune and essays of experiments, or by the light and direction of physical causes. If therefore we have reported metaphysic deficient, it must follow that we do the like of natural magic, which hath relation thereunto. For as for the natural magic whereof now there is mention in books, containing certain credulous and superstitious conceits and observations of sympathies and antipathies, and hidden properties, and some frivolous experiments, strange rather by disguisement than in themselves, it is as far differing in truth of nature from such a knowledge as we require, as the story of King Arthur of Britain, or Hugh of Bourdeaux, differs from Cæsar's Commentaries in truth of story. For it is manifest that Cæsar did greater things "de vero" than those imaginary heroes were feigned to do; but he did them not in that fabulous manner. Of this kind of learning the fable of Ixion was a figure, who designed to enjoy Juno, the goddess of power; and instead of her had copulation with a cloud, of which mixture were begotten centaurs and chimeras.

So whosoever shall entertain high and vaporous imaginations, instead of a laborious and sober inquiry of truth, shall beget hopes and beliefs of strange and impossible shapes. And therefore we may note in these sciences which hold so much of imagination and belief, as this degenerate natural magic, alchymy, astrology, and the like, that in their propositions the description of the mean is ever more monstrous than the pretence or end. For it is a thing more probable, that he that knoweth well the natures of weight, of colour, of pliant and fragile in respect of the hammer, of volatile and fixed in respect of the fire and the rest, may superinduce upon some metal the nature and form of gold by such mechanic as belongeth to the production of the natures afore rehearsed, than that some grains of the medicine projected should in a few moments of time turn a sea of quicksilver or other material into gold: so it is more probable, that he that knoweth the nature of arefaction, the nature of assimilation of nourishment to the thing nourished, the manner of increase and clearing of spirits, the manner of the depredations which spirits make upon the humours and solid parts, shall by ambages of diets, bathings, anointings, medicines, motions, and the like, prolong life, or restore some degree of youth or vivacity, than that it can be done with the use of a few drops or scruples of a liquor or receipt. To conclude therefore, the true natural magic, which is that great liberty and latitude of operation which dependeth upon the knowledge of forms, I may report deficient, as the relative thereof is.

To which part, if we be serious, and incline not to vanities and plausible discourse, besides the deriving and deducing the operations themselves from metaphysic, there are pertinent two points of much purpose, the one by way of preparation, the other by way of caution: the first is, that there be made a calendar, resembling an inventory of the estate of man, containing al-

the inventions, being the works or fruits of nature or art, which are now extant, and whereof man is already possessed; out of which doth naturally result a note, what things are yet held impossible, or not invented: which calendar will be the more artificial and serviceable, if to every reputed impossibility you add what thing is extant which cometh the nearest in degree to that impossibility; to the end that by these optatives and potentials man's inquiry may be the more awake in deducing direction of works from the speculation of causes: and secondly, that those experiments be not only esteemed which have an immediate and present use, but those principally which are of most universal consequence for invention of other experiments, and those which give more light to the invention of causes; for the invention of the mariner's needle, which giveth the direction, is of no less benefit for navigation than the invention of the sails, which give the motion.

Thus I have passed through natural philosophy, and the deficiencies thereof: wherein if I have differed from the ancient and received doctrines, and thereby shall move contradiction; for my part, as I affect not to dissent, so I purpose not to contend. If it be truth,

"Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvæ:"

The voice of nature will consent, whether the voice of man do or not. And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight; so I like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceably, with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.

But there remaineth a division of natural philosophy according to the report of the inquiry, and nothing concerning the matter or subject: and that is positive and considerative; when the inquiry reporteth either an assertion or a doubt. These doubts or "non liquets" are of two sorts, particular and total. For the first, we see a good example thereof in Aristotle's Problems, which deserved to have had a better continuance; but so, nevertheless, as there is one point whereof warning is to be given and taken. The registering of doubts hath two excellent uses: the one, that it saveth philosophy from errors and falsehoods; when that which is not fully appearing is not collected into assertion, whereby error might draw error, but is reserved in doubt: the other, that the entry of doubts is as so many suckers or sponges to draw use of knowledge; insomuch as that which, if doubts had not preceded, a man should never have advised, but passed it over without note, is, by the suggestion and solicitation of doubts, made to be attended and applied. But both these commodities do scarcely countervail an inconvenience which will intrude itself, if it be not debarred; which is, that when a doubt is once received, men labour rather how to keep it a doubt still, than how to solve it; and accordingly bend their wits. Of this we see familiar example in lawyers and scholars, both which, if they have once admitted a doubt it goeth ever after authorized for a doubt. But that use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed, which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful. Therefore these calendars of doubts I commend as excellent things; so that there be this caution used, that when they be thoroughly sifted and brought to resolution, they be from thenceforth omitted, discarded, and not continued to cherish and encourage men in doubting. To which calendar of doubts or problems, I advise be annexed another calendar, as much or more material, which is a calendar of popular errors: I mean chiefly in natural history, such as pass in speech and conceit, and are nevertheless apparently detected and convicted of untruth; that man's knowledge be not weakened nor embased by such dross and vanity. As for the doubts or "non liquets" general, or in total, I understand those differences of opinions touching the principles of nature, and the fundamental points of the same, which have caused the diversity of sects, schools, and philosophies, as that of Empedocles, Pythagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, and the rest. For although Aristotle, as though he had been of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not reign except the first thing he did he killed all his brethren; yet to those that seek truth and not magistrality, it cannot but seem a matter of great profit, to see before them the several opinions touching the foundations of nature: not for any exact truth that can be expected in those theories; for as the same phenomena in astronomy are satisfied by the received astronomy of the diurnal motion, and the proper motions of the planets, with their eccentrics and epicycles, and likewise by the theory of Copernicus who supposed the earth to move, (and the calculations are indifferently agreeable to both,) so the ordinary face and view of experience is many times satisfied by several theories and philosophies; whereas to find the real truth requireth another manner of severity and attention. For as Aristotle saith, that children at the first will call every woman mother, but afterwards they come to distinguish according to truth; so experience, if it be in childhood, will call every philosophy mother, but when it cometh to ripeness, it will discern the true mother. So as in the mean time it is good to see the several glosses and opinions upon nature, whereof, it may be, every one in some one point hath seen clearer than his fellows, therefore, I wish some collection to be made, painfully and understandingly, "de antiquis philosophiis," out of all the possible light which remaineth to us of them: which kind of work I find

deficient. But here I must give warning, that it be done distinctly and severally; the philosophies of every one throughout by themselves, and not by titles packed and fagoted up together, as hath been done by Plutarch. For it is the harmony of a philosophy in itself which giveth it light and credence; whereas if it be singled and broken, it will seem more foreign and dissonant. For as when I read in Tacitus the actions of Nero, or Claudius, with circumstances of times, inducements, and occasions, I find them not so strange; but when I read them in Suetonius Tranquillus, gathered into titles and bundles, and not in order of time, they seem more monstrous and incredible: so is it of any philosophy reported entire, and dismembered by articles. Neither do I exclude opinions of latter times to be likewise represented in this calendar of sects of philosophy, as that of Theophrastus Paracelsus, eloquently reduced into a harmony by the pen of Severinus the Dane; and that of Tilesius, and his scholar Donius, being as a pastoral philosophy, full of sense, but of no great depth; and that of Fracastorius, who, though he pretended not to make any new philosophy, yet did use the absoluteness of his own sense upon the old; and that of Gilbertus our countryman, who revived, with some alterations and demonstrations, the opinions of Xenophanes; and any other worthy to be admitted.

Thus have we now dealt with two of the three beams of man's knowledge; that is, "radius directus," which is referred to nature; "radius refractus," which is referred to God; and cannot report truly because of the inequality of the medium: there resteth "radius reflexus," whereby man beholdeth and contemplateth himself.

We come therefore now to that knowledge whereunto the ancient oracle directeth us, which is the knowledge of ourselves; which deserveth the more accurate handling, by how much it toucheth us more nearly. This knowledge, as it is the end and term of natural philosophy in the intention of man, so notwithstanding, it is but a portion of natural philosophy in the continent of nature: and generally let this be a rule, that all partitions of knowledges be accepted rather for lines and veins, than for sections and separations; and that the continuance and entireness of knowledge be preserved. For the contrary hereof hath made particular sciences to become barren, shallow, and erroneous, while they have not been nourished and maintained from the common fountain. So we see Cicero the orator complained of Socrates and his school, that he was the first that separated philosophy and rhetoric; whereupon rhetoric became an empty and verbal art. So we may see that the opinion of Copernicus touching the rotation of the earth, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the phenomena, yet natural philosophy may correct. So we see also that the science of medicine, if it be destituted and forsaken by natural philosophy, it is not much better than an empirical practice. With this reservation, therefore, we proceed to Human Philosophy, or Humanity, which hath two parts: the one considereth man segregate, or distributively; the other congregate, or in society. So is human philosophy either simple and particular, or conjugate and civil. Humanity particular consisteth of the same parts whereof man consisteth; that is, of knowledges which respect the body, and of knowledges that respect the mind; but before we distribute so far, it is good to constitute. For I do take the consideration in general, and at large, of human nature to be fit to be emancipate and made a knowledge by itself: not so much in regard of those delightful and elegant discourses which have been made of the dignity of man, of his miseries, of his state and life, and the like adjuncts of his common and undivided nature; but chiefly in regard of the knowledge concerning the sympathies and concordances between the mind and body, which being mixed cannot be properly assigned to the sciences of either.

This knowledge hath two branches: for as all leagues and amities consist of mutual intelligence and mutual offices, so this league of mind and body hath these two parts; how the one discloseth the other, and how the one worketh upon the other; Discovery, and Impression. The former of these hath begotten two arts, both of prediction or prenotion; whereof the one is honoured with the inquiry of Aristotle, and the other of Hippocrates. And although they have of later time been used to be coupled with superstitious and fantastical arts, yet being purged and restored to their true state, they have both of them a solid ground in nature, and a profitable use in life. The first is physiognomy, which discovereth the disposition of the mind by the lineaments of the body: the second is the exposition of natural dreams, which discovereth the state of the body by the imaginations of the mind. In the former of these I note a deficience. For Aristotle hath very ingeniously and diligently handled the features of the body, but not the gestures of the body, which are no less comprehensible by art, and of greater use and advantage. For the lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general; but the motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do further disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will. For as your majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, "As the tongue speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye." And therefore a number of subtle persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither can it be denied, but that it is a great discovery of dissimulations, and a great direction in business

The latter branch, touching impression, hath not been collected into art, but hath been handled dispersedly; and it hath the same relation or antistrophe that the former hath. For the consideration is double: "Either how, and how far the humours and affects of the body do alter or work upon the mind; or again, how and how far the passions or apprehensions of the mind do alter or work upon the body." The former of these hath been inquired and considered as a part and appendix of medicine, but much more as a part of religion or superstition. For the physician prescribeth cures of the mind in phrensies and melancholy passions; and pretendeth also to exhibit medicines to exhilarate the mind, to confirm the courage, to clarify the wits, to corroborate the memory, and the like: but the scruples and superstitions of diet and other regimen of the body in the sect of the Pythagoreans, in the heresy of the Manicheans, and in the law of Mahomet, do exceed. So likewise the ordinances in the ceremonial law, interdicting the eating of the blood and fat, distinguishing between beasts clean and unclean for meat, are many and strict. Nay, the faith itself being clear and serene from all clouds of ceremony, yet retaineth the use of fastings, abstinences, and other macerations and humiliations of the body, as things real, and not figurative. The root and life of all which prescripts is, besides the ceremony, the consideration of that dependency which the affections of the mind are submitted unto upon the state and disposition of the body. And if any man of weak judgment do conceive that this suffering of the mind from the body doth either question the immortality, or derogate from the sovereignty of the soul, he may be taught in easy instances, that the infant in the mother's womb is compatible with the mother and yet separable; and the most absolute monarch is sometimes led by his servants, and yet without subjection. As for the reciprocal knowledge, which is the operation of the conceits and passions of the mind upon the body, we see all the wise physicians, in the prescriptions of their regimens to their patients, do ever consider "accidentia animi" as of great force to further or hinder remedies or recoveries: and more especially it is an inquiry of great depth and worth concerning imagination, how and how far it altereth the body proper of the imaginant. For although it hath a manifest power to hurt, it followeth not it hath the same degree of power to help; no more than a man can conclude, that because there be pestilent airs, able suddenly to kill a man in health, therefore there should be sovereign airs, able suddenly to cure a man in sickness. But the inquisition of this part is of great use, though it needeth, as Socrates said, "a Delian diver," being difficult and profound. But unto all this knowledge "de communi vinculo," of the concordances between the mind and the body, that part of inquiry is most necessary, which considereth of the seats and domiciles which the several faculties of the mind do take and occupate in the organs of the body; which knowledge hath been attempted, and is controverted, and deserveth to be much better inquired. For the opinion of Plato, who placed the understanding in the brain; animosity (which he did unfitly call anger, having a greater mixture with pride) in the heart; and concupiscence or sensuality in the liver, deserveth not to be despised; but much less to be allowed. So then we have constituted, as in our own wish and advice, the inquiry touching human nature entire, as a just portion of knowledge to be handled apart.

The knowledge that concerneth man's Body is divided as the good of man's body is divided, unto which it referreth. The good of man's body is of four kinds, health, beauty, strength, and pleasure: so the knowledges are medicine, or art of cure; art of decoration, which is called cosmetic; art of activity, which is called athletic; and art voluptuary, which Tacitus truly calleth "eruditus luxus." This subject of man's body is of all other things in nature most susceptible of remedy; but then that remedy is most susceptible of error. For the same subtilty of the subject doth cause large possibility and easy failing; and therefore the inquiry ought to be more exact.

To speak therefore of medicine, and to resume that we have said, ascending a little higher; the ancient opinion that man was microcosmus, an abstract or model of the world, hath been fantastically strained by Paracelsus and the alchymists, as if there were to be found in man's body certain correspondences and parallels, which should have respect to all varieties of things, as stars, planets, minerals, which are extant in the great world. But thus much is evidently true, that of all substances which nature hath produced, man's body is the most extremely compounded: for we see herbs and plants are nourished by earth and water; beasts for the most part by herbs and fruits; man by the flesh of beasts, birds, fishes, herbs, grains, fruits, water, and the manifold alterations, dressings, and preparations of these several bodies, before they come to be his food and aliment. Add hereunto, that beasts have a more simple order of life, and less change of affections to work upon their bodies: whereas man in his mansion, sleep, exercise, passions, hath infinite variations: and it cannot be denied but that the body of man of all other things is of the most compounded mass. The soul on the other side is the simplest of substances, as is well expressed:

"Purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem."

So that it is no marvel though the soul so placed enjoy no rest, if that principle be true, that "Motus rerum est rapidus extra locum, placidus in loco But to the purpose: this variable composition of

man's body hath made it as an instrument easy to distemper; and therefore the poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo: because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body and to reduce it to harmony. So then the subject being so variable, hath made the art by consequence more conjectural; an art being conjectural hath made so much the more place to be left for imposture. For almost all other arts and sciences are judged by acts or masterpieces, as I may term them, and not by the successes and events. The lawyer is judged by the virtue of his pleading, and not by the issue of the cause. The master of the ship is judged by the directing his course aright, and not by the fortune of the voyage. But the physician, and perhaps the politician, hath no particular acts demonstrative of his ability, but is judged most by the event; which is ever but as it is taken: for who can tell, if a patient die or recover, or if a state be preserved or ruined, whether it be art or accident? And therefore many times the impostor is prized, and the man of virtue taxed. Nay, we see the weakness and credulity of men is such, as they will often prefer a mountebank or witch before a learned physician. And therefore the poets were clear-sighted in discerning this extreme folly, when they made Æsculapius and Circe brother and sister, both children of the sun, as in the verses, Æn. vii. 772.

"Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis et artis
Fulmine Phœbigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas:"

And again, Æn. vii. 11.

"Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos," &c.

For in all times, in the opinion of the multitude, witches and old women and impostors have had a competition with physicians. And what followeth? Even this, that physicians say to themselves, as Solomon expresseth it upon a higher occasion; "If it befall to me as befalleth to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise?" And therefore I cannot much blame physicians, that the use commonly to intend some other art or practice, which they fancy more than their profession. For you shall have of them antiquaries, poets, humanists, statesmen, merchants, divines, and in every of these better seen than in their profession; and no doubt upon this ground, that they find that mediocrity and excellency in their art maketh no difference in profit or reputation towards their fortune; for the weakness of patients, and sweetness of life, and nature of hope, maketh men depend upon physicians with all their defects. But, nevertheless, these things which we have spoken of, are courses begotten between a little occasion, and a great deal of sloth and default; for if we will excite and awake our observation, we shall see in familiar instances what a predominant faculty the subtilty of spirit hath over the variety of matter of form. Nothing more variable than faces and countenances; yet men can bear in memory the infinite distinctions of them; nay, a painter with a few shells of colours, and the benefit of his eye, and habit of his imagination, can imitate them all that ever have been, are, or may be, if they were brought before him. Nothing more variable than voices; yet men can likewise discern them personally: nay, you shall have a buffoon, or pantomimus, who will express as many as he pleaseth. Nothing more variable than the differing sounds of words; yet men have found the way to reduce them to a few simple letters. So that it is not the insufficiency or incapacity of man's mind, but it is the remote standing or placing thereof, that breedeth these mazes and incomprehensions: for as the sense afar off is full of mistaking, but is exact at hand, so is it of the understanding; the remedy whereof is, not to quicken or strengthen the organ, but to go nearer to the object; and therefore there is no doubt but if the physicians will learn and use the true approaches and avenues of nature, they may assume as much as the poet saith:

"Et quoniam variant morbi, variabimus artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt."

Which that they should do, the nobleness of their art doth deserve; well shadowed by the poets, in that they made Æsculapius to be the son of the sun, the one being the fountain of life, the other as the second stream: but infinitely more honoured by the example of our Saviour, who made the body of man the object of his miracles as the soul was the object of his doctrine. For we read not that ever he vouchsafed to do any miracle about honour or money, except that one for giving tribute to Cæsar; but only about the preserving, sustaining, and healing the body of man.

Medicine is a science which hath been, as we have said, more professed than laboured, and yet more laboured than advanced; the labour having been, in my judgment, rather in circle than in progression. For I find much iteration, but small addition. It considereth causes of diseases, with the occasions or impulsions; the diseases themselves, with the accidents; and the cures, with the preservations. The deficiencies which I think good to note, being a few of many, and those such as are of a more open and manifest nature, I will enumerate, and not place.

The first is the discontinuance of the ancient and serious diligence of Hippocrates, which used to set down a narrative of the special cases of his patients, and how they proceeded, and how they were judged by recovery or death. Therefore having an example proper in the father of the art, I shall not need to allege an example foreign, of the wisdom of the lawyers, who are careful to report new cases and decisions, for the direction of future judgments. This continuance of Medicinal History I find deficient; which I understand neither to be so infinite as to extend to every com-

mon case, nor so reserved as to admit none but wonders; for many things are new in the manner, which are not new in the kind; and if men will intend to observe, they shall find much worthy to observe.

In the inquiry which is made by anatomy I find much deficience: for they inquire of the parts, and their substances, figures, and collocations; but they inquire not of the diversities of the parts, the secrecies of the passages, and the seats or nestlings of the humours, nor much of the footsteps and impressions of diseases: the reason of which omission I suppose to be, because the first inquiry may be satisfied in the view of one or a few anatomies; but the latter, being comparative and casual, must arise from the view of many. And as to the diversity of parts, there is no doubt but the facture or framing of the inward parts is as full of differences as the outward, and in that is the cause continent of many diseases; which not being observed, they quarrel many times with the humours, which are not in fault; the fault being in the very frame and mechanic of the part, which cannot be removed by medicine alterative, but must be accommodate and palliate by diets and medicines familiar. As for the passages and pores, it is true, which was anciently noted, that the more subtile of them appear not in anatomies, because they are shut and latent in dead bodies, though they be open and manifest in live; which being supposed, though the inhumanity of "anatomia vivorum" was by Celsus justly reproved; yet in regard of the great use of this observation, the inquiry needed not by him so slightly to have been relinquished altogether, or referred to the casual practices of surgery; but might have been well diverted upon the dissection of beasts alive, which notwithstanding the dissimilitude of their parts, may sufficiently satisfy this inquiry. And for the humours, they are commonly passed over in anatomies as purgaments; whereas it is most necessary to observe, what cavities, nests, and receptacles the humours do find in the parts, with the differing kind of the humours so lodged and received. And as for the footsteps of diseases, and their devastations of the inward parts, imposthumations, exulcerations, discontinuations, putrefactions, consumptions, contractions, extensions, convulsions, dislocations, obstructions, repletions, together with all preternatural substances, as stones, carnosities, excrescences, worms, and the like; they ought to have been exactly observed by multitude of anatomies, and the contribution of men's several experiences, and carefully set down, both historically, according to the appearances, and artificially, with a reference to the diseases and symptoms which result from them, in case where the anatomy is of a defunct patient; whereas now, upon opening of bodies, they are passed over slightly and in silence.

In the inquiry of diseases, they do abandon the cures of many, some as in their nature incurable, and others as past the period of cure; so that Sylla and the triumvirs never proscribed so many men to die, as they do by their ignorant edicts; whereof numbers do escape with less difficulty than they did in the Roman proscriptions. Therefore I will not doubt to note as a deficience, that they inquire not the perfect cures of many diseases, or extremities of diseases; but, pronouncing them incurable do enact a law of neglect, and exempt ignorance from discredit.

Nay, further, I esteem it the office of a physician not only to restore health, but to mitigate pain, and dolours; and not only when such mitigation may conduce to recovery, but when it may serve to make a fair and easy passage: for it is no small felicity which Augustus Cæsar was wont to wish to himself, that same "euthanasia;" and which was specially noted in the death of Antoninus Pius, whose death was after the fashion and semblance of a kindly and pleasant sleep. So it is written of Epicurus, that after his disease was judged desperate, he drowned his stomach and senses with a large draught and ingurgitation of wine, whereupon the epigram was made, "Hinc Stygias ebrius hausit aquas;" he was not sober enough to taste any bitterness of the Stygian water. But the physicians, contrariwise, do make a kind of scruple and religion to stay with the patient after the disease is deplored; whereas, in my judgment, they ought both to inquire the skill, and to give the attendances, for the facilitating and assuaging of the pains and agonies of death.

In the consideration of the cures of diseases, I find a deficience in the receipts of propriety, respecting the particular cures of diseases: for the physicians have frustrated the fruit of tradition and experience by their magistralities, in adding, and taking out, and changing "quid pro quo," in their receipts, at their pleasures; commanding so over the medicine, as the medicine cannot command over the diseases: for except it be treacle and mithridatum, and of late diascordium, and a few more, they tie themselves to no receipts severely and religiously: for as to the confections of sale which are in the shops, they are for readiness, and not for propriety; for they are upon general intentions of purging, opening, comforting, altering, and not much appropriate to particular diseases: and this is the cause why empirics and old women are more happy many times in their cures than learned physicians, because they are more religious in holding their medicines. Therefore here is the deficience which I find, that physicians have not, partly out of their own practice, partly out of the constant probations reported in books, and partly out of the traditions of empirics, set down and delivered over certain experimental medicines for the cure of particular diseases, besides their own conjectural and magistral descriptions. For as they

were the men of the best composition in the state of Rome, which either being consuls inclined to the people, or being tribunes inclined to the senate; so in the matter we now handle, they be the best physicians, which being learned incline to the traditions of experience, or being empirics incline to the methods of learning.

In preparation of medicines, I do find strange, especially considering how mineral medicines have been extolled, and that they are safer for the outward than inward parts, that no man hath sought to make an imitation by art of natural baths and medicinable fountains; which nevertheless are professed to receive their virtues from minerals: and not so only, but discerned and distinguished from what particular mineral they receive tincture, as sulphur, vitriol, steel, or the like; which nature, if it may be reduced to compositions of art, both the variety of them will be increased, and the temper of them will be more commanded.

But lest I grow to be more particular than is agreeable either to my intention or to proportion, I will conclude this part with the note of one deficience more, which seemeth to me of greatest consequence; which is that the prescripts in use are too compendious to attain their end: for, to my understanding, it is a vain and flattering opinion to think any medicine can be so sovereign or so happy, as that the receipt or use of it can work any great effect upon the body of man. It were a strange speech, which, spoken, or spoken oft, should reclaim a man from a vice to which he were by nature subject: it is order, pursuit, sequence, and interchange of application, which is mighty in nature; which, although it require more exact knowledge in prescribing, and more precise obedience in observing, yet is recompensed with the magnitude of effects. And although a man would think, by the daily visitations of the physicians, that there were a pursuance in the cure; yet let a man look into their prescripts and ministrations, and he shall find them but inconstancies and every days' devices, without any settled providence or project. Not that every scrupulous or superstitious prescript is effectual, no more than every straight way is the way to heaven; but the truth of the direction must precede severity of observance.

For Cosmetic, it hath parts civil, and parts effeminate: for cleanness of body was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves. As for artificial decoration, it is well worthy of the deficiencies which it hath; being neither fine enough to deceive, nor handsome to use, nor wholesome to please.

For Athletic, I take the subject of it largely, that is to say, for any point of ability whereunto the body of man may be brought, whether it be of activity, or of patience; whereof activity hath two parts, strength and swiftness; and patience likewise hath two parts, hardness against wants and extremities, and indurance of pain or torment: whereof we see the practices in tumblers, in savages, and in those that suffer punishment: nay, if there be any other faculty which falls not within any of the former divisions, as in those that dive, that obtain a strange power of containing respiration, and the like, I refer it to this part. Of these things the practices are known, but the philosophy that concerneth them is not much inquired; the rather, I think, because they are supposed to be obtained, either by an aptness of nature, which cannot be taught, or only by continual custom, which is soon prescribed; which though it be not true, yet I forbear to note any deficiencies: for the Olympian games are down long since, and the mediocrity of these things is for use; as for the excellency of them, it serveth for the most part but for mercenary ostentation.

For arts of pleasure sensual, the chief deficience in them is of laws to repress them. For as it hath been well observed, that the arts which flourish in times while virtue is in growth, are military; and while virtue is in state, are liberal; and while virtue is in declination, are voluptuary; so I doubt that this age of the world is somewhat upon the descent of the wheel. With arts voluptuary I couple practices joculary; for the deceiving of the senses is one of the pleasures of the senses. As for games of recreation, I hold them to belong to civil life and education. And thus much of that particular human philosophy which concerns the body, which is but the tabernacle of the mind.

For Human Knowledge which concerns the Mind, it hath two parts; the one that inquireth of the substance or nature of the soul or mind, the other that inquireth of the faculties or functions thereof. Unto the first of these, the considerations of the original of the soul, whether it be native or adventive, and how far it is exempted from laws of matter, and of the immortality thereof, and many other points do appertain: which have been not more laboriously inquired than variously reported: so as the travail therein taken seemeth to have been rather in a maze than in a way. But although I am of opinion that this knowledge may be more really and soundly inquired, even in nature, than it hath been; yet I hold that in the end it must be bounded by religion, or else it will be subject to deceit and delusion: for as the substance of the soul in the creation was not extracted out of the mass of heaven and earth by the benediction of a "producat," but was immediately inspired from God: so it is not possible that it should be otherwise than by accident, subject to the laws of heaven and earth, which are the subject of philosophy; and therefore the true knowledge of the nature and state of the soul must come by the same inspiration that gave the substance. Unto this

part of knowledge touching the soul there be two appendices; which, as they have been handled, have rather vapoured forth fables than kindled truth, divination and fascination.

Divination hath been anciently and fitly divided into artificial and natural; whereof artificial is, when the mind maketh a prediction by argument, concluding upon signs and tokens; natural is, when the mind hath a presentation by an internal power, without the inducement of a sign. Artificial is of two sorts; either when the argument is coupled with a derivation of causes, which is rational; or when it is only grounded upon a coincidence of the effect, which is experimental: whereof the latter for the most part is superstitious; such as were heathen observations upon the inspection of sacrifices, the flights of birds, the swarming of bees; and such as was the Chaldean astrology, and the like. For artificial divination, the several kinds thereof are distributed amongst particular knowledges. The astronomer hath his predictions, as of conjunctions, aspects, eclipses, and the like. The physician hath his predictions of death, of recovery, of the accidents and issues of diseases. The politician hath his predictions; "O urbem venalem, et cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!" which stayed not long to be performed, in Sylla first, and after in Cæsar. So as these predictions are now impertinent, and to be referred over. But the divination which springeth from the internal nature of the soul, is that which we now speak of; which hath been made to be of two sorts, primitive and by influxion. Primitive is grounded upon the supposition, that the mind, when it is withdrawn and collected into itself, and not diffused into the organs of the body, hath some extent and latitude of prenotion; which therefore appeareth most in sleep, in ecstasies, and near death, and more rarely in waking apprehensions; and is induced and furthered by those abstinences and observances which make the mind most to consist in itself: by influxion, is grounded upon the conceit that the mind, as a mirror or glass, should take illumination, from the foreknowledge of God and spirits; unto which the same regimen doth likewise conduce. For the retiring of the mind within itself, is the state which is most susceptible of divine influxions; save that it is accompanied in this case with a fervency and elevation, which the ancients noted by fury, and not with a repose and quiet, as it is in the other.

Fascination is the power and act of imagination, intensive upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant: for of that we spake in the proper place: wherein the school of Paracelsus, and the disciples of pretended natural magic have been so intemperate, as they have exalted the power of the imagination to be much one with the power of miracle-working faith; others, that draw nearer to probability, calling to their view the secret passages of things, and specially of the contagion that passeth from body to body, do conceive it should likewise be agreeable to nature, that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit without the mediation of the senses; whence the conceits have grown, now almost made civil, of the mastering spirit, and the force of confidence, and the like. Incident unto this is the inquiry how to raise and fortify the imagination: for if the imagination fortified have power, then it is material to know how to fortify and exalt it. And herein comes in crookedly and dangerously a palliation of a great part of ceremonial magic. For it may be pretended that ceremonies, characters, and charms, do work, not by any tacit or sacramental contract with evil spirits, but serve only to strengthen the imagination of him that useth it; as images are said by the Roman church to fix the cogitations, and raise the devotions of them that pray before them. But for mine own judgment, if it be admitted that imagination hath power, and that ceremonies fortify imagination, and that they be used sincerely and intentionally for that purpose; yet I should hold them unlawful, as opposing to that first edict which God gave unto man, "In sudore vultus comedes panem tuum." For they propound those noble effects, which God hath set forth unto man to be bought at the price of labour, to be attained by a few easy and slothful observances. Deficiencies in these knowledges I will report none, other than the general deficience, that it is not known how much of them is verity, and how much vanity.

The knowledge which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man is of two kinds: the one respecting his understanding and reason, and the other his will, appetite, and affection; whereof the former produceth direction or decree, the latter action or execution. It is true that the imagination is an agent or "nuncius," in both provinces, both the judicial and ministerial. For sense sendeth over to the imagination before reason have judged; and reason sendeth over to imagination before the decree can be acted; for imagination ever precedeth voluntary motion. Saving that this Janus of imagination hath differing faces; for the face towards reason hath the print of truth but the face towards action hath the print of good: which nevertheless are faces,

"Quales decet esse sororum."

Neither is the imagination simply and only a messenger; but is invested with, or at least usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message. For it was well said by Aristotle, "That the mind hath over the body that commandment, which the lord hath over a bondman; but that reason hath over the imagination that commandment which a magistrate hath over a free citizen;" who may come also to rule in his turn. For we see that, in matters of faith

and religion, we raise our imagination above our reason; which is the cause why religion sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams. And again, in all persuasions that are wrought by eloquence, and other impressions of like nature, which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things, the chief recommendation unto reason is from the imagination. Nevertheless, because I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination, I see no cause to alter the former division. For as for poesy, it is rather a pleasure or play of the imagination, than a work or duty thereof. And if it be a work, we speak not now of such parts of learning as the imagination produceth, but of such sciences as handle and consider of the imagination; no more than we shall speak now of such knowledges as reason produceth, for that extendeth to all philosophy, but of such knowledges as do handle and inquire of the faculty of reason: so as poesy had its true place. As for the power of the imagination in nature, and the manner of fortifying the same, we have mentioned it in the doctrine "De anima," whereunto it most fitly belongeth. And lastly, for imaginative or insinuative reason, which is the subject of rhetoric, we think it best to refer it to the arts of reason. So therefore we content ourselves with the former division, that Human Philosophy, which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man, hath two parts, Rational and Moral.

The part of Human Philosophy which is rational is of all knowledges, to the most wits, the least delightful, and seemeth but a net of subtilty and spinosity. For as it was truly said, that knowledge is "pabulum animi;" so in the nature of men's appetite to this food, most men are of the taste and stomach of the Israelites in the desert, that would fain have returned "ad ollas carnium," and were weary of manna; which, though it were celestial seemed less nutritive and comfortable. So generally men taste well knowledges that are drenched in flesh and blood, civil history, morality, policy, about the which men's affections, praises, fortunes, do turn and are conversant: but this same "lumen siccum" doth parch and offend most men's watery and soft natures. But, to speak truly of things as they are in worth, rational knowledges are the keys of all other arts; for as Aristotle saith aptly and elegantly, "That the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the mind is the form of forms:" so these be truly said to be the art of arts: neither do they only direct, but likewise confirm and strengthen; even as the habit of shooting doth not only enable to shoot a nearer shoot, but also to draw a stronger bow.

The arts intellectual are four in number; divided according to the ends whereunto they are referred: for man's labour is to invent that which is sought or propounded; or to judge that which is invented; or to retain that which is judged; or to deliver over that which is retained. So as the arts must be four; art of inquiry or invention; art of examination or judgment; art of custody or memory; and art of elocution or tradition.

Invention is of two kinds, much differing; the one, of arts and sciences; and the other, of speech and arguments. The former of these I do report deficient; which seemeth to me to be such a deficience as if, in the making of an inventory touching the estate of a defunct, it should be set down, that there is no ready money. For as money will fetch all other commodities, so this knowledge is that which should purchase all the rest. And like as the West Indies had never been discovered, if the use of the mariner's needle had not been first discovered, though the one be vast regions, and the other a small motion; so it cannot be found strange if sciences be no farther discovered, if the art itself of invention and discovery hath been passed over.

That this part of knowledge is wanting, to my judgment standeth plainly confessed; for first, logic doth not pretend to invent sciences, or the axioms of sciences, but passeth it over with a "cuique in sua arte credendum." And Celsus acknowledgeth it gravely, speaking of the empirical and dogmatical sects of physicians, "That medicines and cures were first found out, and then after the reasons and causes were discoursed; and not the causes first found out, and by light from them the medicines and cures discovered." And Plato, in his Theætetus, noteth well, "That particulars are infinite, and the higher generalities give no sufficient direction; and that the pith of all sciences, which maketh the artsman differ from the inexpert, is in the middle propositions, which in every particular knowledge are taken from tradition and experience." And therefore we see, that they which discourse of the inventions and originals of things, refer them rather to chance than to art, and rather to beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, than to men.

> "Dictamnum genetrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida,
> Puberibus caulem foliis, et flore comantem
> Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
> Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæsere sagittæ."

So that it was no marvel, the manner of antiquity being to consecrate inventors, that the Ægyptians had so few human idols in their temples, but al most all brute.

> "Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latrator Anubis,
> Contra Neptunum, et Venerem, contraque Minervam," &c.

And if you like better the tradition of the Grecians, and ascribe the first inventions to men; yet you will rather believe that Prometheus first struck the flints, and marvelled at the spark, than that when he first struck the flints he expected the spark: and therefore we see the West Indian Prometheus had no intelligence with the European, because of the rareness with them of flint, that

gave the first occasion. So as it should seem, that hitherto men are rather beholden to a wild goat for surgery, or to a nightingale for music, or to the ibis for some part of physic, or to the pot lid that flew open for artillery, or generally to chance, or any thing else, than to logic, for the invention of arts and sciences. Neither is the form of invention which Virgil describeth much other:

> "Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes
> Paulatim."

For if you observe the words well, it is no other method than that which brute beasts are capable of, and do put in use; which is a perpetual intending or practising some one thing, urged and imposed by an absolute necessity of conservation of being: for so Cicero saith very truly, "Usus uni rei deditus, et naturam et artem sæpe vincit." And therefore if it be said of men,

> "Labor omnia vincit
> Improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas;"

it is likewise said of beasts, "Quis psittaco docuit suum χαῖρε?" Who taught the raven in a drought to throw pebbles into a hollow tree, where she espied water, that the water might rise so as she might come to it? Who taught the bee to sail through such a vast sea of air, and to find the way from a field in flower, a great way off, to her hive? Who taught the ant to bite every grain of corn that she burieth in her hill, lest it should take root and grow? Add then the word "extundere," which importeth the extreme difficulty, and the word "paulatim," which importeth the extreme slowness, and we are where we were, even amongst the Ægyptians' gods; there being little left to the faculty of reason, and nothing to the duty of art, for matter of invention.

Secondly, the induction which the logicians speak of, and which seemeth familiar with Plato, (whereby the principles of sciences may be pretended to be invented, and so the middle propositions by derivation from the principles;) their form of induction, I say, is utterly vicious and incompetent: wherein their error is the fouler, because it is the duty of art to perfect and exalt nature; but they contrariwise have wronged, abused, and traduced nature. For he that shall attentively observe how the mind doth gather this excellent dew of knowledge, like unto that which the poet speaketh of, "Aërei mellis cœlestia dona," distilling and contriving it out of particulars natural and artificial, as the flowers of the field and garden, shall find that the mind of herself by nature doth manage and act an induction much better than they describe it. For to conclude upon an enumeration of particulars, without instance contradictory, is no conclusion, but a conjecture; for who can assure, in many subjects upon those particulars which appear of a side, that there are not other on the contrary side which appear not? As if Samuel should have rested upon those sons of Jesse which were brought before him, and failed of David, which was in the field. And this form, to say truth, is so gross, as it had not been possible for wits so subtile as have managed these things to have offered it to the world, but that they hasted to their theories and dogmaticals, and were imperious and scornful toward particulars; which their manner was to use but as "lictores and viatores," for sergeants and whifflers, "ad summovendam turbam," to make way and make room for their opinions, rather than in their true use and service. Certainly it is a thing may touch a man with a religious wonder, to see how the footsteps of seducement are the very same in divine and human truth: for as in divine truth man cannot endure to become as a child; so in human, they reputed the attending the inductions whereof we speak, as if it were a second infancy or childhood.

Thirdly, allow some principles or axioms were rightly induced, yet nevertheless certain it is that middle propositions cannot be deduced from them in subject of nature by syllogism, that is, by touch and reduction of them to principles in a middle term. It is true that in sciences popular, as moralities, laws, and the like, yea and divinity, (because it pleaseth God to apply himself to the capacity of the simplest,) that form may have use; and in natural philosophy likewise, by way of argument or satisfactory reason, "Quæ assensum parit, operis effœta est:" but the subtilty of nature and operations will not be enchained in those bonds: for arguments consist of propositions, and propositions of words; and words are but the current tokens or marks of popular notions of things: which notions, if they be grossly and variably collected out of particulars, it is not the laborious examination either of consequences of arguments, or of the truth of propositions, that can ever correct that error, being, as the physicians speak, in the first digestion: and therefore it was not without cause, that so many excellent philosophers became sceptics and academics, and denied any certainty of knowledge or comprehension; and held opinion, that the knowledge of man extendeth only to appearances and probabilities. It is true that in Socrates it was supposed to be but a form of irony, "Scientiam dissimulando simulavit:" for he used to disable his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge; like the humour of Tiberius in his beginnings, that would reign, but would not acknowledge so much: and in the later Academy, which Cicero embraced, this opinion also of "acatalepsia," I doubt, was not held sincerely: for that all those which excelled in "copia" of speech seem to have chosen that sect, as that which was fittest to give glory to their eloquence and variable discourses; being rather like progresses of pleasure, than journeys to an end. But assuredly many scattered in both Academies did hold it in subtilty

and integrity: but here was their chief error; they charged the deceit upon the senses; which in my judgment, notwithstanding all their cavillations, are very sufficient to certify and report truth, though not always immediately, yet by comparison, by help of instrument, and by producing and urging such things as are too subtile for the sense to some effect comprehensible by the sense, and other like assistance. But they ought to have charged the deceit upon the weakness of the intellectual powers, and upon the manner of collecting and concluding upon the reports of the senses. This I speak, not to disable the mind of man, but to stir it up to seek help: for no man, be he never so cunning or practised, can make a straight line or perfect circle by steadiness of hand, which may be easily done by help of a ruler or compass.

This part of the invention, concerning the invention of sciences, I purpose, if God give me leave, hereafter to propound, having digested it into two parts; whereof the one I term "Experientia Literata," and the other "Interpretatio Naturæ:" the former being but a degree and rudiment of the latter. But I will not dwell too long, nor speak too great upon a promise.

The invention of speech or argument is not properly an invention: for to invent is to discover that we know not, and not to recover or resummon that which we already know: and the use of this invention is no other but, out of the knowledge whereof our mind is already possessed, to draw forth or call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into our consideration. So as, to speak truly, it is no invention, but a remembrance or suggestion, with an application; which is the cause why the schools do place it after judgment, as subsequent and not precedent. Nevertheless, because we do account it a chase, as well of deer in an enclosed park as in a forest at large, and that it hath already obtained the name, let it be called invention: so as it be perceived and discerned, that the scope and end of this invention is readiness and present use of our knowledge, and not addition or amplification thereof.

To procure this ready use of knowledge there are two courses, Preparation and Suggestion. The former of these seemeth scarcely a part of knowledge, consisting rather of diligence than of any artificial erudition. And herein Aristotle wittily, but hurtfully, doth deride the sophists near his time, saying, "they did as if one that professed the art of shoemaking should not teach how to make a shoe, but only exhibit, in a readiness a number of shoes of all fashions and sizes." But yet a man might reply, that if a shoemaker should have no shoes in his shop, but only work as he is bespoken, he should be weakly customed. But our Saviour, speaking of divine knowledge, saith, that the kingdom of heaven is like a good householder, that bringeth forth both new and old store; and we see the ancient writers of rhetoric do give it in precept, that pleaders should have the places, whereof they have most continual use, ready handled in all the variety that may be; as that, to speak for the literal interpretation of the law against equity, and contrary; and to speak for presumptions and inferences against testimony, and contrary. And Cicero himself, being broken unto it by great experience, delivereth it plainly, that whatsoever a man shall have occasion to speak of, if he will take the pains, he may have it in effect premeditate and handled "in thesi;" so that when he cometh to a particular, he shall have nothing to do, but to add names, and times, and places, and such other circumstances of individuals. We see likewise the exact diligence of Demosthenes; who, in regard of the great force that the entrance and access into causes hath to make a good impression, had ready framed a number of prefaces for orations and speeches. All which authorities and precedents may overweigh Aristotle's opinion, that would have us change a rich wardrobe for a pair of shears.

But the nature of the collection of this provision or preparatory store, though it be common both to logic and rhetoric, yet having made an entry of it here, where it came first to be spoken of, I think fit to refer over the farther handling of it to rhetoric.

The other part of invention, which I term suggestion, doth assign and direct us to certain marks or places, which may excite our mind to return and produce such knowledge as it hath formerly collected, to the end we may make use thereof. Neither is this use, truly taken, only to furnish argument to dispute probably with others, but likewise to minister unto our judgment to conclude aright within ourselves. Neither may these places serve only to prompt our invention, but also to direct our inquiry. For a faculty of wise interrogating is half a knowledge. For as Plato saith, "Whosoever seeketh, knoweth that which he seeketh for in a general notion; else how shall he know it when he hath found it?" And therefore the larger your anticipation is, the more direct and compendious is your search. But the same places which will help us what to produce of that which we know already, will also help us, if a man of experience were before us, what questions to ask; or, if we have books and authors to instruct us, what points to search and revolve: so as I cannot report that this part of invention, which is that which the schools call topics, is deficient.

Nevertheless topics are of two sorts, general and special. The general we have spoken to; but the particular hath been touched by some, but rejected generally as inartificial and variable. But leaving the humour which hath reigned too much

in the schools, which is, to be vainly subtle in a few things which are within their command, and to reject the rest; I do receive particular topics, (that is, places or directions of invention and inquiry in every particular knowledge,) as things of great use, being mixtures of logic with the matter of sciences; for in these it holdeth, "Ars inveniendi adolescit cum inventis;" for as in going of a way, we do not only gain that part of the way which is passed; but we gain the better sight of that part of the way which remaineth: so every degree of proceeding in a science giveth a light to that which followeth; which light if we strengthen, by drawing it forth into questions or places of inquiry, we do greatly advance our pursuit.

Now we pass unto the arts of Judgment, which handle the natures of proofs and demonstrations; which as to induction hath a coincidence with invention; for in all inductions, whether in good or vicious form, the same action of the mind which inventeth, judgeth; all one as in the sense; but otherwise it is in proof by syllogism; for the proof being not immediate, but by mean, the invention of the mean is one thing, and the judgment of the consequence is another; the one exciting only, the other examining. Therefore, for the real and exact form of judgment, we refer ourselves to that which we have spoken of "Interpretation of nature."

For the other judgment by syllogism, as it is a thing most agreeable to the mind of man, so it hath been vehemently and excellently laboured; for the nature of man doth extremely covet to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and immovable, and as a rest and support of the mind. And therefore as Aristotle endeavoureth to prove, that in all motion there is some point quiescent; and as he elegantly expoundeth the ancient fable of Atlas, that stood fixed, and bare up the heaven from falling, to be meant of the poles or axle-tree of heaven, whereupon the conversion is accomplished: so assuredly men have a desire to have an Atlas or axle-tree within, to keep them from fluctuation, which is like to a perpetual peril of falling; therefore men did hasten to set down some principles about which the variety of their disputations might turn.

So then this art of judgment is but the reduction of propositions to principles in a middle term: the principles to be agreed by all and exempted from argument; the middle term to be elected at the liberty of every man's invention; the reduction to be of two kinds, direct and inverted; the one when the proposition is reduced to the principle, which they term a probation ostensive; the other, when the contradictory of the proposition is reduced to the contradictory of the principle, which is that which they call "per incommodum," or pressing an absurdity; the number of middle terms to be as the proposition standeth degrees more or less removed from the principle.

But this art hath two several methods of doctrine, the one by way of direction, the other by way of caution; the former frameth and setteth down a true form of consequence, by the variations and deflections from which errors and inconsequences may be exactly judged; toward the composition and structure of which form, it is incident to handle the parts thereof, which are propositions, and the parts of propositions, which are simple words: and this is that part of logic which is comprehended in the analytics.

The second method of doctrine was introduced for expedite use and assurance sake; discovering the more subtile forms of sophisms and illaqueations with their redargutions, which is that which is termed Elenches. For although in the more gross sorts of fallacies it happeneth, as Seneca maketh the comparison well, as in juggling feats, which though we know not how they are done, yet we know well it is not as it seemeth to be; yet the more subtle sort of them doth not only put a man beside his answer, but doth many times abuse his judgment.

This part concerning Elenches is excellently handled by Aristotle in precept, but more excellently by Plato in example, not only in the persons of the sophists, but even in Socrates himself; who professing to affirm nothing, but to infirm that which was affirmed by another, hath exactly expressed all the forms of objection, fallacy, and redargution. And although we have said that the use of this doctrine is for redargution, yet it is manifest the degenerate and corrupt use is for caption and contradiction, which passeth for a great faculty, and no doubt is of very great advantage: though the difference be good which was made between orators and sophisters, that the one is as the greyhound, which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare, which hath her advantage in the turn, so as it is the advantage of the weaker creature.

But yet further, this doctrine of elenches hath a more ample latitude and extent than is perceived; namely, unto divers parts of knowledge; whereof some are laboured and others omitted. For first, I conceive, though it may seem at first somewhat strange, that that part which is variably referred sometimes to logic, sometimes to metaphysics, touching the common adjuncts of essences, is but an elench; for the great sophism of all sophisms being equivocation or ambiguity of words and phrase, (especially of such words as are most general, and intervene, in every inquiry,) it seemeth to me that the true and fruitful use, leaving vain subtilties and speculations, of the inquiry of majority, minority, priority, posteriority, identity, diversity, possibility, act, totality, parts, existence, privation, and the like, are but wise cautions against ambiguities of speech. So again the distribution of things into certain tribes, which we call categories or predicaments

are but cautions against the confusion of definitions and divisions.

Secondly, there is a seducement that worketh by the strength of the impression, and not by the subtilty of the illaqueation; not so much perplexing the reason, as overruling it by power of the imagination. But this part I think more proper to handle when I shall speak of rhetoric.

But lastly, there is yet a much more important and profound kind of fallacies in the mind of man, which I find not observed or inquired at all, and think good to place here, as that which of all others appertaineth most to rectify judgment: the force whereof is such, as it doth not dazzle or snare the understanding in some particulars, but doth more generally and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass, wherein the beams of things should reflect according to their true incidence; nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced. For this purpose, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by the general nature of the mind, beholding them in an example or two; as first, in that instance which is the root of all superstition, namely, That to the nature of the mind of all men it is consonant for the affirmative or active to affect more than the negative or privative: so that a few times hitting or presence countervails oftimes failing or absence; as was well answered by Diagoras to him that showed him in Neptune's temple the great number of pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck and had paid their vows to Neptune, saying, "Advise now, you that think it folly to invocate Neptune in tempest:" "Yea, but," saith Diagoras, "where are they painted that are drowned?" Let us behold it in another instance, namely, That the spirit of man, being of an equal and uniform substance, doth usually suppose and feign in nature a greater equality and uniformity than is in truth. Hence it cometh, that the mathematicians cannot satisfy themselves, except they reduce the motions of the celestial bodies to perfect circles, rejecting spiral lines, and labouring to be discharged of eccentrics. Hence it cometh, that whereas there are many things in nature, as it were "monodica, sui juris;" yet the cogitations of man do feign unto them relatives, parallels, and conjugates, whereas no such thing is; as they have feigned an element of fire, to keep square with earth, water, and air, and the like: nay, it is not credible, till it be opened, what a number of fictions and fancies the similitude of human actions and arts, together with the making of man "communis mensura," have brought into Natural Philosophy; not much better than the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, bred in the cells of gross and solitary monks, and the opinion of Epicurus, answerable to the same in heathenism, who supposed the gods to be of human shape. And therefore Velleius the Epicurean needed not to have asked, why God should have adorned the heavens with stars as if he had been an Ædilis, one that should have set forth some magnificent shows or plays. For if that great Work-master had been of a human disposition, he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders, like the frets in the roofs of houses; whereas one can scarce find a posture in square, or triangle, or straight line, amongst such an infinite number; so differing a harmony there is between the spirit of man and the spirit of nature.

Let us consider, again, the false appearances imposed upon us by every man's own individual nature and custom, in that feigned supposition that Plato maketh of the cave: for certainly if a child were continued in a grot or cave under the earth, until maturity of age, and came suddenly abroad, he would have strange and absurd imaginations. So in like manner, although our persons live in the view of heaven, yet our spirits are included in the caves of our own complexions and customs, which minister unto us infinite errors and vain opinions, if they be not recalled to examination. But hereof we have given many examples in one of the errors or peccant humours, which we ran briefly over in our first book.

And lastly, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by words, which are framed and applied according to the conceit and capacities of the vulgar sort; and although we think we govern our words, and prescribe it well, "Loquendum ut vulgus, sentiendum ut sapientes;" yet certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment; so as it is almost necessary, in all controversies and disputations, to imitate the wisdom of the mathematicians, in setting down in the very beginning the definitions of our words and terms, that others may know how we accept and understand them, and whether they concur with us or no. For it cometh to pass, for want of this, that we are sure to end there where we ought to have begun, which is, in questions and differences about words. To conclude, therefore, it must be confessed that it is not possible to divorce ourselves from these fallacies and false appearances, because they are inseparable from our nature and condition of life; so yet nevertheless the caution of them, (for all elenches, as was said, are but cautions,) doth extremely import the true conduct of human judgment. The particular elenches or cautions against these three false appearances, I find altogether deficient.

There remaineth one part of judgment of great excellency, which to mine understanding is so slightly touched, as I may report that also deficient; which is the application of the differing

…is to the differing kinds of subjects; …ig but four kinds of demonstrations, that is, by the immediate consent of the mind or sense, by induction, by sophism, and by congruity, (which is that which Aristotle calleth demonstration in orb or circle, and not "a notioribus;") every of these hath certain subjects in the matter of sciences, in which respectively they have chiefest use; and certain others, from which respectively they ought to be excluded: and the rigour and curiosity in requiring the more severe proofs in some things, and chiefly the facility in contenting ourselves with the more remiss proofs in others, hath been amongst the greatest causes of detriment and hinderance to knowledge. The distributions and assignations of demonstrations, according to the analogy of sciences, I note as deficient.

The custody or retaining of knowledge is either in Writing or Memory; whereof writing hath two parts, the nature of the character, and the order of the entry; for the art of characters, or other visible notes of words or things, it hath nearest conjugation with grammar; and therefore I refer it to the due place: for the disposition and collocation of that knowledge which we preserve in writing, it consisteth in a good digest of commonplaces; wherein I am not ignorant of the prejudice imputed to the use of commonplace books, as causing a retardation of reading, and some sloth or relaxation of memory. But because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of commonplaces, to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth "copia" of invention, and contracteth judgment to a strength. But this is true, that of the methods of commonplaces that I have seen there is none of any sufficient worth; all of them carrying merely the face of a school, and not of a world; and referring to vulgar matters and pedantical divisions, without all life, or respect to action.

For the other principal part of the custody of knowledge, which is Memory, I find that faculty in my judgment weakly inquired of. An art there is extant of it: but it seemeth to me that there are better precepts than that art, and better practices of that art than those received. It is certain the art, as it is, may be raised to points of ostentation prodigious; but in use, as it is now managed, it is barren, (not burdensome, nor dangerous to natural memory, as is imagined, but barren,) that is, not dexterous to be applied to the serious use of business and occasions. And therefore I make no more estimation of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing, or the pouring forth of a number of verses or rhymes extempore, or the making of a satirical simile of every thing, or the turning of every thing to a jest, or the falsifying or contradicting of every thing by cavil, or the like, (whereof in the faculties of the mind there is great "copia," and such as by device and practice may be exalted to an extreme degree of wonder,) than I do of the tricks of tumblers, funambulos, baladines; the one being the same in the mind that the other is in the body, matters of strangeness without worthiness.

This art of memory is but built upon two intentions; the one prenotion, the other emblem. Prenotion dischargeth the indefinite seeking of that we would remember, and directeth us to seek in a narrow compass, that is, somewhat that hath congruity with our place of memory. Emblem reduceth conceits intellectual to images sensible, which strike the memory more; out of which axioms, may be drawn much better practice than that in use; and besides which axioms there are divers more touching help of memory, not inferior to them. But I did in the beginning distinguish, not to report those things deficient, which are but only ill managed.

There remaineth the fourth kind of rational knowledge, which is transitive, concerning the expressing or transferring our knowledge to others; which I will term by the general name of tradition or delivery. Tradition hath three parts; the first concerning the organ of tradition; the second concerning the method of tradition; and the third concerning the illustration of tradition.

For the organ of tradition, it is either speech or writing: for Aristotle saith well, "Words are the images of cogitations, and letters are the images of words;" but yet it is not of necessity that cogitations be expressed by the medium of words. For whatsoever is capable of sufficient differences, and those perceptible by the sense, is in nature competent to express cogitations. And therefore we see in the commerce of barbarous people, that understand not one another's language, and in the practice of divers that are dumb and deaf, that men's minds are expressed in gestures, though not exactly, yet to serve the turn. And we understand further, that it is the use of China, and the kingdoms of the high Levant, to write in characters real, which express neither letters nor words in gross, but things or notions; insomuch as countries and provinces, which understand not one another's language, can nevertheless read one another's writings, because the characters are accepted more generally than the languages do extend; and therefore they have a vast multitude of characters, as many, I suppose, as radical words.

These notes of cogitations are of two sorts; the one when the note hath some similitude or congruity with the notion; the other "ad placitum," having force only by contract or acceptation. Of the former sort are hieroglyphics and gestures. For as to hieroglyphics, things of ancient use, and embraced chiefly by the Ægy…tians, one of the most ancient nations, they are but as

continued impresses and emblems. And as for gestures, they are as transitory hieroglyphics, and are to hieroglyphics as words spoken are to words written, in that they abide not; but they have evermore, as well as the other, an affinity with the things signified: as Periander, being consulted with how to preserve a tyranny newly usurped, bid the messenger attend and report what he saw him do; and went into his garden and topped all the highest flowers: signifying, that it consisted in the cutting off and keeping low of the nobility and grandees. "Ad placitum," are the characters real before mentioned, and words: although some have been willing by curious inquiry, or rather by apt feigning, to have derived imposition of names from reason and intendment; a speculation elegant, and, by reason it searcheth into antiquity, reverent; but sparingly mixed with truth, and of small fruit. This portion of knowledge, touching the notes of things, and cogitations in general, I find not inquired, but deficient. And although it may seem of no great use, considering that words and writings by letters do far excel all the other ways; yet because this part concerneth, as it were, the mint of knowledge, (for words are the tokens current and accepted for conceits, as moneys are for values, and that it is fit men be not ignorant that moneys may be of another kind than gold and silver,) I thought good to propound it to better inquiry.

Concerning speech and words, the consideration of them hath produced the science of Grammar: for man still striveth to reintegrate himself in those benedictions, from which by his fault he hath been deprived; and as he hath striven against the first general curse by the invention of all other arts, so hath he sought to come forth of the second general curse, which was the confusion of tongues, by the art of grammar: whereof the use in a mother tongue is small, in a foreign tongue more; but most in such foreign tongues as have ceased to be vulgar tongues, and are turned only to learned tongues. The duty of it is of two natures; the one popular, which is for the speedy and perfect attaining languages, as well for intercourse of speech as for understanding of authors; the other philosophical, examining the power and nature of words, as they are the footsteps and prints of reason: which kind of analogy between words and reason is handled "sparsim," brokenly, though not entirely; and therefore I cannot report it deficient, though I think it very worthy to be reduced into a science by itself.

Unto grammar also belongeth, as an appendix, the consideration of the accidents of words; which are measure, sound, and elevation or accent, and the sweetness and harshness of them; whence hath issued some curious observations in rhetoric, but chiefly poesy, as we consider it, in respect of the verse, and not of the argument: wherein though men in learned tongues do tie themselves to the ancient measures, yet in modern languages it seemeth to me as free to make new measures of verses as of dances; for a dance is a measured pace, as a verse is a measured speech. In these things the sense is better judge than the art;

> "Cœnæ fercula nostræ
> Maliem convivis quam placuisse cocis."

And of the servile expressing antiquity in an unlike and an unfit subject, it is well said, "Quod tempore antiquum videtur, id incongruitate est maxime novum."

For ciphers, they are commonly in letters or alphabets, but may be in words. The kinds of ciphers, besides the simple ciphers, with changes, and intermixtures of nulls and non-significants, are many, according to the nature or rule of the infolding, wheel-ciphers, key-ciphers, doubles, &c. But the virtues of them, whereby they are to be preferred, are three; that they be not laborious to write and read; that they be impossible to decipher; and, in some cases, that they be without suspicion. The highest degree whereof is to write "omnia per omnia;" which is undoubtedly possible, with a proportion quintuple at most of the writing infolding to the writing infolded, and no other restraint whatsoever. This art of ciphering, hath for relative an art of deciphering, by supposition unprofitable, but, as things are, of great use. For suppose that ciphers were well managed, there be multitudes of them which exclude the decipherer. But in regard of the rawness and unskilfulness of the hands through which they pass, the greatest matters are many times carried in the weakest ciphers.

In the enumeration of these private and retired arts, it may be thought I seek to make a great muster-roll of sciences, naming them for show and ostentation, and to little other purpose. But let those which are skilful in them judge whether I bring them in only for appearance, or whether in that which I speak of them, though in few marks, there be not some seed of proficience. And this must be remembered, that as there be many of great account in their countries and provinces, which, when they come up to the seat of the estate, are but of mean rank and scarcely regarded; so these arts, being here placed with the principal and supreme sciences, seem petty things; yet to such as have chosen them to spend their labours and studies in them, they seem great matters.

For the method of tradition, I see it hath moved a controversy in our time. But as in civil business, if there be a meeting, and men fall at words, there is commonly an end of the matter for that time, and no proceeding at all; so in learning, where there is much controversy, there is many times little inquiry. For this part of knowledge of method seemeth to me so weakly inquired as I shall report it deficient.

Method hath been placed, and that not amiss, in logic, as a part of judgment: for as the doctrine of syllogisms comprehendeth the rules of judgment upon that which is invented, so the doctrine of method containeth the rules of judgment upon that which is to be delivered; for judgment precedeth delivery, as it followeth invention. Neither is the method or the nature of the tradition material only to the use of knowledge, but likewise to the progression of knowledge: for since the labour and life of one man cannot attain to perfection of knowledge, the wisdom of the tradition is that which inspireth the felicity of continuance and proceeding. And therefore the most real diversity of method, is of method referred to use, and method referred to progression; whereof the one may be termed magistral, and the other of probation.

The latter whereof seemeth to be "via deserta et interclusa." For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of contract of error between the deliverer and the receiver: for he that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined; and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant inquiry; and so rather not to doubt, than not to err: glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the disciple not to know his strength.

But knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented; and so is it possible of knowledge induced. But in this same anticipated and prevented knowledge, no man knoweth how he came to the knowledge which he hath obtained. But yet nevertheless, "secundum majus et minus," a man may revisit and descend unto the foundations of his knowledge and consent; and so transplant it into another, as it grew in his own mind. For it is in knowledges as it is in plants: if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips: so the delivery of knowledges, as it is now used, is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But if you will have sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots: of which kind of delivery the method of the mathematics, in that subject, hath some shadow; but generally I see it neither put in ure nor put in inquisition, and therefore note it for deficient.

Another diversity of method there is, which hath some affinity with the former, used in some cases by the discretion of the ancients, but disgraced since by the impostures of many vain persons, who have made it as a false light for their counterfeit merchandises; and that is, enigmatical and disclosed. The pretence whereof is, to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledges, and to reserve them to selected auditors, or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil.

Another diversity of method, whereof the consequence is great, is the delivery of knowledge in aphorisms, or in methods; wherein we may observe, that it hath been too much taken into custom, out of a few axioms or observations upon any subject, to make a solemn and formal art, filling it with some discourses, and illustrating it with examples, and digesting it into a sensible method: but the writing in aphorisms hath many excellent virtues, whereto the writing in method doth not approach.

For first, it trieth the writer, whether he be superficial or solid: for aphorisms, except they should be ridiculous, cannot be made but of the pith and heart of sciences; for discourse of illustration is cut off; recitals of examples are cut off; discourse of connection and order is cut off; descriptions of practice are cut off; so there remaineth nothing to fill the aphorisms but some good quantity of observation: and therefore no man can suffice, nor in reason will attempt to write aphorisms, but he that is sound and grounded. But in methods,

"Tantum series juncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris;"

as a man shall make a great show of an art, which, if it were disjointed, would come to little. Secondly, methods are more fit to win consent or belief, but less fit to point to action; for they carry a kind of demonstration in orb or circle, one part illuminating another, and therefore satisfy; but particulars, being dispersed, do best agree with dispersed directions. And lastly, aphorisms, representing a knowledge broken, do invite men to inquire farther; whereas methods, carrying the show of a total, do secure men, as if they were at farthest.

Another diversity of method, which is likewise of great weight, is the handling of knowledge by assertions and their proofs, or by questions and their determinations; the latter kind whereof, if it be immoderately followed, is as prejudicial to the proceeding of learning, as it is to the proceeding of an army to go about to besiege every little fort or hold. For if the field be kept, and the sum of the enterprise pursued, those smaller things will come in of themselves: indeed a man would not leave some important piece with an enemy at his back. In like manner, the use of confutation in the delivery of sciences ought to be very sparing; and to serve to remove strong preoccupations and prejudgments, and not to minister and excite disputations and doubts.

Another diversity of method is, according to the subject or matter which is handled; for there is a great difference in delivery of the mathematics,

which are the most abstracted of knowledges, and policy which is the most immersed; and howsoever contention hath been moved, touching a uniformity of method in multiformity of matter, yet we see how that opinion, besides the weakness of it, hath been of ill desert towards learning, as that which taketh the way to reduce learning to certain empty and barren generalities; being but the very husks and shells of sciences, all the kernel being forced out and expulsed with the torture and press of the method: and therefore, as I did allow well of particular topics for invention, so I do allow likewise of particular methods of tradition.

Another diversity of judgment in the delivery and teaching of knowledge is, according unto the light and presuppositions of that which is delivered; for that knowledge which is new, and foreign from opinions received, is to be delivered in another form than that that is agreeable and familiar; and therefore Aristotle, when he thinks to tax Democritus, doth in truth commend him, where he saith, "If we shall indeed dispute, and not follow after similitudes," &c. For those whose conceits are seated in popular opinions, need only but to prove or dispute; but those whose conceits are beyond popular opinions have a double labour; the one to make themselves conceived, and the other to prove and demonstrate: so that it is of necessity with them to have recourse to similitudes and translations to express themselves. And therefore in the infancy of learning, and in rude times, when those conceits which are now trivial were then new, the world was full of parables and similitudes; for else would men either have passed over without mark, or else rejected for paradoxes that which was offered before they had understood or judged. So in divine learning, we see how frequent parables and tropes are; for it is a rule, "That whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions, must pray in aid of similitudes."

There be also other diversities of methods, vulgar and received: as that of resolution or analysis, of constitution or systasis, of concealment or cryptic, &c., which I do allow well of, though I have stood upon those which are least handled and observed. All which I have remembered to this purpose, because I would erect and constitute one general inquiry, which seems to me deficient, touching the wisdom of tradition.

But unto this part of knowledge, concerning methods, doth farther belong not only the architecture of the whole frame of a work, but also the severals beams and columns thereof; not as to their stuff, but as to their quantity and figure: and therefore method considereth not only the disposition of the argument or subject, but likewise the propositions; not as to their truth or matter, but as to their limitation and manner. For herein Ramus merited better a great deal in reviving the good rules of propositions, Καθόλου πρῶτον κατὰ παντός, &c. than he did in introducing the canker of epitomes; and yet (as it is the condition of human things that, according to the ancient fables, "The most precious things have the most pernicious keepers;") it was so, that the attempt of the one made him fall upon the other. For he had need be well conducted that should design to make axioms convertible, if he make them not withal circular, and "non promovent," or incurring into themselves: but yet the intention was excellent.

The other considerations of method, concerning propositions, are chiefly touching the utmost propositions, which limit the dimensions of sciences; for every knowledge may be fitly said, besides the profundity, (which is the truth and substance of it, that makes it solid,) to have a longitude and a latitude; accounting the latitude towards other sciences, and the longitude towards action; that is, from the greatest generality to the most particular precept: the one giveth rule how far one knowledge ought to intermeddle within the province of another, which is the rule they call Καθαυτό; the other giveth rule unto what degree of particularity a knowledge should descend: which latter I find passed over in silence, being in my judgment the more material; for certainly there must be somewhat left to practice; but how much is worthy the inquiry. We see remote and superficial generalities do but offer knowledge to scorn of practical men; and are no more aiding to practice, than an Ortelius's universal map is to direct the way between London and York. The better sort of rules have been not unfitly compared to glasses of steel unpolished, where you may see the images of things, but first they must be filed; so the rules will help, if they be laboured and polished by practice. But how crystalline they may be made at the first, and how far forth they may be polished aforehand, is the question; the inquiry whereof seemeth to me deficient.

There hath been also laboured and put in practice a method, which is not a lawful method, but a method of imposture; which is, to deliver knowledges in such manner, as men may speedily come to make a show of learning who have it not: such was the travail of Raymund Lullius, in making that art which bears his name; not unlike to some books of typocosmy, which have been made since; being nothing but a mass of words of all arts, to give men countenance, that those which use the terms might be thought to understand the art; which collections are much like a fripper's or broker's shop, that hath ends of every thing, but nothing of worth.

Now we descend to that part which concerneth the illustration of tradition, comprehended in that science which we call Rhetoric, or art of eloquence; a science excellent, and excellently well laboured. For although in true value it is inferior to wisdom, (as it is said by God to Moses, when he disabled himself for want of this faculty, Aaron

shall be thy speaker, and thou shalt be to him as God:) yet with the people it is the more mighty; for so Solomon saith, "Sapiens corde appellabitur prudens, sed dulcis eloquio majora reperiet;" signifying, that profoundness of wisdom will help a man to a name or admiration, but that it is eloquence that prevaileth in an active life. And as to the labouring of it, the emulation of Aristotle with the rhetoricians of his time, and the experience of Cicero, hath made them in their works of rhetoric exceed themselves. Again, the excellency of examples of eloquence in the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, added to the perfection of the precepts of eloquence, hath doubled the progression in this art; and therefore the deficiencies which I shall note will rather be in some collections, which may as handmaids attend the art, than in the rules or use of the art itself.

Notwithstanding, to stir the earth a little about the roots of this science, as we have done of the rest; the duty and office of Rhetoric is, to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will. For we see reason is disturbed in the administration thereof by three means; by illaqueation or sophism, which pertains to logic; by imagination or impression, which pertains to rhetoric; and by passion or affection, which pertains to morality. And as in negotiation with others, men are wrought by cunning, by importunity, and by vehemency; so in this negotiation within ourselves, men are undermined by consequences, solicited and importuned by impressions or observations, and transported by passions. Neither is the nature of man so unfortunately built, as that those powers and arts should have force to disturb reason, and not to establish and advance it: for the end of logic is, to teach a form of argument to secure reason, and not to entrap it; the end of morality is to procure the affections to obey reason, and not to invade it; the end of rhetoric is, to fill the imagination to second reason, and not to oppress it: for these abuses of arts come in but "ex obliquo," for caution.

And therefore it was great injustice in Plato, though springing out of a just hatred of the rhetoricians of his time, to esteem of rhetoric but as a voluptuary art, resembling it to cookery, that did mar wholesome meats, and help unwholesome by variety of sauces to the pleasure of the taste. For we see that speech is much more conversant in adorning that which is good, than in colouring that which is evil; for there is no man but speaketh more honestly than he can do or think; and it was excellently noted by Thucydides in Cleon, that because he used to hold on the bad side in causes of estate, therefore he was ever inveighing against eloquence and good speech; knowing that no man can speak fair of courses sordid and base. And therefore as Plato said elegantly, "That Virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection;" so seeing that she cannot be showed to the sense by corporal shape, the next degree is to show her to the imagination in lively representation: for to show her to reason only in subtilty of argument, was a thing ever derided in Chrysippus and many of the Stoics; who thought to thrust virtue upon men by sharp disputations and conclusions, which have no sympathy with the will of man.

Again, if the affections in themselves were pliant and obedient to reason, it were true, there should be no great use of persuasions and insinuations to the will, more than of naked proposition and proofs; but in regard to the continual mutinies and seditions of the affections,

"Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor:"

reason would become captive and servile, if eloquence of persuasions did not practise and win the imagination from the affections part, and contract a confederacy between the reason and imagination against the affections; for the affections themselves carry ever an appetite to good, as reason doth. The difference is, that the affection beholdeth merely the present; reason beholdeth the future and sum of time. And therefore the present filling the imagination more, reason is commonly vanquished; but after that force of eloquence and persuasion hath made things future and remote appear as present, then upon the revolt of the imagination reason prevaileth.

We conclude, therefore, that rhetoric can be no more charged with the colouring of the worst part, than logic with sophistry, or morality with vice. For we know the doctrines of contraries are the same, though the use be opposite. It appeareth also that logic differeth from rhetoric, not only as the fist from the palm, the one close the other at large; but much more in this, that logic handleth reason exact and in truth, and rhetoric handleth it as it is planted in popular opinions and manners. And therefore Aristotle doth wisely place rhetoric as between logic on the one side, and moral or civil knowledge on the other, as participating of both: for the proofs and demonstrations of logic are toward all men indifferent and the same; but the proofs and persuasions of rhetoric ought to differ according to the auditors:

"Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinas Arion:"

which application, in perfection of idea, ought to extend so far, that if a man should speak of the same thing to several persons, he should speak to them all respectively in several ways: though this politic part of eloquence in private speech it is easy for the greatest orators to want; whilst, by the observing their well-graced forms of speech, they lose the volubility of application: and therefore it shall not be amiss to recommend this to better inquiry, not being curious whether we place it here, or in that part which concerneth policy.

Now, therefore, will I descend to the deficiencies, which, as I said, are but attendances: and first, I

do not find the wisdom and diligence of Aristotle well pursued, who began to make a collection of the popular signs and colours of good and evil, both simple and comparative, which are as the sophisms of rhetoric, as I touched before. For example:

SOPHISMA.

"Quod laudatur, bonum: quod vituperatur, malum."

REDARGUTIO.

"Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.
Malum est, malum est, inquit emptor: sed cum recesserit, tum gloriabitur."

The defects in the labour of Aristotle are three: one, that there be but a few of many; another, that their elenches are not annexed: and the third, that he conceived but a part of the use of them: for their use is not only in probation, but much more in impression. For many forms are equal in signification which are differing in impression; as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharp and that which is flat, though the strength of the percussion be the same: for there is no man but will be a little more raised by hearing it said, "Your enemies will be glad of this:"

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ:"

than by hearing it said only, "This is evil for you."

Secondly, I do resume also that which I mentioned before, touching provision or preparatory store, for the furniture of speech and readiness of invention, which appeareth to be of two sorts; the one in resemblance to a shop of pieces unmade up, the other to a shop of things ready made up; both to be applied to that which is frequent and most in request: the former of these I will call antitheta, and the latter formulæ.

Antitheta are theses argued "pro et contra;" wherein men may be more large and laborious: but, in such as are able to do it, to avoid prolixity of entry, I wish the seeds of the several arguments to be cast up into some brief and acute sentences, not to be cited, but to be as skains or bottoms of thread, to be unwinded at large when they come to be used; applying authorities and examples by reference.

PRO VERBIS LEGIS

"Non est interpretatio, sed divinatio, quæ recedit a literâ: Cum receditur a literâ, judex transit in legislatorem."

PRO SENTENTIA LEGIS.

"Ex omnibus verbis est eliciendus sensus, qui interpretatur singula."

Formulæ are but decent and apt passages or conveyances of speech, which may serve indifferently for differing subjects; as of preface, conclusion, digression, transition, excusation, &c. For as in buildings, there is great pleasure and use in the well-casting of the staircases, entries, doors, windows, and the like; so in speech, the conveyances and passages are of special ornament and effect.

A CONCLUSION IN A DELIBERATIVE.

"So may we redeem the faults passed, and prevent the inconveniences future."

There remain two appendices touching the tradition of knowledge, the one critical, the other pedantical. For all knowledge is either delivered by teachers, or attained by men's proper endeavours: and therefore as the principal part of tradition of knowledge concerneth chiefly writing of books, so the relative part thereof concerneth reading of books; whereunto appertain incidently these considerations. The first is concerning the true correction and edition of authors; wherein nevertheless rash diligence hath done great prejudice. For these critics have often presumed, that that which they understand not is false set down: as the priest that, where he found it was written of St. Paul, "Demissus est per sportam," mended his book, and made it "Demissus est per portam;" because sporta was a hard word, and out of his reading: and surely their errors, though they be not so palpable and ridiculous, are yet of the same kind. And therefore, as it hath been wisely noted, the most corrected copies are commonly the least correct.

The second is concerning the exposition and explication of authors, which resteth in annotations and commentaries: wherein it is over usual to blanch the obscure places, and discourse upon the plain.

The third is concerning the times, which in many cases give great light to true interpretations.

The fourth is concerning some brief censure and judgment of the authors; that men thereby may make some election unto themselves what books to read.

And the fifth is concerning the syntax and disposition of studies; that men may know in what order or pursuit to read.

For pedantical knowledge, it containeth that difference of tradition which is proper for youth; whereunto appertain divers considerations of great fruit.

As first, the timing and seasoning of knowledge; as with what to initiate them, and from what for a time to refrain them.

Secondly, the consideration where to begin with the easiest, and so proceed to the more difficult; and in what courses to press the more difficult, and then to turn them to the more easy; for it is one method to practise swimming with bladders, and another to practise dancing with heavy shoes.

A third is, the application of learning according unto the propriety of the wits; for there is no defect in the faculties intellectual, but seemeth to have a proper cure contained in some studies: as for example, if a child be bird-witted, that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the mathematics giveth a remedy thereunto; for in them, if the

wit be caught away out a moment, one is to begin anew. And as sciences have a propriety towards faculties for cure and help, so faculties or powers have a sympathy towards sciences for excellency or speedy profiting; and therefore it is an inquiry of great wisdom, what kinds of wits and natures are most apt and proper for what sciences.

Fourthly, the ordering of exercises is matter of great consequence to hurt or help: for, as is well observed by Cicero, men in exercising their faculties, if they be not well advised, do exercise their faults and get ill habits as well as good; so there is a great judgment to be had in the continuance and intermission of exercises. It were too long to particularize a number of other considerations of this nature, things but of mean appearance, but of singular efficacy. For as the wronging or cherishing of seeds or young plants is that that is most important to their thriving: (and as it was noted that the first six kings, being in truth as tutors of the state of Rome in the infancy thereof, was the principal cause of the immense greatness of that state which followed:) so the culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a forcible, though unseen, operation, as hardly any length of time or contention of labour can countervail it afterwards. And it is not amiss to observe also how small and mean faculties gotten by education, yet when they fall into great men or great matters, do work great and important effects; whereof we see a notable example in Tacitus of two stage players, Percennius and Vibulenus, who by their faculty of playing put the Pannonian armies into an extreme tumult and combustion: for there arising a mutiny amongst them upon the death of Augustus Cæsar, Blæsus the lieutenant had committed some of the mutineers, which were suddenly rescued; whereupon Vibulenus got to be heard speak, which he did in this manner:—"These poor innocent wretches, appointed to cruel death, you have restored to behold the light; but who shall restore my brother to me, or life unto my brother, that was sent hither in message from the legions of Germany, to treat of the common cause? and he hath murdered him this last night by some of his fencers and ruffians, that he hath about him for his executioners upon soldiers. Answer, Blæsus, what is done with his body? The mortalest enemies do not deny burial. When I have performed my last duties to the corpse with kisses, with tears, command me to be slain beside him; so that these my fellows, for our good meaning, and our true hearts to the legions, may have leave to bury us." With which speech he put the army into an infinite fury and uproar: whereas truth was he had no brother, neither was there any such matter; but he played it merely as if he had been upon the stage.

But to return: we are now come to a period of Rational Knowledges; wherein if I have made the divisions other than those that are received, yet would I not be thought to disallow all those divisions which I do not use: for there is a double necessity imposed upon me of altering the divisions. The one, because it differeth in end and purpose, to sort together those things which are next in nature and those things which are next in use; for if a secretary of state should sort his papers, it is like in his study or general cabinet he would sort together things of a nature, as treaties, instructions, &c., but in his boxes or particular cabinet he would sort together those that he were like to use together, though of several natures; so in this general cabinet of knowledge it was necessary for me to follow the divisions of the nature of things: whereas if myself had been to handle any particular knowledge, I would have respected the divisions fittest for use. The other, because the bringing in of the deficiencies did by consequence alter the partitions of the rest: for let the knowledge extant, for demonstration sake, be fifteen; let the knowledge with the deficiencies be twenty; the parts of fifteen are not the parts of twenty; for the parts of fifteen are three and five; the parts of twenty are two, four, five, and ten; so as these things are without contradiction, and could not otherwise be.

We proceed now to that knowledge which considereth of the Appetite and Will of Man, whereof Solomon saith, "Ante omnia, fili, custodi cor tuum: nam inde procedunt actiones vitæ." In the handling of this science, those which have written seem to me to have done as if a man, that professeth to teach to write, did only exhibit fair copies of alphabets and letters joined, without giving any precepts or directions for the carriage of the hand and framing of the letters: so have they made good and fair exemplars and copies, carrying the draughts and portraitures of good, virtue, duty, felicity; propounding them well described as the true objects and scopes of man's will and desires; but how to attain these excellent marks, and how to frame and subdue the will of man to become true and conformable to these pursuits, they pass it over altogether, or slightly and unprofitably; for it is not the disputing, that moral virtues are in the mind of man by habit and not by nature, or the distinguishing that generous spirits are won by doctrines and persuasions, and the vulgar sort by reward and punishment, and the like scattered glances and touches, that can excuse the absence of this part.

The reason of this omission I suppose to be that hidden rock whereupon both this and many other barks of knowledge have been cast away; which is, that men have despised to be conversant in ordinary and common matters, (the judicious direction whereof nevertheless is the wisest doctrine, for life consisteth not in novelties or subtilties,) but contrariwise they have compounded sciences

chiefly of a certain resplendent or lustrous mass of matter, chosen to give glory either to subtilty of disputations, or to the eloquence of discourses. But Seneca giveth an excellent check to eloquence; "Nocet illis eloquentia, quibus non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui." Doctrine should be such as should make men in love with the lesson, and not with the teacher; being directed to the auditor's benefit, and not to the author's commendation: and therefore those are of the right kind, which may be concluded as Demosthenes concludes his counsel, "Quæ si feceritis, non oratorem duntaxat in præsentia laudabatis, sed vosmetipsos etiam non ita multo post statu rerum vestrarum meliore."

Neither needed men of so excellent parts to have despaired of a fortune, which the poet Virgil promised himself, and indeed obtained, who got as much glory of eloquence, wit, and learning in the expressing of the observations of husbandry, as of the heroical acts of Æneas:—

"Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
Quam sit, et angustis his addere rebus honorem."
Georg. iii. 289.

And surely, if the purpose be in good earnest, not to write at leisure that which men may read at leisure, but really to instruct and suborn action and active life, these Georgics of the mind, concerning the husbandry and tillage thereof, are no less worthy than the heroical descriptions of virtue, duty, and felicity. Wherefore the main and primitive division of moral knowledge seemeth to be into the Exemplar or Platform of Good, and the Regiment or Culture of the Mind; the one describing the nature of Good, the other prescribing rules how to subdue, apply, and accommodate the Will of Man thereunto.

The doctrine touching the Platform or Nature of Good considereth it either simple or compared; either the kinds of good, or the degrees of good: in the latter whereof those infinite disputations which were touching the supreme degree thereof, which they term felicity, beatitude, or the highest good, the doctrines concerning which were as the heathen divinity, are by the Christian faith discharged. And as Aristotle saith, "That young men may be happy, but not otherwise but by hope;" so we must all acknowledge our minority, and embrace the felicity which is by hope of the future world.

Freed therefore and delivered from this doctrine of the philosopher's heaven, whereby they feigned a higher elevation of man's nature than was, (for we see in what a height of style Seneca writeth, "Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem, hominis, securitatem Dei," we may with more sobriety and truth receive the rest of their inquiries and labours; wherein for the nature of good positive or simple, they have set it down excellently, in describing the forms of virtue and duty, with their situations and postures; in distributing them into their kinds, parts, provinces, actions, and administrations, and the like: nay farther, they have commended them to man's nature and spirit, with great quickness of argument and beauty of persuasions; yea, and fortified and intrenched them, as much as discourse can do, against corrupt and popular opinions. Again, for the degrees and comparative nature of good, they have also excellently handled it in their triplicity of good, in the comparison between a contemplative and an active life, in the distinction between virtue with reluctation and virtue secured, in their encounters between honesty and profit, in their balancing of virtue with virtue, and the like; so as this part deserveth to be reported for excellently laboured.

Notwithstanding, if before they had come to the popular and received notions of virtue and vice, pleasure and pain, and the rest, they had stayed a little longer upon the inquiry concerning the roots of good and evil, and the strings of those roots, they had given, in my opinion, a great light to that which followed; and especially if they had consulted with nature, they had made their doctrines less prolix and more profound: which being by them in part omitted and in part handled with much confusion, we will endeavour to resume and open in a more clear manner.

There is formed in every thing a double nature of good: the one, as every thing is a total or substantive in itself; the other, as it is a part or member of a greater body: whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier, because it tendeth to the conservation of a more general form. Therefore we see the iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone; but yet if it exceed a certain quantity, it forsaketh the affection to the loadstone, and like a good patriot moveth to the earth, which is the region and country of massy bodies; so may we go forward, and see that water and massy bodies move to the centre of the earth; but rather than to suffer a divulsion in the continuance of nature, they will move upwards from the centre of the earth, forsaking their duty to the earth in regard to their duty to the world. This double nature of good, and the comparative thereof, is much more engraven upon man, if he degenerate not; unto whom the conservation of duty to the public ought to be much more precious than the conservation of life and being: according to that memorable speech of Pompeius Magnus, when being in commission of purveyance for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them, "Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam." But it may be truly affirmed that there was never any philosophy, religion, or other discipline, which did so plainly and highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and parti-

cular, as the Holy Faith; well declaring, that it was the same God that gave the Christian law to men, who gave those laws of nature to inanimate creatures that we speak of before; for we read that the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in an ecstasy of charity and infinite feeling of communion.

This being set down and strongly planted, doth judge and determine most of the controversies wherein moral philosophy is conversant. For first, it decideth the question touching the preferment of the contemplative or active life, and decideth it against Aristotle. For all the reasons which he bringeth for the contemplative are private, and respecting the pleasure and dignity of a man's self, in which respects, no question, the contemplative life hath the pre-eminence: not much unlike to that comparison, which Pythagoras made for the gracing and magnifying of philosophy and contemplation; who, being asked what he was, answered, "That if Hiero were ever at the Olympian games, he knew the manner, that some came to try their fortune for the prizes, and some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer and meet their friends, and some came to look on; and that he was one of them that came to look on." But men must know, that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on: neither could the like question ever have been received in the church, (notwithstanding their "Pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus," by which place they would exalt their civil death and regular professions,) but upon this defence, that the monastical life is not simply contemplative, but performeth the duty either of incessant prayers and supplications, which hath been truly esteemed as an office in the church, or else of writing or in taking instructions for writing concerning the law of God, as Moses did when he abode so long in the mount. And so we see Enoch the seventh from Adam, who was the first contemplative, and walked with God, yet did also endow the church with prophecy, which St. Jude citeth. But for contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

It decideth also the controversies between Zeno and Socrates, and their schools and successions, on the one side, who placed felicity in virtue simply or attended, the actions and exercises whereof do chiefly embrace and concern society; and on the other side, the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who placed it in pleasure, and made virtue, (as it is used in some comedies of errors, wherein the mistress and the maid change habits,) to be but as a servant, without which pleasure cannot be served and attended, and the reformed school of the Epicureans, which placed it in serenity of mind and freedom from perturbation, (as if they would have deposed Jupiter again, and restored Saturn and the first age, when there was no summer nor winter, spring nor autumn, but all after one air and season,) and Herillus, who placed felicity in extinguishment of the disputes of the mind, making no fixed nature of good and evil, esteeming things according to the clearness of the desires, or the reluctation; which opinion was revived in the heresy of the Anabaptists, measuring things according to the motions of the spirit, and the constancy or wavering of belief: all which are manifest to tend to private repose and contentment, and not to point of society.

It censureth also the philosophy of Epictetus, which presupposeth that felicity must be placed in those things which are in our power, lest we be liable to fortune and disturbance: as if it were not a thing much more happy to fail in good and virtuous ends for the public, than to obtain all that we can wish to ourselves in our proper fortune; as Gonsalvo said to his soldiers, showing them Naples, and protesting, "He had rather die one foot forwards, than to have his life secured for long by one foot of retreat." Whereunto the wisdom of that heavenly leader hath signed, who hath affirmed that a good conscience is a continual feast; showing plainly that the conscience of good intentions, howsoever succeeding, is a more continual joy to nature than all the provision which can be made for security and repose.

It censureth likewise that abuse of philosophy, which grew general about the time of Epictetus, in converting it into an occupation or profession; as if the purpose had been, not to resist and extinguish perturbations, but to fly and avoid the causes of them, and to shape a particular kind and course of life to that end; introducing such a health of mind, as was that health of body of which Aristotle speaketh of Herodicus, who did nothing all his life long but intend his health: whereas if men refer themselves to duties of society, as that health of body is best, which is ablest to endure all alterations and extremities: so likewise that health of mind is most proper, which can go through the greatest temptations and perturbations. So as Diogenes's opinion is to be accepted, who commended not them which abstained, but them which sustained, and could refrain their mind "in præcipitio," and could give unto the mind, as is used in horsemanship, the shortest stop or turn.

Lastly, it censureth the tenderness and want of application in some of the most ancient and reverend philosophers and philosophical men, that did retire too easily from civil business, for avoiding of indignities and perturbations: whereas the resolution of men truly moral ought to be such as the same Gonsalvo said the honour of a soldier should be, "e telâ crassiore," and not so fine as that every thing should catch in it and endanger it.

To resume private or particular good, it falleth into the division of good active and passive: for this difference of good, not unlike to that which amongst the Romans was expressed in the familiar or household terms of Promus and Condus, is formed also in all things, and is best disclosed in the two several appetites in creatures; the one to preserve or continue themselves, and the other to dilate or multiply themselves; whereof the latter seemeth to be the worthier: for in nature the heavens, which are the more worthy, are the agent; and the earth, which is the less worthy, is the patient. In the pleasures of living creatures, that of generation is greater than that of food; in divine doctrine, "Beatius est dare quam accipere;" and in life, there is no man's spirit so soft, but esteemeth the effecting of somewhat that he hath fixed in his desire, more than sensuality: which priority of the active good, is much upheld by the consideration of our estate to be mortal and exposed to fortune: for if we might have a perpetuity and certainty in our pleasures, the state of them would advance their price: but when we see it is but "Magni æstimamus mori tardius," and "Ne glorieris de crastino, nescis partum diei," it maketh us to desire to have somewhat secured and exempted from time, which are only our deeds and works: as it is said, "Opera eorum sequuntur eos." The preeminence likewise of this active good is upheld by the affection which is natural in man towards variety and proceeding; which in the pleasures of the sense, which is the principal part of passive good, can have no great latitude: "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; cibus, somnus, ludus per hunc circulum curritur; mori velle non tantum fortis, aut miser, aut prudens, sed etiam fastidiosus potest." But in enterprises, pursuits, and purposes of life, there is much variety; whereof men are sensible with pleasure in their inceptions, progressions, recoils, reintegrations, approaches and attainings to their ends: so as it was well said, "Vita sine proposito languida et vaga est." Neither hath this active good an identity with the good of society, though in some case it hath an incidence into it: for although it do many times bring forth acts of beneficence, yet it is with a respect private to a man's own power, glory, amplification, continuance; as appeareth plainly, when it findeth a contrary subject. For that gigantine state of mind which possesseth the troublers of the world, (such as was Lucius Sylla, and infinite other in smaller model, who would have all men happy or unhappy as they were their friends or enemies, and would give form to the world, according to their own humours, which is the true theomachy,) pretendeth and aspireth to active good, though it recedeth farthest from good of society, which we have determined to be the greater.

To resume passive good, it receiveth a subdivision of conservative and perfective. For let us take a brief review of that which we have said: we have spoken first of the good of society, the intention whereof embraceth the form of human nature, whereof we are members and portions, and not our own proper and individual form: we have spoken of active good, and supposed it as a part of private and particular good: and rightly, for there is impressed upon all things a triple desire or appetite proceeding from love to themselves; one of preserving and continuing their form; another of advancing and perfecting their form; and a third of multiplying and extending their form upon other things; whereof the multiplying, or signature of it upon other things, is that which we handled by the name of active good. So as there remaineth the conserving of it, and perfecting or raising of it; which latter is the highest degree of passive good. For to preserve in state is the less, to preserve with advancement is the greater. So in man,—

"Igneus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo."

His approach or assumption to divine or angelical nature is the perfection of his form; the error or false imitation of which good is that which is the tempest of human life; while man, upon the instinct of an advancement formal and essential, is carried to seek an advancement local. For as those which are sick, and find no remedy, do tumble up and down and change place, as if by a remove local they could obtain a remove internal; so is it with men in ambition, when failing of the means to exalt their nature, they are in a perpetual estuation to exalt their place. So then passive good is, as was said, either conservative or perfective.

To resume the good of conservation or comfort, which consisteth in the fruition of that which is agreeable to our natures; it seemeth to be the most pure and natural of pleasures, but yet the softest and the lowest. And this also receiveth a difference, which hath neither been well judged of, nor well inquired: for the good of fruition or contentment is placed either in the sincereness of the fruition, or in the quickness and vigour of it; the one superinduced by the quality, the other by vicissitude; the one having less mixture of evil, the other more impression of good. Which of these is the greater good, is a question controverted; but whether man's nature may not be capable of both, is a question not inquired.

The former question being debated between Socrates and a sophist, Socrates placing felicity in an equal and constant peace of mind, and the sophist in much desiring and much enjoying, they fell from argument to ill words: the sophist saying that Socrates's felicity was the felicity of a block or stone; and Socrates saying that the sophist's felicity was the felicity of one that had the itch, who did nothing but itch and scratch. And both these opinions do not want their supports;

for the opinion of Socrates is much upheld by the general consent even of the Epicures themselves, that virtue beareth a great part in felicity; and if so, certain it is, that virtue hath more use in clearing perturbations than in compassing desires. The sophist's opinion is much favoured by the assertion we last spake of, that good of advancement is greater than good of simple preservation; because every obtaining a desire hath a show of advancement, as motion, though in a circle, hath a show of progression.

But the second question, decided the true way, maketh the former superfluous. For can it be doubted, but that there are some who take more pleasure in enjoying pleasures than some other, and yet nevertheless are less troubled with the loss or leaving of them? so as this same, "Non uti ut non appetas, non appetere ut non metuas, sunt animi pusilli et diffidentis." And it seemeth to me, that most of the doctrines of the philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth. So have they increased the fear of death in offering to cure it: for when they would have a man's whole life to be but a discipline or preparation to die, they must needs make man think that it is a terrible enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing. Better saith the poet:

> "Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Naturæ."

So have they sought to make men's minds too uniform and harmonical, by not breaking them sufficiently to contrary motions: the reason whereof I suppose to be, because they themselves were men dedicated to a private, free, and unapplied course of life. For as we see, upon the lute or like instrument, a ground, though it be sweet and have show of many changes, yet breaketh not the hand to such strange and hard stops and passages, as a set song or voluntary; much after the same manner was the diversity between a philosophical and a civil life. And therefore men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers; who, if there be a grain, or a cloud, or an ice which may be ground forth without taking too much of the stone, they help it; but if it should lessen and abate the stone too much, they will not meddle with it: so ought men so to procure serenity as they destroy not magnanimity.

Having, therefore, deduced the good of man which is private and particular, as far as seemeth fit; we will now return to that good of man which respecteth and beholdeth society, which we may term Duty; because the term of Duty is more proper to a mind well framed and disposed towards others, as the term of virtue is applied to a mind well formed and composed in itself: though neither can a man understand virtue without some relation to society, nor duty without an inward disposition. This part may seem at first to pertain to science civil and politic: but not if it be well observed; for it concerneth the regimen and government of every man over himself, and not over others. And as in architecture the direction of framing the posts, beams, and other parts of building, is not the same with the manner of joining them and erecting the building; and in mechanicals, the direction how to frame an instrument or engine, is not the same with the manner of setting it on work and employing it, (and yet nevertheless in expressing of the one you incidently express the aptness towards the other;) so the doctrine of conjugation of men in society differeth from that of their conformity thereunto.

This part of duty is subdivided into two parts; the common duty of every man, as a man or member of a state; the other, the respective or special duty of every man, in his profession, vocation, and place. The first of these is extant and well laboured, as hath been said. The second likewise I may report rather dispersed than deficient; which manner of dispersed writing in this kind of argument I acknowledge to be best: for who can take upon him to write of the proper duty, virtue, challenge, and right of every several vocation, profession and place? For although sometimes a looker on may see more than a gamester, and there be a proverb more arrogant than sound, "That the vale best discovereth the hill;" yet there is small doubt but that men can write best, and most really and materially, in their own professions; and that the writing of speculative men of active matter, for the most part, doth seem to men of experience, as Phormio's argument of the wars seemed to Hannibal, to be but dreams and dotage. Only there is one vice which accompanieth them that write in their own professions, that they magnify them in excess. But generally it were to be wished, as that which would make learning indeed solid and fruitful, that active men would or could become writers.

In which kind I cannot but mention, "honoris causa," your majesty's excellent book touching the duty of a king: a work richly compounded of divinity, morality, and policy, with great aspersion of all other arts; and being, in mine opinion, one of the most sound and healthful writings that I have read; not distempered in the heat of invention, nor in the coolness of negligence; not sick of business, as those are who lose themselves in their order; nor of convulsions, as those which cramp in matters impertinent; not savouring of perfumes and paintings, as those do who seek to please the reader more than nature beareth; and chiefly well disposed in the spirits thereof, being agreeable to truth and apt for action; and far removed from that natural infirmity, whereunto I noted those that write in their own professions to be subject, which is, that they exalt it above measure: for your majesty hath truly described, not a king of Assyria or Persia in their

extern glory, but a Moses or a David, pastors of their people. Neither can I ever loose out of my remembrance, what I heard your majesty in the same sacred spirit of government deliver in a great cause of judicature, which was, "That kings ruled by their laws, as God did by the laws of nature; and ought as rarely to put in use their supreme prerogative as God doth his power of working miracles." And yet notwithstanding, in your book of a free monarchy, you do well give men to understand, that you know the plenitude of the power and right of a king, as well as the circle of his office and duty. Thus have I presumed to allege this excellent writing of your majesty, as a prime or eminent example of tractates concerning special and respective duties: wherein I should have said as much, if it had been written a thousand years since: neither am I moved with certain courtly decencies, which esteem it flattery to praise in presence: no, it is flattery to praise in absence; that is, when either the virtue is absent, or the occasion is absent; and so the praise is not natural, but forced, either in truth or in time. But let Cicero be read in his oration pro Marcello, which is nothing but an excellent table of Cæsar's virtue, and made to his face; besides the example of many other excellent persons, wiser a great deal than such observers; and we will never doubt, upon a full occasion, to give just praises to present or absent.

But to return: there belongeth further to the handling of this part, touching the duties of professions and vocations, a relative or opposite, touching the frauds, cautels, impostures, and vices of every profession, which hath been likewise handled: but how? rather in a satire and cynically, than seriously and wisely: for men have rather sought by wit to deride and traduce much of that which is good in professions, than with judgment to discover and sever that which is corrupt. For, as Solomon saith, he that cometh to seek after knowledge with a mind to scorn and censure, shall be sure to find matter for his humour, but no matter for his instruction: "Quærenti derisori scientiam ipsa se abscondit; sed studioso fit obviam." But the managing of this argument with integrity and truth, which I note as deficient, seemeth to me to be one of the best fortifications for honesty and virtue that can be planted. For, as the fable goeth of the basilisk, that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dieth: so is it with deceits and evil arts; which, if they be first espied, they loose their life; but if they prevent, they endanger. So that we are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that write what men do, and not what they ought to do. For it is not possible to join serpentine wisdom with the columbine innocency, except men know exactly all the conditions of the serpent; his baseness and going upon his belly, his volubility and lubricity, his envy and sting, and the rest; that is, all forms and natures of evil: for without this, virtue lieth open and unfenced. Nay, an honest man can do no good upon those that are wicked, to reclaim them, without the help of the knowledge of evil. For men of corrupted minds presuppose that honesty groweth out of simplicity of manners, and believing of preachers, schoolmasters, and men's exterior language: so as, except you can make them perceive that you know the utmost reaches of their own corrupt opinions, they despise all morality; "Non recipit stultus verba prudentiæ, nisi ea dexeris quæ versantur in corde ejus."

Unto this part, touching respective duty, doth also appertain the duties between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant: so likewise the laws of friendship and gratitude, the civil bond of companies, colleges, and politic bodies, of neighbourhood, and all other proportionate duties; not as they are parts of government and society, but as to the framing of the mind of particular persons.

The knowledge concerning good respecting society doth handle it also, not simply alone, but comparatively; whereunto belongeth the weighing of duties between person and person, case and case, particular and public: as we see in the proceeding of Lucius Brutus against his own sons, which was so much extolled; yet what was said?

"Infelix, utcunque ferent ea fata minores."

So the case was doubtful, and had opinion on both sides. Again, we see when M. Brutus and Cassius invited to a supper certain whose opinions they meant to feel, whether they were fit to be made their associates, and cast forth the question touching the killing of a tyrant being an usurper, they were divided in opinion; some holding that servitude was the extreme of evils, and others that tyranny was better than a civil war: and a number of the like cases there are of comparative duty; amongst which that of all others is the most frequent, where the question is of a great deal of good to ensue of a small injustice, which Jason of Thessalia determined against the truth: "Aliqua sunt injuste facienda, ut multa juste fieri possint." But the reply is good, "Auctorem præsentis justitiæ habes, sponsorem futuræ non habes." Men must pursue things which are just in present, and leave the future to the divine Providence. So then we pass on from this general part touching the exemplar and description of good.

Now therefore that we have spoken of this fruit of life, it remaineth to speak of the husbandry that belongeth thereunto; without which part the former seemeth to be no better than a fair image, or statua, which is beautiful to contemplate, but is without life or motion: whereunto Aristotle himself subscribeth in these words: "Necesse est scilicet de virtute dicere, et quid sit, et ex quibus gignatur. Inutile enim fere fuerit virtutem qui-

dem nosse, acquirendæ autem ejus modos et vias ignorare: non enim de virtute tantum, qua specie sit, quærendum est, sed et quomodo sui copiam faciat; utrumque enim volumus, et rem ipsam nosse, et ejus compotes fieri; hoc autem ex voto non succedet, nisi sciamus et ex quibus et quomodo." In such full words and with such iteration doth he inculcate this part. So saith Cicero in great commendation of Cato the Second, that he had applied himself to philosophy, "non ita disputandi causâ, sed ita vivendi." And although the neglect of our times, wherein few men do hold any consultations touching the reformation of their life, (as Seneca excellently saith,) "De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, de summâ nemo," may make this part seem superfluous; yet I must conclude with that aphorism of Hippocrates, "Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non sentiunt, iis mens ægrotat;" they need medicine, not only to assuage the disease, but to awake the sense. And if it be said, that the cure of men's minds belongeth to sacred divinity, it is most true: but yet moral philosophy may be preferred unto her as a wise servant and humble handmaid. For as the psalm saith, that the eyes of the handmaid look perpetually towards the mistress, and yet no doubt many things are left to the discretion of the handmaid, to discern of the mistress's will; so ought moral philosophy to give a constant attention to the doctrines of divinity, and yet so as it may yield of herself, within due limits, many sound and profitable directions.

This part therefore, because of the excellency thereof, I cannot but find exceeding strange that it is not reduced to written inquiry: the rather, because it consisteth of much matter, wherein both speech and action is often conversant; and such wherein the common talk of men, (which is rare, but yet cometh sometimes to pass,) is wiser than their books. It is reasonable therefore that we propound it in the more particularity, both for the worthiness, and because we may acquit ourselves for reporting it deficient, which seemeth almost incredible, and is otherwise conceived and presupposed by those themselves that have written. We will therefore enumerate some heads or points thereof, that it may appear the better what it is, and whether it be extant.

First, therefore, in this, as in all things which are practical, we ought to cast up our account, what is in our power, and what not; for the one may be dealt with by way of alteration, but the other by way of application only. The husbandman cannot command, neither the nature of the earth, nor the seasons of the weather; no more can the physician the constitution of the patient, nor the variety of the accidents; so in the culture and cure of the mind of man, two things are without our command; points of nature, and points of fortune: for to the basis of the one, and the condition of the other our work is limited and tied. In these things, therefore, it is left unto us to proceed by application.

"Vincenda est omnis fortuna ferendo;"

and so likewise,

"Vincenda est omnis natura ferendo."

But when that we speak of suffering, we do not speak of a dull and neglected suffering, but of a wise and industrious suffering, which draweth and contriveth use and advantage out of that which seemeth adverse and contrary; which is that properly which we call accommodating or applying. Now the wisdom of application resteth principally in the exact and distinct knowledge of the precedent state or disposition, unto which we do apply: for we cannot fit a garment, except we first take measure of the body.

So then the first article of this knowledge is, to set down sound and true distributions and descriptions of the several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions; especially having regard to those differences which are most radical, in being the fountains and causes of the rest, or most frequent in concurrence or commixture; wherein it is not the handling of a few of them in passage, the better to describe the mediocrities of virtues, that can satisfy this intention. For if it deserve to be considered, "That there are minds which are proportioned to great matters, and others to small," (which Aristotle handleth, or ought to have handled, by the name of magnanimity;) doth it not deserve as well to be considered, "That there are minds proportioned to intend many matters, and others to few?" So that some can divide themselves; others can perchance do exactly well, but it must be but in few things at once: and so there cometh to be a narrowness of mind, as well as pusillanimity. And again, "That some minds are proportioned to that which may be despatched at once, or within a short return of time; others to that which begins a far off and is to be won with length of pursuit;"

"Jam tum tenditque fovetque."

So that there may be fitly said to be a longanimity, which is commonly also ascribed to God as a magnanimity. So further deserved it to be considered by Aristotle; "that there is a disposition in conversation, (supposing it in things which do in no sort touch or concern a man's self,) to soothe and please; and a disposition contrary to contradict and cross:" and deserveth it not much better to be considered, "that there is a disposition, not in conversation or talk, but in matter of more serious nature, (and supposing it still in things merely indifferent,) to take pleasure in the good of another; and a disposition contrariwise, to take distaste at the good of another? which is that properly which we call good-nature or ill-nature, benignity or malignity: and therefore I cannot sufficiently marvel that this part of knowledge, touching the several characters of natures and dispositions, should be omitted both in morality

and policy; considering it is of so great ministry and suppeditation to them both. A man shall find in the traditions of astrology some pretty and apt divisions of men's natures, according to the predominances of the planets; lovers of quiet, lovers of action, lovers of victory, lovers of honour, lovers of pleasure, lovers of arts, lovers of change, and so forth. A man shall find in the wisest sort of these relations which the Italians make touching conclaves, the natures of the several cardinals handsomely and livelily painted forth: a man shall meet with, in every day's conference, the denominations of sensitive, dry, formal, real, humorous, certain, "huomo di prima impressione, huomo di ultima impressione," and the like: and yet nevertheless this kind of observations wandereth in words, but is not fixed in inquiry. For the distinctions are found, many of them, but we conclude no precepts upon them: wherein our fault is the greater: because both history, poesy, and daily experience are as goodly fields where these observations grow; whereof we make a few posies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary, that receipts might be made of them for the use of life.

Of much like kind are those impressions of nature, which are imposed upon the mind by the sex, by the age, by the region, by health and sickness, by beauty and deformity, and the like, which are inherent and not external; and again, those which are caused by external fortune; as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, constant fortune, variable fortune, rising "per saltum," "per gradus," and the like. And therefore we see that Plautus maketh it a wonder to see an old man beneficent, "benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est." St. Paul concludeth, that severity of discipline was to be used to the Cretans, "Increpa eos duré," upon the disposition of their country, "Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri." Sallust noteth, that it is usual with kings to desire contradictories: "Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, sæpeque ipsæ sibi adversæ." Tacitus observeth how rarely raising of the fortune mendeth the disposition: "Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius." Pindarus maketh an observation, that great and sudden fortune for the most part defeateth men, "Qui magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt." So the Psalm showeth it is more easy to keep a measure in the enjoying of fortune, than in the increase of fortune: "Divitiæ si affluant, nolite cor apponere." These observations, and the like, I deny not but are touched a little by Aristotle, as in passage, in his Rhetorics, and are handled in some scattered discourses: but they were never incorporated into moral philosophy, to which they do essentially appertain; as the knowledge of the diversity of grounds and moulds doth to agriculture, and the knowledge of the diversity of complexions and constitutions doth to the physician; except we mean to follow the indiscretion of empirics, which minister the same medicines to all patients.

Another article of this knowledge is the inquiry touching the affections; for as in medicining of the body, it is in order first to know the divers complexions and constitutions; secondly, the diseases; and lastly, the cures: so in medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth, in order, to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and distempers of the affections. For as the ancient politicians in popular states were wont to compare the people to the sea, and the orators to the winds; because as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it; so the people would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation: so it may be fitly said, that the mind in the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed, if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation. And here again I find strange, as before, that Aristotle should have written divers volumes of Ethics, and never handled the affections, which is the principal subject thereof; and yet, in his Rhetorics, where they are considered but collaterally, and in a second degree, as they may be moved by speech, he findeth place for them, and handleth them well for the quantity; but where their true place is, he pretermitteth them. For it is not his disputations about pleasure and pain that can satisfy this inquiry, no more than he that should generally handle the nature of light, can be said to handle the nature of colours; for pleasure and pain are to the particular affections as light is to particular colours. Better travails, I suppose, had the Stoics taken in this argument, as far as I can gather by that which we have at second hand. But yet, it is like, it was after their manner rather in subtilty of definitions, (which in a subject of this nature are but curiosities,) than in active and ample descriptions and observations. So likewise I find some particular writings of an elegant nature, touching some of the affections; as of anger, of comfort upon adverse accidents, of tenderness of countenance, and other.

But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge: where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves; how they work; how they vary; how they gather and fortify; how they are inwrapped one within another; and how they do fight and encounter one with another; and other the like particularities: amongst the which this last is of special use in

moral and civil matters; how, I say, to set affection against affection, and to master one by another; even as we use to hunt beast with beast, and fly bird with bird, which otherwise perhaps we could not so easily recover: upon which foundation is erected that excellent use of "præmium" and "pœna," whereby civil states consist; employing the predominant affections of fear and hope, for the suppressing and bridling the rest. For as in the government of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another, so it is in the government within.

Now come we to those points which are within our own command, and have force and operation upon the mind, to affect the will and appetite, and to alter manners: wherein they ought to have handled custom, exercise, habit, education, example, imitation, emulation, company, friends, praise, reproof, exhortation, fame, laws, books, studies: these as they have determinate use in moralities, from these the mind suffereth; and of these are such receipts and regimens compounded and described, as may seem to recover or preserve the health and good estate of the mind, as far as pertaineth to human medicine: of which number we will insist upon some one or two, as an example of the rest, because it were too long to prosecute all; and therefore we do resume custom and habit to speak of.

The opinion of Aristotle seemeth to me a negligent opinion, that of those things which consist by nature, nothing can be changed by custom; using for example, that if a stone be thrown ten thousand times up, it will not learn to ascend; and that by often seeing or hearing, we do not learn to see or hear the better. For though this principle be true in things wherein nature is peremptory, (the reason whereof we cannot now stand to discuss,) yet it is otherwise in things wherein nature admitteth a latitude. For he might see that a strait glove will come more easily on with use; and that a wand will by use bend otherwise than it grew; and that by use of the voice we speak louder and stronger; and that by use of enduring heat and cold, we endure it the better, and the like: which latter sort have a nearer resemblance unto that subject of manners he handleth, than those instances which he allegeth. But allowing his conclusion, that virtues and vices consist in habit, he ought so much the more to have taught the manner of superinducing that habit: for there be many precepts of the wise ordering the exercises of the mind, as there is of ordering the exercises of the body; whereof we will recite a few.

The first shall be, that we beware we take not at the first either too high a strain, or too weak: for if too high, in a diffident nature you discourage; in a confident nature you breed an opinion of facility, and so a sloth; and in all natures you breed a further expectation than can hold out, and so an insatisfaction on the end: if too weak, of the other side, you may not look to perform and overcome any great task.

Another precept is, to practise all things chiefly at two several times, the one when the mind is best disposed, the other when it is worst disposed; that by the one you may gain a great step, by the other you may work out the knots and stonds of the mind, and make the middle times the more easy and pleasant.

Another precept is that which Aristotle mentioneth by the way, which is, to bear ever towards the contrary extreme of that whereunto we are by nature inclined: like unto the rowing against the stream, or making a wand straight by bending him contrary to his natural crookedness.

Another precept is, that the mind is brought to any thing better, and with more sweetness and happiness, if that whereunto you pretend be not first in the intention, but "tanquam aliud agendo," because of the natural hatred of the mind against necessity and constraint. Many other axioms there are touching the managing of exercise and custom; which, being so conducted, doth prove indeed another nature; but being governed by change, doth commonly prove but an ape of nature, and bringeth forth that which is lame and counterfeit.

So if we should handle books and studies, and what influence and operation they have upon manners, are there not divers precepts of great caution and direction appertaining thereunto? Did not one of the fathers in great indignation call poesy "vinum dæmonum," because it increaseth temptations, perturbations, and vain opinions? Is not the opinion of Aristotle worthy to be regarded, wherein he saith, "That young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy, because they are not settled from the boiling heat of their affections, nor attempered with time and experience?" And doth it not thereof come, that those excellent books and discourses of the ancient writers, (whereby they have persuaded unto virtue most effectually, by representing her in state and majesty, and popular opinions against virtue in their parasites' coats, fit to be scorned and derided,) are of so little effect towards honesty of life, because they are not read and revolved by men in their mature and settled years, but confined almost to boys and beginners? But is it not true also, that much less young men are fit auditors of matters of policy, till they have been throroughly seasoned in religion and morality; lest their judgments be corrupted, and made apt to think that there are no true differences of things, but according to utility and fortune, as the verse describes it,

"Prosperum et felix scelus virtus vocatur:

and again,

"Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema:"

which the poets do speak satirically, and in indignation on virtue's behalf; but books of policy

do speak it seriously and positively; for so it pleaseth Machiavel to say, "that if Cæsar had been overthrown, he would have been more odious than ever was Catiline;" as if there had been no difference, but in fortune, between a very fury of lust and blood, and the most excellent spirit (his ambition reserved) of the world? Again, is there not a caution likewise to be given of the doctrines of moralities themselves, (some kinds of them,) lest they make men too precise, arrogant, incompatible; as Cicero saith of Cato, "In Marco Catone hæc bona quæ videmus divina et egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria; quæ nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia non a naturâ, sed a magistro?" Many other axioms and advices there are touching those proprieties and effects, which studies do infuse and instil into manners. And so likewise is there touching the use of all those other points, of company, fame, laws, and the rest, which we recited in the beginning in the doctrine of morality.

But there is a kind of culture of the mind that seemeth yet more accurate and elaborate than the rest, and is built upon this ground; that the minds of all men are at some times in a state more perfect, and at other times in a state more depraved. The purpose therefore of this practice is, to fix and cherish the good hours of the mind, and to obliterate and take forth the evil. The fixing of the good hath been practised by two means, vows or constant resolutions, and observances or exercises; which are not to be regarded so much in themselves, as because they keep the mind in continual obedience. The obliteration of the evil hath been practised by two means, some kind of redemption or expiation of that which is past, and an inception or account "de novo," for the time to come. But this part seemeth sacred and religious, and justly; for all good moral philosophy, as was said, is but a handmaid to religion.

Wherefore we will conclude with that last point which is of all other means the most compendious and summary, and again, the most noble and effectual to the reducing of the mind unto virtue and good estate; which is, the electing and propounding unto a man's self good and virtuous ends of his life, such as may be in a reasonable sort within his compass to attain. For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again, that he be resolute, constant, and true unto them; it will follow that he shall mould himself into all virtue at once. And this indeed is like the work of nature; whereas the other course is like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh, (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such time as he comes to it;) but, contrariwise, when nature makes a flower or living creature, she formeth rudiments of all the parts at one time: so in obtaining virtue by habit, while a man practiseth temperance, he doth not profit much to fortitude, nor the like; but when he dedicateth and applieth himself to good ends, look, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends doth commend unto him, he is invested of a precedent disposition to conform himself thereunto. Which state of mind Aristotle doth excellently express himself, that it ought not to be called virtuous, but divine: his words are these: "Immanitati autem consentaneum est opponere eam, quæ supra humanitatem est, heroicam sive divinam virtutem:" and a little after, "Nam ut feræ neque vitium neque virtus est, sic neque Dei: sed hic quidem status altius quiddam virtute est, ille aliud quiddam a vitio." And therefore we may see what celsitude of honour Plinius Secundus attributeth to Trajan in his funeral oration; where he said, "that men needeth to make no other prayers to the gods, but that they would continue as good lords to them as Trajan had been;" as if he had not been an imitation of divine nature, but a pattern of it. But these be heathen and profane passages, having but a shadow of that divine state of mind, which religion and the holy faith doth conduct men unto, by imprinting upon their souls charity, which is excellently called the bond of perfection, because it comprehendeth and fastenth all virtues together. And it is elegantly said by Menander of vain love, which is but a false imitation of divine love, "Amor melior sophista lævo ad humanam vitam," that love teacheth a man to carry himself better than the sophist or preceptor; which he calleth left-handed, because, with all his rules and precepts, he cannot form a man so dexterously, nor with that facility to prize himself and govern himself, as love can do: so certainly, if a man's mind be truly inflamed with charity, it doth work him suddenly into greater perfection than all the doctrine of morality can do, which is but a sophist in comparison of the other. Nay further, as Xenophon observed truly, that all other affections, though they raise the mind, yet they do it by distorting and uncomeliness of ecstasies or excesses; but only love doth exalt the mind, and nevertheless at the same instant doth settle and compose it: so in all other excellencies, though they advance nature, yet they are subject to excess; only charity admitteth no excess. For so we see, aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell; "Ascendam, et ero similis Altissimo:" by aspiring to be like God in knowledge, man transgressed and fell; "Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum:" but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress. For unto that imitation we are called: "Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite eis qui oderunt vos, et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos, ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui in cœlis est, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos,

et pluit super justos et injustos." So in the first platform of the divine nature itself, the heathen religion speaketh thus, "Optimus Maximus:" and the sacred Scriptures thus, "Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus."

Wherefore I do conclude this part of moral knowledge, concerning the culture and regimen of the mind; wherein if any man, considering the parts thereof which I have enumerated, do judge that my labour is but to collect into an art or science that which hath been pretermitted by others, as matter of common sense and experience, he judgeth well. But as Philocrates sported with Demosthenes, "You may not marvel, Athenians, that Demosthenes and I do differ; for he drinketh water, and I drink wine;" and like as we read of an ancient parable of the two gates of sleep,

> "Sunt geminæ somni portæ: quarum altera fertur
> Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
> Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
> Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes:"

so if we put on sobriety and attention, we shall find it a sure maxim in knowledge, that the more pleasant liquor of wine is the more vaporous, and the braver gate of ivory sendeth forth the falser dreams.

But we have now concluded that general part of human philosophy, which contemplateth man segregate, and as he consisteth of body and spirit. Wherein we may further note, that there seemeth to be a relation or conformity between the good of the mind and the good of the body. For as we divided the good of the body into health, beauty, strength, and pleasure; so the good of the mind, inquired in rational and moral knowledges, tendeth to this, to make the mind sound, and without perturbation; beautiful, and graced with decency; and strong and agile for all duties of life. These three, as in the body, so in the mind, seldom meet, and commonly sever. For it is easy to observe, that many have strength of wit and courage, but have neither health from perturbations, nor any beauty or decency in their doings: some again have an elegancy and fineness of carriage, which have neither soundness of honesty nor substance of sufficiency: and some again have honest and reformed minds, that can neither become themselves, nor manage business: and sometimes two of them meet, and rarely all three. As for pleasure, we have likewise determined that the mind ought not to be reduced to stupidity, but to retain pleasure; confined rather in the subject of it, than in the strength and vigour of it.

Civil Knowledge is conversant about a subject which of all others is most immersed in matter, and hardliest reduced to axiom. Nevertheless, as Cato the Censor said, "that the Romans were like sheep, for that a man might better drive a flock of them, than one of them; for in a flock, if you could get but some few to go right, the rest would follow:" so in that respect moral philosophy is more difficile than policy. Again, moral philosophy propoundeth to itself the framing of internal goodness; but civil knowledge requireth only an external goodness; for that as to society sufficeth. And therefore it cometh oft to pass that there be evil times in good governments: for so we find in the holy story, when the kings were good, yet it is added, "Sed adhuc populus non direxerat cor suum ad Dominum Deum patrum suorum." Again, states, as great engines, move slowly, and are not so soon put out of frame: for as in Egypt the seven good years sustained the seven bad, so governments, for a time well grounded, do bear out errors following: but the resolution of particular persons is more suddenly subverted. These respects do somewhat qualify the extreme difficulty of civil knowledge.

This knowledge hath three parts, according to the three summary actions of society; which are Conversation, Negotiation, and Government. For man seeketh in society comfort, use, and protection: and they be three wisdoms of divers natures, which do often sever; wisdom of the behaviour, wisdom of business, and wisdom of state.

The wisdom of Conversation ought not to be over much affected, but much less despised; for it hath not only an honour in itself, but an influence also into business and government. The poet saith,

> "Nec vulta destrue verba tuo:"

a man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance: so may he of his deeds, saith Cicero, recommending to his brother affability and easy access; "Nil interest habere ostium apertum, vultum clausum;" it is nothing won to admit men with an open door, and to receive them with a shut and reserved countenance. So, we see, Atticus, before the first interview between Cæsar and Cicero, the war depending, did seriously advise Cicero touching the composing and ordering of his countenance and gesture. And if the government of the countenance be of such effect, much more is that of the speech, and other carriage appertaining to conversation; the true model whereof seemeth to me well expressed by Livy, though not meant for this purpose: "Ne aut arrogans videar, aut obnoxius; quorum alterum est alienæ libertatis obliti, alterum suæ:" the sum of behaviour is to retain a man's own dignity, without intruding upon the liberty of others. On the other side, if behaviour and outward carriage be intended too much, first it may pass into affectation, and then "quid deformius quam scenam in vitam transferre" (to act a man's life!) But although it proceed not to that extreme, yet it consumeth time, and employeth the mind too much. And therefore as we use to advise young students from company keeping, by saying, "Amici fures temporis;" so certainly the intend

ing of the discretion of behaviour is a great thief of meditation. Again, such as are accomplished in that form of urbanity please themselves in it, and seldom aspire to higher virtue; whereas those that have defect in it do seek comeliness by reputation: for where reputation is, almost every thing becometh; but where that is not, it must be supplied by punctilios and compliments. Again, there is no greater impediment of action than an over-curious observance of decency, and the guide of decency, which is time and season. For as Solomon saith, "Qui respicit ad ventos, non seminat; et qui respicit ad nubes, non metet:" a man must make his opportunity, as oft as find it. To conclude: behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and above all, it ought not to be too strait, or restrained for exercise or motion. But this part of civil knowledge hath been elegantly handled, and therefore I cannot report it for deficient.

The wisdom touching Negotiation or Business hath not been hitherto collected into writing, to the great derogation of learning, and the professors of learning. For from this root springeth chiefly that note or opinion, which by us is expressed in adage to this effect, "that there is no great concurrence between learning and wisdom." For of the three wisdoms which we have set down to pertain to civil life, for wisdom of behaviour, it is by learned men for the most part despised, as an inferior to virtue, and an enemy to meditation; for wisdom of government, they acquit themselves well when they are called to it, but that happeneth to few; but for the wisdom of business, wherein man's life is most conversant, there be no books of it, except some few scattered advertisements, that have no proportion to the magnitude of this subject. For if books were written of this, as the other, I doubt not but learned men with mean experience, would far excel men of long experience without learning, and outshoot them in their own bow.

Neither needeth it at all to be doubted, that this knowledge should be so variable as it falleth not under precept; for it is much less infinite than science of government, which, we see, is laboured and in some part reduced. Of this wisdom, it seemeth some of the ancient Romans, in the sagest and wisest times, were professors; for Cicero reporteth, that it was then in use for senators that had name and opinion for general wise men, as Coruncanius, Curius, Lælius, and many others, to walk at certain hours in the place, and to give audience to those that would use their advice; and that the particular citizens would resort unto them, and consult with them of the marriage of a daughter, or of the employing of a son, or of a purchase or bargain, or of an accusation, and every other occasion incident to man's life. So as there is a wisdom of counsel and advice even in private causes, arising out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world; which is used indeed upon particular causes propounded, but is gathered by general observation of causes of like nature. For so we see in the book which Q. Cicero writeth to his brother, "De petitione consulatus," (being the only book of business, that I know, written by the ancients,) although it concerned a particular action then on foot, yet the substance thereof consisteth of many wise and politic axioms, which contain not a temporary, but a perpetual direction in the case of popular elections. But chiefly we may see in those aphorisms which have place among divine writings, composed by Solomon the king, (of whom the Scriptures testify that his heart was as the sands of the sea, encompassing the world and all worldly matters,) we see, I say, not a few profound and excellent cautions, precepts, positions, extending to much variety of occasions; whereupon we will stay awhile, offering to consideration some number of examples.

"Sed et cunctis sermonibus qui dicuntur ne accommodes aurem tuam, ne forte audias servum tuum maledicentem tibi." Here is concluded the provident stay of inquiry of that which we would be loath to find: as it was judged great wisdom in Pompeius Magnus that he burned Sertorius's papers unperused.

"Vir sapiens, si cum stulto contenderit, sive irascatur, sive rideat, non inveniet requiem." Here is described the great disadvantage which a wise man hath in undertaking a lighter person than himself; which is such an engagement as, whether a man turn the matter to jest, or turn it to heat, or howsoever he change copy, he can noways quit himself well of it.

"Qui delicatè a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem." Here is signified, that if a man begin too high a pitch in his favours, it doth commonly end in unkindness and unthankfulness.

"Vidisti virum velocem in opere suo? coram regibus stabit, nec erit inter ignobiles." Here is observed, that of all virtues for rising to honour, quickness of despatch is the best; for superiors many times love not to have those they employ too deep or too sufficient, but ready and diligent.

"Vidi cunctos viventes qui ambulant sub sole, cum adolescente secundo qui consurgit pro eo." Here is expressed that which was noted by Sylla first, and after him by Tiberius: "Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem vel meridianum."

"Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne dimiseris; quia curatio faciet cessare peccata maxima." Here caution is given, that upon displeasure, retiring is of al-

courses the unfittest; for a man leaveth things at worst, and depriveth himself of means to make them better.

"Erat civitas parva, et pauci in ea viri: venit contra eam rex magnus, et vadavit eam, intruxitque munitiones per gyrum, et perfecta est obsidio: inventusque est in ea vir panper et sapiens, et liberavit eam per sapientiam suam; et nullus deinceps recordatus est hominis illius pauperis." Here the corruption of states is set forth, that esteem not virtue or merit longer than they have use of it.

"Mollis responsio frangit iram." Here is noted that silence or rough answer exasperateth; but an answer present and temperate pacifieth.

"Iter pigrorum, quasi sepes spinarum." Here is lively represented how laborious sloth proveth in the end; for when things are deferred till the last instant, and nothing prepared beforehand, every step findeth a brier or an impediment, which catcheth or stoppeth.

"Melior est finis orationis quam principium." Here is taxed the vanity of formal speakers, that study more about prefaces and inducements, than upon the conclusions and issues of speech.

"Qui cognoscit in judicio faciem, non bene facit; iste et pro bucella panis deseret veritatem." Here is noted, that a judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so highly as a facile.

"Vir pauper calumnians pauperes similis est imbri vehementi, in quo paratur fames." Here is expressed the extremity of necessitous extortions, figured in the ancient fable of the full and hungry horse-leech.

"Fons turbatus pede, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens coram impio." Here is noted, that one judicial and exemplar iniquity in the face of the world, doth trouble the fountains of justice more than many particular injuries passed over by connivance.

"Qui subtrahit aliquid a patre et a matre, et dicit hoc non esse peccatum, particeps est homicidii." Here is noted that whereas men in wronging their best friends use to extenuate their fault, as if they might presume or be bold upon them, it doth contrariwise indeed aggravate their fault, and turneth it from injury to impiety.

"Noli esse amicus homini iracundo, nec ambulato cum homine furioso." Here caution is given, that in the election of our friends we do principally avoid those which are impatient, as those that will espouse us to many factions and quarrels.

"Qui conturbat domum suam, possidebit ventum." Here is noted, that in domestical separations and breaches, men do promise to themselves quieting of their mind and contentment; but still they are deceived of their expectation, and it turneth to wind.

"Filius sapiens lætificat patrem: filius vero stultus mœstitia est matri suæ." Here is distinguished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons; but mothers have most discomfort of their ill proof, because women have little discerning of virtue, but of fortune.

"Qui celat delictum, quærit amicitiam; sed qui altero sermone repetit, separat fœderatos." Here caution is given, that reconcilement is better managed by an amnesty, and passing over that which is past, than by apologies and excusations.

"In omni opere bono erit abundantia; ubi autem verba sunt plurima, ibi frequenter egestas." Here is noted, that words and discourse abound most where there is idleness and want.

"Primus in sua causa justus; sed venit altera pars, et inquirit in eum." Here is observed, that in all causes the first tale possesseth much; in such sort, that the prejudice thereby wrought will be hardly removed, except some abuse or falsity in the information be detected.

"Verba bilinguis quasi simplicia, et ipsa perveniunt ad interiora ventris." Here is distinguished, that flattery and insinuation, which seemeth set and artificial, sinketh not far; but that entereth deep which hath show of nature, liberty, and simplicity.

"Qui erudit derisorem, ipse sibi injuriam facit; et qui arguit impium, sibi maculam generat." Here caution is given how we tender reprehension to arrogant and scornful natures, whose manner is to esteem it for contumely, and accordingly to return it.

"Da sapienti occasionem, et addetur ei sapientia." Here is distinguished the wisdom brought into habit, and that which is but verbal, and swimming only in conceit; for the one upon occasion presented is quickened and redoubled, the other is amazed and confused.

"Quomodo in aquis resplendent vultus prospicientium, sic corda hominum manifesta sunt prudentibus." Here the mind of a wise man is compared to a glass, wherein the images of all diversity of natures and customs are represented; from which representation proceedeth that application,

"Qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit."

Thus have I stayed somewhat longer upon these sentences politic of Solomon than is agreeable to the proportion of an example; led with a desire to give authority to this part of knowledge, which I noted as deficient, by so excellent a precedent; and have also attended them with brief observations, such as to my understanding offer no violence to the sense, though I know they may be applied to a more divine use: but it is allowed, even in divinity, that some interpretations, yea and some writings, have more of the eagle than others; but taking them as instructions for life, they might have received large discourse, if I would have broken them and illustrated them by deducements and examples.

Neither was this in use only with the Hebrews, but it is generally to be found in the wisdom of the more ancient times; that as men found out any observation that they thought was good for life, they would gather it, and express it in parable, or aphorism, or fable. But for fables, they were vicegerents and supplies where examples failed: now that the times abound with history, the aim is better when the mark is alive. And therefore the form of writing which of all others is fittest for this variable argument of negotiation and occasion is that which Machiavel chose wisely and aptly for government; namely, discourse upon histories or examples: for knowledge drawn freshly, and in our view, out of particulars, knoweth the way best to particulars again; and it hath much greater life for practice when the discourse attendeth upon the example, than when the example attendeth upon the discourse. For this is no point of order, as it seemeth at first, but of substance; for when the example is the ground, being set down in a history at large, it is set down with all circumstances, which may sometimes control the discourse thereupon made, and sometimes supply it as a very pattern for action; whereas the examples alleged for the discourse's sake are cited succinctly, and without particularity, and carry a servile aspect toward the discourse which they are brought in to make good.

But this difference is not amiss to be remembered, that as history of times is the best ground for discourse of government, such as Machiavel handleth, so history of lives is the most proper for discourse of business, because it is most conversant in private actions. Nay, there is a ground of discourse for this purpose fitter than them both, which is discourse upon letters, such as are wise and weighty, as many are of Cicero ad Atticum, and others. For letters have a great and more particular representation of business than either chronicles or lives. Thus have we spoken both of the matter and form of this part of civil knowledge, touching negotiation, which we note to be deficient.

But yet there is another part of this part, which differeth as much from that whereof we have spoken as "sapere," and "sibi sapere," the one moving as it were to the circumference, the other to the centre. For there is a wisdom of counsel, and again there is a wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune; and they do sometimes meet, and often sever; for many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsel; like ants, which are wise creatures for themselves, but very hurtful for the garden. This wisdom the Romans did take much knowledge of: "Nam pol sapiens," saith the comical poet, "fingit fortunam sibi;" and it grew to an adage, "Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ;" and Livy attributeth it to Cato the First, "in hoc viro tanta vis animi et ingenii inerat, ut quocunque loco natus esset, sibi ipse fortunam facturus videretur."

This conceit or position, if it be too much declared and professed, hath been thought a thing impolitic and unlucky, as was observed in Timotheus the Athenian; who having done many great services to the estate in his government, and giving an account thereof to the people, as the manner was, did conclude every particular with this clause, "and in this fortune had no part." And it came so to pass that he never prospered in any thing he took in hand afterwards: for this is too high and too arrogant, savouring of that which Ezekiel saith of Pharaoh, "Dicis, Fluvius est meus, et ego feci memet ipsum;" or of that which another prophet speaketh, that men offer sacrifices to their nets and snares; and that which the poet expresseth,

> "Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro,
> Nunc adsint!"

for these confidences were ever unhallowed, and unblessed: and therefore those that were great politicians indeed ever ascribed their successes to their felicity, and not to their skill or virtue. For so Sylla surnamed himself "Felix," not "Magnus:" so Cæsar said to the master of the ship, "Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus."

But yet nevertheless these positions, "Faber quisque fortunæ suæ: Sapiens dominabitur astris: Invia virtuti nulla est via," and the like, being taken and used as spurs to industry, and not as stirrups to insolency, rather for resolution than for presumption or outward declaration, have been ever thought sound and good; and are, no question, imprinted in the greatest minds, who are so sensible of this opinion, as they can scarce contain it within: as we see in Augustus Cæsar, (who was rather diverse from his uncle, than inferior in virtue,) how, when he died, he desired his friends about him to give him a Plaudite, as if he were conscious to himself that he had played his part well upon the stage. This part of knowledge we do report also as deficient: not but that it is practised too much, but it hath not been reduced to writing. And therefore lest it should seem to any that it is not comprehensible by axiom, it is requisite, as we did in the former, that we set down some heads or passages of it.

Wherein it may appear at the first a new and unwonted argument to teach men how to raise and make their fortune; a doctrine wherein every man perchance will be ready to yield himself a disciple, till he seeth difficulty: for fortune layeth as heavy impositions as virtue; and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politician, as to be truly moral. But the handling hereof concerneth learning greatly, both in honour and in substance: in honour, because pragmatical men may not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark, that can mount, and sing, and please herself, and nothing else; but may know that she holdeth as

well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey: in substance, because it is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, "that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form;" that is, that there be not any thing in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine. Neither doth learning admire or esteem of this architecture of fortune, otherwise than as of an inferior work: for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being; and many times the worthiest men do abandon their fortune willingly for better respects: but nevertheless fortune, as an organ of virtue and merit, deserveth the consideration.

First, therefore, the precept which I conceive to be most summary towards the prevailing in fortune, is to obtain that window which Momus did require: who seeing in the frame of men's heart such angles and recesses, found fault that there was not a window to look into them; that is, to procure good informations of particulars touching persons, their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand: so again their weakness and disadvantages, and where they lie most open and obnoxious; their friends, factions, and dependencies; and again their opposites, enviers, competitors, their moods and times, "Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras;" their principles, rules, and observations, and the like: and this not only of persons, but of actions; what are on foot from time to time, and how they are conducted, favoured, opposed, and how they import, and the like. For the knowledge of present actions is not only material in itself, but without it also the knowledge of persons is very erroneous; for men change with the actions; and whilst they are in pursuit they are one, and when they return to their nature they are another. These informations of particulars, touching persons and actions, are as the minor propositions in every active syllogism: for no excellency of observations, which are as the major propositions, can suffice to ground a conclusion, if there be error and mistaking in the minors.

That this knowledge is possible, Solomon is our surety; who saith, "Consilium in corde viri tanquam aqua profunda; sed vir prudens exhauriet illud." And although the knowledge itself falleth not under precept, because it is of individuals, yet the instructions for the obtaining of it may.

We will begin therefore with this precept, according to the ancient opinion, that the sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief and distrust; that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words; and in words, rather to sudden passages and surprised words. Neither let that be feared which is said, "Fronti, nulla fides:" which is meant of a general outward behaviour, and not of the private and subtile motions and labours of the countenance and gesture; which as Q. Cicero elegantly saith, is "animi janua." None more close than Tiberius, and yet Tacitus saith of Gallus, "Etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat." So again noting the differing character and manner of his commending Germanicus and Drusus in the senate, he saith, touching his fashion wherein he carried his speech of Germanicus, thus; "Magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut penitus sentire videretur:" but of Drusus thus; "Paucioribus, sed intentior, et fida oratione:" and in another place, speaking of his character of speech, when he did any thing that was gracious and popular, he saith, that in other things he was "velut eluctantium verborum;" but then again, "solutius vero loquebatur quando subveniret." So that there is no such artificer of dissimulation, nor no such commanded countenance, "vultus jussus," that can sever from a feigned tale some of these fashions, either a more slight and careless fashion, or more set and formal, or more tedious and wandering, or coming from a man more drily and hardly.

Neither are deeds such assured pledges, as that they may be trusted without a judicious consideration of their magnitude and nature: "Fraus sibi in parvis fidem præstruit, ut majore emolumento fallat:" and the Italian thinketh himself upon the point to be bought and sold, when he is better used than he was wont to be, without manifest cause. For small favours, they do but lull men asleep, both as to caution and as to industry; and are, as Demosthenes calleth them, "Alimenta socordiæ." So again we see how false the nature of some deeds are, in that particular which Mutianus practised upon Antonius Primus, upon that hollow and unfaithful reconcilement which was made between them; whereupon Mutianus advanced many of the friends of Antonius: "simul amicis ejus præfecturas et tribunatus largitur:" wherein, under pretence to strengthen him, he did desolate him, and won from him his dependences.

As for words, though they be like waters to physicians, full of flattery and uncertainty, yet they are not to be despised, especially with the advantage of passion and affection. For so we see Tiberius, upon a stinging and incensing speech of Agrippina, came a step forth of his dissimulation, when he said, "You are hurt, because you do not reign;" of which Tacitus saith, "Audita hæc raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere; correptamque Græco versu admonuit, ideo lædi, quia non regnaret." And therefore the poet doth elegantly call passions, tortures, that urge men to confess their secrets:

"Vino tortus et ira."

And experience showeth, there are few men so true to themselves and so settled, but that sometimes upon heat, sometimes upon bravery, some-

times upon kindness, sometimes upon trouble of mind and weakness, they open themselves; especially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain, "Di mentira, y sacaras verdad." (Tell a lie and find the truth.)

As for the knowing of men, which is at second hand from reports; men's weaknesses and faults are best known from their enemies, their virtues and abilities from their friends, their customs and times from their servants, their conceits and opinions from their familiar friends, with whom they discourse most. General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful: for to such, men are more masked: "Verior fama e domesticis emanat."

But the soundest disclosing and expounding of men is by their natures and ends, wherein the weakest sort of men are best interpreted by their natures, and the wisest by their ends. For it was both pleasantly and wisely said, though I think very untruly, by a nuncio of the pope, returning from a certain nation where he served as lieger; whose opinion being asked touching the appointment of one to go in his place, he wished that in any case they did not send one that was too wise; because no very wise man would ever imagine what they in that country were like to do. And certainly it is an error frequent for men to shoot over, and to suppose deeper ends, and more compass-reaches than are: the Italian proverb being elegant, and for the most part true:

"Di danari, di senno, e di fede,
C'e ne manco che non credi."

(There is commonly less money, less wisdom, and less good faith than men do account upon.)

But princes, upon a far other reason, are best interpreted by their natures, and private persons by their ends; for princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire, by distance from which a man might take measure and scale of the rest of their actions and desires; which is one of the causes that maketh their hearts more inscrutable. Neither is it sufficient to inform ourselves in men's ends and natures, of the variety of them only, but also of the predominancy, what humour reigneth most, and what end is principally sought. For so we see, when Tigellinus saw himself outstripped by Petronius Turpilianus in Nero's humours of pleasures, "metus ejus rimatur" (he wrought upon Nero's fears,) whereby he broke the other's neck.

But to all this part of inquiry the most compendious way resteth in three things: the first, to have general acquaintance and inwardness with those which have general acquaintance and look most into the world; and especially according to the diversity of business, and the diversity of persons to have privacy and conversation with some one friend, at least, which is perfect and well intelligenced in every several kind. The second is, to keep a good mediocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy; in most things liberty: secrecy where it importeth; for liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much to a man's knowledge; and secrecy, on the other side, induceth trust and inwardness. The last is, the reducing of a man's self to this watchful and serene habit, as to make account and purpose, in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act. For as Epictetus would have a philosopher in every particular action to say to himself, "Et hoc volo, et etiam institutum servare;" so a politic man in every thing should say to himself, "Et hoc volo, ac etiam aliquid addiscere." I have stayed the longer upon this precept of obtaining good information, because it is a main part by itself, which answereth to all the rest. But, above all things, caution must be taken that men have a good stay and hold of themselves, and that this much knowledge do not draw on much meddling: for nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash intermeddling in many matters. So that this variety of knowledge tendeth in conclusion but only to this, to make a better and freer choice of those actions which may concern us, and to conduct them with the less error and the more dexterity.

The second precept concerning this knowledge is, for men to take good information touching their own person, and well to understand themselves: knowing that, as St. James saith, though men look oft in a glass, yet they do suddenly forget themselves; wherein as the divine glass is the word of God, so the politic glass is the state of the world, or times wherein we live, in the which we are to behold ourselves.

For men ought to take an impartial view of their own abilities and virtues; and again of their wants and impediments; accounting these with the most, and those other with the least; and from this view and examination to frame the considerations following.

First, to consider how the constitution of their nature sorteth with the general state of the times; which if they find agreeable and fit, then in all things to give themselves more scope and liberty; but if differing and dissonant, then in the whole course of their life to be more close, retired, and reserved: as we see in Tiberius, who was never seen at a play, and came not into the senate in twelve of his last years; whereas Augustus Cæsar lived ever in men's eyes, which Tacitus ob serveth, "Alia Tiberio morum via."

Secondly, to consider how their nature sorteth with professions and courses of life, and accordingly to make election, if they be free; and, if engaged, to make the departure at the first opportunity: as we see was done by Duke Valentine, that was designed by his father to a sacerdotal profession, but quitted it soon after in regard of

his parts and inclination; being such, nevertheless, as a man cannot tell well whether they were worse for a prince or for a priest.

Thirdly, to consider how they sort with those whom they are like to have competitors and concurrents; and to take that course wherein there is most solitude, and themselves like to be most eminent: as Julius Cæsar did, who at first was an orator or pleader; but when he saw the excellency of Cicero, Hortensius, Catulus, and others, for eloquence, and saw there was no man of reputation for the wars but Pompeius, upon whom the state was forced to rely, he forsook his course begun toward a civil and popular greatness, and transferred his designs to a martial greatness.

Fourthly, in the choice of their friends and dependences, to proceed according to the composition of their own nature: as we may see in Cæsar; all whose friends and followers were men active and effectual, but not solemn, or of reputation.

Fifthly, to take special heed how they guide themselves by examples, in thinking they can do as they see others do; whereas perhaps their natures and carriages are far differing. In which error it seemeth Pompey was, of whom Cicero saith, that he was wont often to say, "Sylla potuit, ego non potero?" Wherein he was much abused, the natures and proceedings of himself and his example being the unlikest in the world; the one being fierce, violent, and pressing the fact; the other solemn, and full of majesty and circumstance, and therefore the less effectual.

But this precept touching the politic knowledge of ourselves, hath many other branches, whereupon we cannot insist.

Next to the well understanding and discerning of a man's self, there followeth the well opening and revealing a man's self; wherein we see nothing more usual than for the more able men to make the less show. For there is a great advantage in the well setting forth of a man's virtues, fortunes, merits; and again, in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces; staying upon the one, sliding from the other; cherishing the one by circumstances, gracing the other by exposition, and the like: wherein we see what Tacitus saith of Mutianus, who was the greatest politician of his time, "Omnium quæ dixerat feceratque arte quâdam ostentator:" which requireth indeed some art, lest it turn tedious and arrogant; but yet so as ostentation, though it be to the first degree of vanity, seemeth to me rather a vice in manners than in policy: for as it is said, "Audacter, calumniare, semper aliquid hæret:" so, except it be in a ridiculous degree of deformity, "Audacter te vendita, semper aliquid hæret." For it will stick with the more ignorant and inferior sort of men, though men of wisdom and rank do smile at it, and despise it; and yet the authority won with many doth countervail the disdain of a few. But if it be carried with decency and government, as with a natural, pleasant, and ingenious fashion; or at times when it is mixed with some peril and unsafety, as in military persons; or at times when others are most envied; or with easy and careless passage to it and from it, without dwelling too long, or being too serious; or with an equal freedom of taxing a man's self, as well as gracing himself; or by occasion of repelling or putting down others' injury or insolence; it doth greatly add to reputation: and surely not a few solid natures, that want this ventosity, and cannot sail in the height of the winds, are not without some prejudice and disadvantage by their moderation.

But for these flourishes and enhancements of virtue, as they are not perchance unnecessary, so it is at least necessary that virtue be not disvalued and embased under the just price; which is done in three manners: by offering and obtruding a man's self; wherein men think he is rewarded, when he is accepted; by doing too much, which will not give that which is well done leave to settle, and in the end induceth satiety; and by finding too soon the fruit of a man's virtue, in commendation, applause, honour, favour; wherein if a man be pleased with a little, let him hear what is truly said; "Cave ne insuetus rebus majoribus videaris, si hæc te res parva sicuti magna delectat."

But the covering of defects is of no less importance than the valuing of good parts; which may be done likewise in three manners, by caution, by colour, and by confidence. Caution is when men do ingeniously and discreetly avoid to be put into those things for which they are not proper: whereas, contrariwise, bold and unquiet spirits will thrust themselves into matters without difference, and so publish and proclaim all their wants. Colour is, when men make a way for themselves, to have a construction made of their faults and wants, as proceeding from a better cause, or intended for some other purpose: for of the one it is well said, "Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni," and therefore whatsoever want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it; as if he be dull, he must affect gravity; if a coward, mildness; and so the rest: for the second, a man must frame some probable cause why he should not do his best, and why he should dissemble his abilities; and for that purpose must use to dissemble those abilities which are notorious in him, to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations. For confidence, it is the last but surest remedy; namely, to depress and seem to despise whatsoever a man cannot attain; observing the good principle of the merchants, who endeavour to raise the price of their own commodities, and to beat down the price of others. But there is a confidence that passeth this other; which is, to

face out a man's own defects, in seeming to conceive that he is best in those things wherein he is failing; and, to help that again, to seem on the other side that he hath least opinion of himself in those things wherein he is best: like as we shall see it commonly in poets, that if they show their verses, and you except to any, they will say, that that line cost them more labour than any of the rest; and presently will seem to disable and suspect rather some other line, which they know well enough to be the best in the number. But above all, in this righting and helping of a man's self in his own carriage, he must take heed he show not himself dismantled, and exposed to scorn and injury, by too much dulceness, goodness, and facility of nature; but show some sparkles of liberty, spirit, and edge: which kind of fortified carriage, with a ready rescuing of a man's self from scorns, is sometimes of necessity imposed upon men by somewhat in their person or fortune; but it ever succeedeth with good felicity.

Another precept of this knowledge is, by all possible endeavour to frame the mind to be pliant and obedient to occasion; for nothing hindereth men's fortunes so much as this; "Idem manebat, neque idem decebat," men are where they were, when occasions turn: and therefore to Cato, whom Livy maketh such an architect of fortune, he addeth, that he had "versatile ingenium." And thereof it cometh that these grave solemn wits, which must be like themselves, and cannot make departures, have more dignity than felicity. But in some it is nature to be somewhat viscous and inwrapped, and not easy to turn; in some it is a conceit, that is almost a nature, which is, that men can hardly make themselves believe that they ought to change their course, when they have found good by it in former experience. For Machiavel noted wisely, how Fabius Maximus would have been temporizing still, according to his old bias, when the nature of the war was altered and required hot pursuit. In some other it is want of point and penetration in their judgment, that they do not discern when things have a period, but come in too late after the occasion; as Demosthenes compareth the people of Athens to country fellows, when they play in a fence school, that if they have a blow, then they remove their weapon to that ward, and not before. In some other it is a loathness to leese labours passed, and a conceit that they can bring about occasions to their ply; and yet in the end, when they see no other remedy, then they come to it with disadvantage; as Tarquinius, that gave for the third part of Sibylla's books the treble price, when he might at first have had all three for the simple. But from whatsoever root or cause this restiveness of mind proceedeth, it is a thing most prejudicial; and nothing is more politic than to make the wheels of our mind concentric and voluble with the wheels of fortune.

Another precept of this knowledge, which hath some affinity with that we last spake of, but with difference, is that which is well expressed, "Fatis accede Deisque," that men do not only turn with the occasions, but also run with the occasions, and not strain their credit or strength to over hard or extreme points; but choose in their actions that which is most passable: for this will preserve men from foil, not occupy them too much about one matter, win opinion of moderation, please the most, and make a show of a perpetual felicity in all they undertake; which cannot but mightily increase reputation.

Another part of this knowledge seemeth to have some repugnancy with the former two, but not as I understand it; and it is that which Demosthenes uttereth in high terms; "Et quemadmodum receptum est, ut exercitum ducat imperator, sic et a cordatis viris res ipsæ ducendæ; ut quæ ipsis videntur, ea gerantur, et non ipsi eventus tantum persequi cogantur." For, if we observe, we shall find two different kinds of sufficiency in managing of business: some can make use of occasions aptly and dexterously, but plot little; some can urge and pursue their own plots well, but cannot accommodate nor take in; either of which is very imperfect without the other.

Another part of this knowledge is the observing a good mediocrity in the declaring, or not declaring a man's self: for although depth of secrecy, and making way, "qualis est via navis in mari," (which the French call sourdes menées, when men set things in work without opening themselves at all,) be sometimes both prosperous and admirable; yet many times "Dissimulatio errores parit, qui dissimulatorem ipsum illaqueant;" and therefore, we see the greatest politicians have in a natural and free manner professed their desires, rather than been reserved and disguised in them; for so we see that Lucius Sylla made a kind of profession, "that he wished all men happy or unhappy, as they stood his friends or enemies." So Cæsar, when he went first into Gaul, made no scruples to profess, "that he had rather be first in a village than second at Rome." So again, as soon as he had begun the war we see what Cicero saith of him, "Alter (meaning of Cæsar) non recusat, sed quodammodo postulat, ut, ut est, sic appelletur tyrannus." So we may see in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, that Augustus Cæsar in his very entrance into affairs, when he was a darling of the senate, yet in his harangues to the people would swear, "Ita parentis honores consequi liceat," which was no less than the tyranny; save that, to help it, he would stretch forth his hand towards a statue of Cæsar's that was erected in the place: whereat many men laughed, and wondered, and said, Is it possible? or, Did you ever hear the like to this? and yet thought he meant no hurt; he did it so handsomely and ingenuously. And all these were prosperous: whereas Pompey,

who tended to the same end, but in a more dark and dissembling manner, as Tacitus saith of him, "Occultior, non melior," wherein Sallust concurreth, "ore probo, animo inverecundo," made it his design, by infinite secret engines to cast the state into an absolute anarchy and confusion, that the state might cast itself into his arms for necessity and protection, and so the sovereign power be put upon him, and he never seen in it: and when he had brought it, as he thought, to that point, when he was chosen consul alone, as never any was, yet he could make no great matter of it, because men understood him not; but was fain, in the end, to go the beaten track of getting arms into his hands, by colour of the doubt of Cæsar's designs: so tedious, casual, and unfortunate are these deep dissimulations: whereof, it seemeth, Tacitus made his judgment, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy; attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius; where, speaking of Livia, he saith, "Et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita:" for surely the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning, and not greatly politic.

Another precept of this architecture of fortune is, to accustom our minds to judge of the proportion or value of things, as they conduce and are material to our particular ends; and that to do substantially, and not superficially. For we shall find the logical part, as I may term it, of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part erroneous; that is, they can well judge of consequences, but not of proportions and comparasons, preferring things of show and sense before things of substance and effect. So some fall in love with access to princes, others with popular fame and applause, supposing they are things of great purchase: when in many cases they are but matters of envy, peril, and impediment.

So some measure things according to the labour and difficulty, or assiduity, which are spent about them; and think, if they be ever moving, that they must needs advance and proceed: as Cæsar saith in a despising manner of Cato the Second, when he describeth how laborious and indefatigable he was to no great purpose; "Hæc omnia magno studio agebat." So in most things men are ready to abuse themselves in thinking the greatest means to be best, when it should be the fittest.

As for the true marshalling of men's pursuits towards their fortune, as they are more or less material, I hold them to stand thus: first the amendment of their own minds; for the remove of the impediments of the mind will sooner clear the passages of fortune than the obtaining fortune will remove the impediments of the mind. In the second place I set down wealth and means, which I know most men would have placed first; because of the general use which it beareth towards all variety of occasions: but that opinion, I may condemn with like reason as Machiavel doth that other, that moneys were the sinews of the wars; whereas, saith he, the true sinews of the wars are the sinews of men's arms, that is, a valiant, populous, and military nation: and he voucheth aptly the authority of Solon, who, when Crœsus showed him his treasury of gold, said to him, that if another came that had better iron, he would be master of his gold. In like manner it may be truly affirmed, that it is not moneys that are the sinews of fortune, but it is the sinews and steel of men's minds, wit, courage, audacity, resolution, temper, industry, and the like. In the third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after-game of reputation. And lastly, I place honour, which is more easily won by any of the other three, much more by all, than any of them can be purchased by honour. To conclude this precept, as there is order and priority in matter, so is there in time, the preposterous placing whereof is one of the commonest errors; while men fly to their ends when they should intend their beginnings, and do not take things in order of time as they come on, but marshal them according to greatness, and not according to instance; not observing the good precept, "Quod nunc instat agamus."

Another precept of this knowledge is, not to embrace any matters which do occupy too great a quantity of time, but to have that sounding in a man's ears, "Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus:" and that is the cause why those which take their course of rising by professions of burden, as lawyers, orators, painful divines, and the like, are not commonly so politic for their own fortunes, otherwise than in their ordinary way, because they want time to learn particulars, to wait occasions, and to devise plots.

Another precept of this knowledge is, to imitate nature, which doth nothing in vain; which surely a man may do if he do well interlace his business, and bend not his mind too much upon that which he principally intendeth. For a man ought in every particular action so to carry the motions of his mind, and so to have one thing under another, as if he cannot have that he seeketh in the best degree, yet to have it in a second, or so in a third; and if he can have no part of that which he purposed, yet to turn the use of it to somewhat else; and if he cannot make any thing of it for the present, yet to make it as a seed of somewhat in time to come; and if he can contrive no effect or substance from it, yet to win some good opinion by it, or the like. So that he should exact account of himself of every action, to reap somewhat, and not to stand amazed and confused if he fail of that he chiefly meant: for nothing is more impolitic than to mind actions wholly one by one; for he that doth so leeseth infinite occa-

sions which intervene, and are many times more proper and propitious for somewhat that he shall need afterwards, than for that which he urgeth for the present; and therefore men must be perfect in that rule, "Hæc oportet facere, et illa non omittere."

Another precept of this knowledge is, not to engage a man's self peremptorily in any thing, though it seem not liable to accident; but ever to have a window to fly out at, or a way to retire: following the wisdom in the ancient fable of the two frogs, which consulted when their plash was dry, whither they should go; and the one moved to go down into a pit, because it was not likely the water would dry there; but the other answered, "True, but if it do, how shall we get out again?"

Another precept of this knowledge is, that ancient precept of Bias, construed not to any point of perfidiousness, but only to caution and moderation. "Et ama tanquam inimicus futurus, et odi tanquam amaturus;" for it utterly betrayeth all utility for men to embark themselves too far in unfortunate friendships, troublesome spleens, and childish and humorous envies or emulations.

But I continue this beyond the measure of an example; led, because I would not have such knowledges, which I note as deficient, to be thought things imaginative or in the air, or an observation or two much made of, but things of bulk and mass, whereof an end is hardlier made than a beginning. It must be likewise conceived, that in these points which I mention and set down, they are far from complete tractates of them, but only as small pieces for patterns. And lastly, no man, I suppose, will think that I mean fortunes are not obtained without all this ado; for I know they come tumbling into some men's laps; and a number obtain good fortunes by diligence in a plain way, little intermeddling, and keeping themselves from gross errors.

But as Cicero, when he setteth down an idea of a perfect orator, doth not mean that every pleader should be such; and so likewise, when a prince or a courtier hath been described by such as have handled those subjects, the mould hath used to be made according to the perfection of the art, and not according to common practice: so I understand it, that it ought to be done in the description of a politic man, I mean politic for his own fortune.

But it must be remembered all this while, that the precepts which we have set down are of that kind which may be counted and called "bonæ artes." As for evil arts, if a man would set down for himself that principle of Machiavel, "that a man seek not to attain virtue itself, but the appearance only thereof; because the credit of virtue is a help, but the use of it is cumber:" or that other of his principles, "that he presuppose, that men are not fitly to be wrought otherwise but by fear; and therefore that he seek to have every man obnoxious, low, and in strait," which the Italians call "seminar spine," to sow thorns; or that other principle, contained in the verse which Cicero citeth, "Cadant amici, dummodo inimici intercidant," as the Triumvirs, which sold, every one to other, the lives of their friends for the deaths of their enemies: or that other protestation of L. Catalina, to set on fire and trouble states, to the end to fish in droumy waters, and to unwrap their fortunes, "Ego si quid in fortunis meis excitatum sit incendium, id non aqua, sed ruina restinguam:" or that other principle of Lysander "that children are to be deceived with comfits, and men with oaths:" and the like evil and corrupt positions, whereof, as in all things, there are more in number than of the good: certainly, with these dispensations from the laws of charity and integrity, the pressing of a man's fortune may be more hasty and compendious. But it is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest, and surely the fairer way is not much about.

But men, if they be in their own power, and do bear and sustain themselves, and be not carried away with a whirlwind or tempest of ambition, ought, in the pursuit of their own fortune, to set before their eyes not only that general map of the world, that "all things are vanity and vexation of spirit," but many other more particular cards and directions: chiefly that,—that being, without well-being, is a curse,—and the greater being the greater curse; and that all virtue is most rewarded, and all wickedness most punished in itself: according as the poet saith excellently:

> "Quæ vobis, quæ digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
> Præmia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
> Dii moresque dabunt vestri."

And so of the contrary. And, secondly, they ought to look up to the eternal providence and divine judgment, which often subverteth the wisdom of evil plots and imaginations, according to that Scripture, "He hath conceived mischief, and shall bring forth a vain thing." And although men should refrain themselves from injury and evil arts, yet this incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune leaveth not the tribute which we owe to God of our time; who, we see, demandeth a tenth of our substance, and a seventh, which is more strict, of our time: and it is to small purpose to have an erected face towards heaven, and a perpetual grovelling spirit upon earth, eating dust, as doth the serpent, "Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ." And if any man flatter himself that he will employ his fortune well, though he should obtain it ill, as was said concerning Augustus Cæsar, and after of Septimius Severus, "that either they should never have been born, or else they should never have died," they did so much mischief in the pursuit and ascent of their greatness, and so much good when they were established; yet these

compensations and satisfactions are good to be used, but never good to be purposed. And lastly, it is not amiss for men, in their race toward their fortune, to cool themselves a little with that conceit which is elegantly expressed by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in his instructions to the king, his son, "that fortune hath somewhat of the nature of a woman, that if she be too much wooed, she is the farther off." But this last is but a remedy for those whose tastes are corrupted: let men rather build upon that foundation which is as a corner-stone of divinity and philosophy, wherein they join close, namely, that same "Primum quærite." For divinity saith, "Primum quærite regnum Dei, et ista omnia adjicientur vobis:" and philosophy saith, "Primum quærite bona animi, cætera aut aderunt, aut non oberunt." And although the human foundation hath somewhat of the sands, as we see in M. Brutus, when he brake forth into that speech,

"Te colui, virtus, ut rem; ast tu nomen inane es;"

yet the divine foundation is upon the rock. But this may serve for a taste of that knowledge which I noted as deficient.

Concerning Government, it is a part of knowledge secret and retired, in both these respects in which things are deemed secret; for some things are secret because they are hard to know, and some because they are not fit to utter. We see all governments are obscure and invisible:

"Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

Such is the description of governments. We see the government of God over the world is hidden, insomuch as it seemeth to participate of much irregularity and confusion: the government of the soul in moving the body is inward and profound, and the passages thereof hardly to be reduced to demonstration. Again, the wisdom of antiquity, (the shadows whereof are in the poets,) in the description of torments and pains, next unto the crime of rebellion, which was the giants' offence, doth detest the offence of futility, as in Sisyphus and Tantalus. But this was meant of particulars: nevertheless even unto the general rules and discourses of policy and government there is due a reverent and reserved handling.

But, contrariwise, in the governors toward the governed, all things ought, as far as the frailty of man permitteth, to be manifest and revealed. For so it is expressed in the Scriptures touching the government of God, that this globe, which seemeth to us a dark and shady body, is in the view of God as crystal: "Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo." So unto princes and states, especially towards wise senates and councils, the natures and dispositions of the people, their conditions and necessities, their factions and combinations, their animosities and discontents, ought to be, in regard of the variety of their intelligences, the wisdom of their observations, and the height of their station where they keep sentinel, in great part clear and transparent. Wherefore, considering that I write to a king that is a master of this science, and is so well assisted, I think it decent to pass over this part in silence, as willing to obtain the certificate which one of the ancient philosophers aspired unto; who being silent, when others contended to make demonstration of their abilities by speech, desired it might be certified for his part, "that there was one that knew how to hold his peace."

Notwithstanding, for the more public part of government, which is Laws, I think good to note only one deficiency; which is, that all those which have written of laws, have written either as philosophers or as lawyers, and none as statesmen. As for the philosophers, they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths; and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light, because they are so high. For the lawyers, they write according to the states where they live, what is received law, and not what ought to be law: for the wisdom of a lawmaker is one, and of a lawyer is another. For there are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams: and like as waters do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountains. Again, the wisdom of a lawmaker consisteth not only in a platform of justice, but in the application thereof; taking into consideration by what means laws may be made certain, and what are the causes and remedies of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of law; by what means laws may be made apt and easy to be executed, and what are the impediments and remedies in the execution of laws; what influence laws touching private right of meum and tuum have into the public state, and how they may be made apt and agreeable; how laws are to be penned and delivered, whether in texts or in acts, brief or large, with preambles, or without; how they are to be pruned and reformed from time to time, and what is the best means to keep them from being too vast in volumes, or too full of multiplicity and crossness; how they are to be expounded, when upon causes emergent and judicially discussed, and when upon responses and conferences touching general points or questions; how they are to be pressed, rigorously or tenderly; how they are to be mitigated by equity and good conscience, and whether discretion and strict law are to be mingled in the same courts, or kept apart in several courts; again, how the practice, profession, and erudition of law is to be censured and governed; and many other points touching the administration, and, as I may term it, animation of laws. Upon which I insist the less, because I

purpose, if God give me leave, (having begun a work of this nature in aphorisms,) to propound it hereafter, noting it in the mean time for deficient.

And for your majesty's laws of England, I could say much of their dignity, and somewhat of their defect; but they cannot but excel the civil laws in fitness for the government: for the civil law was "non hos quæsitum munus in usus;" it was not made for the countries which it governeth: hereof I cease to speak, because I will not intermingle matter of action with matter of general learning.

Thus have I concluded this portion of learning touching civil knowedge; and with civil knowledge have concluded human philosophy; and with human philosophy, philosophy in general. And being now at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me, "si nunquam fallit imago" (as far as a man can judge of his own work,) not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are tuning their instruments; which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards: so have I been content to tune the instruments of the muses, that they may play that have better hands. And surely, when I set before me the condition of these times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit in all the qualities thereof—as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers; the art of printing, which communicateth books to men of all fortunes; the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business, as the states of Græcia did, in respect of their popularity, and the states of Rome, in respect of the greatness of their monarchy; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences; the perfection of your majesty's learning, which as a phœnix may call whole vollies of wits to follow you; and the inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth—I cannot but be raised to this persuasion, that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Grecian and Roman learning: only if men will know their own strength, and their own weakness both; and take one from the other, light of invention, and not fire of contradiction; and esteem of the inquisition of truth as of an enterprise, and not as of a quality or ornament; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation. As for my labours, if any man shall please himself or others in the reprehension of them, they shall make that ancient and patient request, "Verbera, sed audi;" let men reprehend them, so they observe and weigh them: for the appeal is lawful, though it may be it shall not be needful, from the first cogitations of men to their second, and from the nearer times to the times farther off. Now let us come to that learning, which both the former times were not so blessed as to know, sacred and inspired Divinity, the sabbath and port of all men's labours and peregrinations.

The prerogative of God extendeth as well to the reason as to the will of man; so that as we are to obey his law, though we find a reluctation in our will, so we are to believe his word, though we find a reluctation in our reason. For if we believe only that which is agreeable to our sense, we give consent to the matter, and not to the author; which is no more than we would do towards a suspected and discredited witness; but that faith which was accounted to Abraham for righteousness was of such a point as whereat Sarah laughed, who therein was an image of natural reason.

Howbeit, if we will truly consider it, more worthy it is to believe than to know as we now know. For in knowledge man's mind suffereth from sense; but in belief it suffereth from spirit, such one as it holdeth for more authorized than itself, and so suffereth from the worthier agent. Otherwise it is of the state of man glorified; for then faith shall cease, and we shall know as we are known.

Wherefore we conclude that sacred Theology, (which in our idiom we call Divinity,) is grounded only upon the word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of nature: for it is written, "Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei;" but it is not written, "Cœli enarrant volnntatem Dei:" but of that it is said, "Ad legem et testimonium: si non fecerint secundum verbum istud," &c. This holdeth not only in those points of faith which concern the great mysteries of the Deity, of the creation, of the redemption, but likewise those which concern the law moral truly interpreted: Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you; be like to your heavenly Father, that suffereth his rain to fall upon the just and unjust. To this it ought to be applauded, "Nec vox hominum sonat:" it is a voice beyond the light of nature. So we see the heathen poets, when they fall upon a libertine passion, do still expostulate with laws and moralities, as if they were opposite and malignant to nature: "Et quod natura remittit, invida jura negant." So said Dendamis the Indian unto Alexander's messengers, "That he had heard somewhat of Pythagoras, and some other of the wise men of Græcia, and that he held them for excellent men: but that they had a fault, which was, that they had in too great reverence and

veneration a thing they called law and manners." So it must be confessed, that a great part of the law moral is of that perfection, whereunto the light of nature cannot aspire: how then is it that man is said to have, by the light and law of nature, some notions and conceits of virtue and vice, justice and wrong, good and evil? Thus, because the light of nature is used in two several senses; the one, that which springeth from reason, sense, induction, argument, according to the laws of heaven and earth; the other, that which is imprinted upon the spirit of man by an inward instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a sparkle of the purity of his first estate: in which latter sense only he is participant of some light and discerning touching the perfection of the moral law: but how? sufficient to check the vice, but not to inform the duty. So then the doctrine of religion, as well moral as mystical, is not to be attained but by inspiration and revelation from God.

The use, notwithstanding, of reason in spiritual things, and the latitude thereof, is very great and general: for it is not for nothing that the apostle calleth religion our reasonable service of God; insomuch as the very ceremonies and figures of the old law were full of reason and signification, much more than the ceremonies of idolatry and magic, that are full of non-significants and surd characters. But most especially the Christian faith, as in all things, so in this deserveth to be highly magnified; holding and preserving the golden mediocrity in this point between the law of the heathen and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extremes. For the religion of the heathen had no constant belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument; and the religion of Mahomet, on the other side, interdicteth argument altogether: the one having the very face of error, and the other of imposture: whereas the faith doth both admit and reject disputation with difference.

The use of human reason in religion is of two sorts: the former, in the conception and apprehension of the mysteries of God to us revealed; the other, in the inferring and deriving of doctrine and direction thereupon. The former extendeth to the mysteries themselves; but how? by way of illustration, and not by way of argument: the latter consisteth indeed of probation and argument. In the former, we see, God vouchsafeth to descend to our capacity, in the expressing of his mysteries in sort as may be sensible unto us; and doth graft his revelations and holy doctrine upon the notions of our reason, and applieth his inspirations to open our understanding, as the form of the key to the ward of the lock: for the latter, there is allowed us a use of reason and argument, secondary and respective, although not original and absolute. For after the articles and principles of religion are placed and exempted from examination of reason, it is then permitted unto us to make derivations and inferences from, and according to the analogy of them, for our better direction. In nature this holdeth not; for both the principles are examinable by induction, though not by a medium or syllogism; and besides, those principles or first positions have no discordance with that reason which draweth down and deduceth the inferior positions. But yet it holdeth not in religion alone, but in many knowledges, both of greater and smaller nature, namely, wherein there are not only posita but placita; for in such there can be no use of absolute reason: we see it familiarly in games of wit, as chess, or the like: the draughts and first laws of the game are positive, but how? merely ad placitum, and not examinable by reason; but then how to direct our play thereupon with best advantage to win the game, is artificial and rational. So in human laws, there be many grounds and maxims which are placita juris, positive upon authority, and not upon reason, and therefore not to be disputed: but what is most just, not absolutely but relatively, and according to those maxims, that affordeth a long field of disputation. Such therefore is that secondary reason, which hath place in divinity, which is grounded upon the placets of God.

Here therefore I note this deficiency, that there hath not been, to my understanding, sufficiently inquired and handled the true limits and use of reason in spiritual things, as a kind of divine dialectic: which for that it is not done, it seemeth to me a thing usual, by pretext of true conceiving that which is revealed, to search and mine into that which is not revealed; and by pretext of enucleating inferences and contradictories, to examine that which is positive: the one sort falling into the error of Nicodemus, demanding to have things made more sensible than it pleaseth God to reveal them, "Quomodo possit homo nasci cum sit senex?" the other sort into the error of the disciples, which were scandalized at a show of contradiction, "Quid est hoc quod dicit nobis? Modicum et non videbitis me; et iterum modicum et videbitis me," &c.

Upon this I have insisted the more, in regard of the great and blessed use thereof; for this point, well laboured and defined of, would in my judgment be an opiate to stay and bridle not only the vanity of curious speculations, wherewith the schools labour, but the fury of controversies, wherewith the church laboureth. For it cannot but open men's eyes, to see that many controversies do merely pertain to that which is either not revealed, or positive; and that many others do grow upon weak and obscure inferences or derivations: which latter sort, if men would revive the blessed style of that great doctor of the Gentiles, would be carried thus, "Ego, non Dominus;" and again, "Secundum consilium meum,"

in opinions and counsels, and not in positions and oppositions. But men are now over-ready to usurp the style, "Non ego, sed Dominus;" and not so only, but to bind it with the thunder and denunciation of curses and anathemas, to the terror of those which have not sufficiently learned out of Solomon, that "the causeless curse shall not come."

Divinity hath two principal parts; the matter informed or revealed, and the nature of the information or revelation: and with the latter we will begin, because it hath most coherence with that which we have now last handled. The nature of the information consisteth of three branches; the limits of the information, the sufficiency of the information, and the acquiring or obtaining the information. Unto the limits of the information belong these considerations; how far forth particular persons continue to be inspired; how far forth the church is inspired; how far forth reason may be used: the last point whereof I have noted as deficient. Unto the sufficiency of the information belong two considerations; what points of religion are fundamental, and what perfective, being matter of further building and perfection upon one and the same foundation; and again, how the gradations of light, according to the dispensation of times, are material to the sufficiency of belief.

Here again I may rather give it in advice, than note it as deficient, that the points fundamental, and the points of farther perfection only, ought to be with piety and wisdom distinguished; a subject tending to much like end as that I noted before; for as that other were likely to abate the number of controversies, so this is like to abate the heat of many of them. We see Moses when he saw the Israelite and the Ægyptian fight, he did not say, Why strive you? but drew his sword and slew the Ægyptian: but when he saw the two Israelites fight, he said, You are brethren, why strive you? If the point of doctrine be an Ægyptian, it must be slain by the sword of the Spirit, and not reconciled; but if it be an Israelite, though in the wrong, then, Why strive you? We see of the fundamental points, our Saviour penneth the league thus, "he that is not with us is against us;" but of points not fundamental, thus, "He that is not against us, is with us." So we see the coat of our Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scripture in itself; but the garment of the church was of divers colours, and yet not divided: we see the chaff may and ought to be severed from the corn in the ear, but the tares may not be pulled up from the corn in the field. So as it is a thing of great use well to define what, and of what latitude those points are, which do make men merely aliens and disincorporate from the church of God.

For the obtaining of the information, it resteth upon the true and sound interpretation of the Scriptures, which are the fountains of the water of life. The interpretations of the Scriptures are of two sorts; methodical, and solute or at large. For this divine water, which excelleth so much that of Jacob's well, is drawn forth much in the same kind as natural water useth to be out of wells and fountains; either it is first to be forced up into a cistern, and from thence fetched and derived for use; or else it is drawn and received in buckets and vessels immediately where it springeth: the former sort whereof, though it seem to be the more ready, yet in my judgment is more subject to corrupt. This is that method which hath exhibited unto us the scholastical divinity; whereby divinity hath been reduced into an art, as into a cistern, and the streams of doctrine or positions fetched and derived from thence.

In this men have sought, three things, a summary brevity, a compacted strength, and a complete perfection; whereof the two first they fail to find, and the last they ought not to seek. For as to brevity, we see, in all summary methods, while men purpose to abridge, they give cause to dilate. For the sum or abridgment by contraction becometh obscure; the obscurity requireth exposition, and the exposition is deduced into large commentaries, or into commonplaces and titles, which grow to be more vast than the original writings, whence the sum was first extracted. So, we see, the volumes of the schoolmen are greater much than the first writings of the fathers, whence the master of the sentences made his sum or collection. So, in like manner, the volumes of the modern doctors of the civil law exceed those of the ancient jurisconsults, of which Tribonian compiled the digest. So as this course of sums and commentaries is that which doth infallibly make the body of sciences more immense in quantity, and more base in substance.

And for strength, it is true that knowledges reduced into exact methods have a show of strength, in that each part seemeth to support and sustain the other; but this is more satisfactory than substantial: like unto buildings which stand by architecture and compaction, which are more subject to ruin than those which are built more strong in their several parts, though less compacted. But it is plain that the more you recede from your grounds, the weaker do you conclude: and as in nature, the more you remove yourself from particulars, the greater peril of error you do incur; so much more in divinity, the more you recede from the Scriptures by inferences and consequences, the more weak and dilute are your positions.

And as for perfection or completeness in divinity, it is not to be sought; which makes this course of artificial divinity the more suspect. For he that will reduce a knowledge into an art, will make it round and uniform: but in divinity many things must be left abrupt, and concluded with this: "O altitudo sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei! quan-

incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et non investigabiles viæ ejus!" So again the apostle saith, "Ex parte scimus:" and to have the form of a total, where there is but matter for a part, cannot be without supplies by supposition and presumption. And therefore I conclude, that the true use of these sums and methods hath place in institutions or introductions preparatory unto knowledge; but in them, or by deducement from them, to handle the main body and substance of a knowledge, is in all sciences prejudicial, and in divinity dangerous.

As to the interpretation of the Scriptures solute and at large, there have been divers kinds introduced and devised; some of them rather curious and unsafe, than sober and warranted. Notwithstanding, thus much must be confessed, that the Scriptures, being given by inspiration, and not by human reason, do differ from all other books in the author; which, by consequence, doth draw on some difference to be used by the expositor. For the inditer of them did know four things which no man attains to know; which are, the mysteries of the kingdom of glory, the perfection of the laws of nature, the secrets of the heart of man, and the future succession of all ages. For as to the first it is said, "He that presseth into the light, shall be oppressed of the glory." And again, "No man shall see my face and live." To the second, "When he prepared the heavens I was present, when by law and compass he enclosed the deep." To the third, "Neither was it needful that any should bear witness to him of man, for he knew well what was in man." And to the last, "From the beginning are known to the Lord all his works."

From the former of these two have been drawn certain senses and expositions of Scriptures, which had need be contained within the bounds of sobriety; the one anagogical, and the other philosophical. But as to the former, man is not to prevent his time: "Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem:" wherein, nevertheless, there seemeth to be a liberty granted, as far forth as the polishing of this glass, or some moderate explication of this enigma. But to press too far into it, cannot but cause a dissolution and overthrow of the spirit of man. For in the body there are three degrees of that we receive into it, aliment, medicine, and poison; whereof aliment is that which the nature of man can perfectly alter and overcome: medicine is that which is partly converted by nature, and partly converteth nature: and poison is that which worketh wholly upon nature, without that, that nature can in any part work upon it: so in the mind whatsoever knowledge reason cannot at all work upon and convert, is a mere intoxication, and endangereth a dissolution of the mind and understanding.

But for the latter it hath been extremely set on foot of late time by the school of Paracelsus, and some others, that have pretended to find the truth of all natural philosophy in the Scriptures; scandalizing and traducing all other philosophy as heathenish and profane. But there is no such enmity between God's word and his works; neither do they give honour to the Scriptures, as they suppose, but much embase them. For to seek heaven and earth in the word of God, (whereof it is said "heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass,") is to seek temporary things amongst eternal: and as to seek divinity in philosophy is to seek the living amongst the dead, so to seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead amongst the living; neither are the pots or lavers, whose place was in the outward part of the temple, to be sought in the holiest place of all, where the ark of the testimony was seated. And again, the scope or purpose of the Spirit of God is not to express matters of nature in the Scriptures otherwise than in passage, and for application to man's capacity, and to matters moral or divine. And it is a true rule, "Auctoris aliud agentis parva auctoritas;" for it were a strange conclusion, if a man should use a similitude for ornament or illustration sake, borrowed from nature or history according to vulgar conceit, as of a basilisk, a unicorn, a centaur, a Briareus, a hydra, or the like, that therefore he must needs be thought to affirm the matter thereof positively to be true. To conclude, therefore, these two interpretations, the one by reduction or enigmatical, the other philosophical or physical, which have been received and pursued in imitation of the rabbins and cabalists, are to be confined with a "noli altum sapere, sed time."

But the two latter points, known to God and unknown to man, touching the secrets of the heart, and the successions of time, do make a just and sound difference between the manner of the exposition of the Scriptures and all other books. For it is an excellent observation which hath been made upon the answers of our Saviour Christ to many of the questions which were propounded to him, how that they are impertinent to the state of the question demanded; the reason whereof is, because, not being like man, which knows man's thoughts by his words, but knowing man's thoughts immediately, he never answered their words, but their thoughts: much in the like manner it is with the Scriptures, which being written to the thoughts of men, and to the succession of all ages, with a foresight of all heresies, contradiction, differing estates of the church, yea and particularly of the elect, are not to be interpreted only according to the latitude of the proper sense of the place, and respectively towards that present occasion whereupon the words were uttered, or in precise congruity or contexture with the words before or after, or in contemplation of the principal scope of the place; but have in themselves, not only totally or collectively, but distributively

in clauses and words, infinite springs and streams of doctrine to water the church in every part. And, therefore, as the literal sense is, as it were, the main stream or river; so the moral sense chiefly, and sometimes the allegorical or typical, are they whereof the church hath most use: not that I wish men to be bold in allegories, or indulgent or light in allusions; but that I do much condemn that interpretation of the Scripture which is only after the manner as men use to interpret a profane book.

In this part, touching the exposition of the Scriptures, I can report no deficience; but by way of remembrance this I will add; in perusing books of divinity, I find many books of controversies, and many of commonplaces and treatises, a mass of positive divinity, as it is made an art; a number of sermons and lectures, and many prolix commentaries upon the Scriptures, with harmonies and concordances: but that form of writing in divinity, which in my judgment is of all others most rich and precious, is positive divinity, collected upon particular texts of Scriptures in brief observations; not dilated into commonplaces, not chasing after controversies, not reduced into method of art; a thing abounding in sermons which will vanish, but defective in books which will remain; and a thing wherein this age excelleth. For I am persuaded, (and I may speak it with an "Absit invidia verbo," and noways in derogation of antiquity, but as in a good emulation between the vine and the olive,) that if the choice and best of those observations upon texts of Scriptures, which have been made dispersedly in sermons within this your majesty's island of Britain by the space of these forty years and more, leaving out the largeness of exhortations and applications thereupon, had been set down in a continuance, it had been the best work in divinity which had been written since the apostles' times.

The matter informed by divinity is of two kinds; matter of belief and truth of opinion, and matter of service and adoration; which is also judged and directed by the former; the one being as the internal soul of religion, and the other as the external body thereof. And therefore the heathen religion was not only a worship of idols, but the whole religion was an idol in itself; for it had no soul, that is, no certainty of belief or confession; as a man may well think, considering the chief doctors of their church were the poets: and the reason was, because the heathen gods were no jealous gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had reason. Neither did they respect the pureness of heart, so they might have external honour and rites.

But out of these two do result and issue four main branches of divinity; faith, manners, liturgy, and government. Faith containeth the doctrine of the nature of God, of the attributes of God, and of the works of God. The nature of God consisteth of three persons in unity of Godhead. The attributes of God are either common to the Deity, or respective to the persons. The works of God summary are two, that of the creation, and that of the redemption; and both these works, as in total they appertain to the unity of the Godhead, so in their parts they refer to the three persons: that of the creation, in the mass of the matter, to the Father; in the disposition of the form, to the Son; and in the continuance and conservation of the being, to the Holy Spirit: so that of the redemption, in the election and counsel, to the Father; in the whole act and consummation, to the Son; and in the application, to the Holy Spirit; for by the Holy Ghost was Christ conceived in flesh, and by the Holy Ghost are the elect regenerate in spirit. This work likewise we consider either effectually, in the elect; or privately, in the reprobate; or according to appearance, in the visible church.

For Manners, the doctrine thereof is contained in the law, which discloseth sin. The law itself is divided, according to the edition thereof, into the law of nature, the law moral, and the law positive; and according to the style, into negative and affirmative, prohibitions and commandments. Sin, in the matter and subject thereof, is divided according to the commandments; in the form thereof, it referreth to the three persons in Deity: sins of infirmity against the Father, whose more special attribute is power; sins of ignorance against the Son, whose attribute is wisdom; and sins of malice against the Holy Ghost, whose attribute is grace or love. In the motions of it, it either moveth to the right hand or to the left; either to blind devotion, or to profane and libertine transgression; either in imposing restraint where God granteth liberty, or in taking liberty where God imposeth restraint. In the degrees and progress of it, it divideth itself into thought, word, or act. And in this part I commend much the deducing of the law of God to cases of conscience; for that I take indeed to be a breaking, and not exhibiting whole of the bread of life. But that which quickeneth both these doctrines of faith and manners, is the elevation and consent of the heart: whereunto appertain books of exhortation, holy meditation, Christian resolution, and the like.

For the Liturgy or service, it consisteth of the reciprocal acts between God and man: which, on the part of God, are the preaching of the word, and the sacraments, which are seals to the covenant, or as the visible word; and on the part of man, invocation of the name of God; and under the law, sacrifices; which were as visible prayers or confessions: but now the adoration being "in spiritu et veritate," there remaineth only "vituli labiorum;" although the use of holy vows of thankfulness and retribution may be accounted also as sealed petitions.

And for the Government of the church, it consisteth of the patrimony of the church, the franchises of the church, and the offices and jurisdictions of the church, and the laws of the church directing the whole; all which have two considerations, the one in themselves, the other how they stand compatible and agreeable to the civil estate.

This matter of divinity is handled either in form of instruction of truth, or in form of confutation of falsehood. The declinations from religion, besides the privative, which is atheism, and the branches thereof, are three; heresies, idolatry, and witchcraft; heresies, when we serve the true God with a false worship; idolatry, when we worship false gods, supposing them to be true; and witchcraft, when we adore false gods, knowing them to be wicked and false: for so your majesty doth excellently well observe, that witchcraft is the height of idolatry. And yet we see though these be true degrees, Samuel teacheth us that they are all of a nature, when there is once a receding from the word of God; for so he saith, "Quasi peccatum ariolandi est repugnare, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle acquiescere."

These things I have passed over so briefly, because I can report no deficiency concerning them: for I can find no space or ground that lieth vacant and unsown in the matter of divinity; so diligent have men been, either in sowing of good seed, or in sowing of tares.

Thus have I made as it were a small Globe of the Intellectual World, as truly and faithfully as I could discover; with a note and description of those parts which seem to me not constantly occupate, or not well converted by the labour of man. In which, if I have in any point receded from that which is commonly received, it hath been with a purpose of proceeding in melius, and not in aliud; a mind of amendment and proficience, and not of change and difference. For I could not be true and constant to the argument I handle, if I were not willing to go beyond others; but yet not more willing than to have others go beyond me again: which may the better appear by this, that I have propounded my opinions naked and unarmed, not seeking to preoccupate the liberty of men's judgments by confutations. For in any thing which is well set down, I am in good hope, that if the first reading move an objection, the second reading will make an answer. And in those things wherein I have erred, I am sure I have not prejudiced the right by litigious arguments; which certainly have this contrary effect and operation, that they add authority to error, and destroy the authority of that which is well invented: for question is an honour and preferment to falsehood, as on the other side it is a repulse to truth. But the errors I claim and challenge to myself as mine own: the good, if any be, is due "tanquam adeps sacrificii," to be incensed to the honour, first of the Divine Majesty, and next of your majesty, to whom on earth I am most bounden.

NOTES TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

Note A.

Referring to page 138.

Of the miseries attendant upon this doctrine of stooping to occasions, Bacon was, perhaps, a sad instance. It may be true, to use the words of old Fuller. "To blame are they whose minds may seem to be made of one entire bone without any joints; they cannot bend at all, but stand as stiffly in things of pure indifferency, as in matters of absolute necessity:" but how distant is this inflexibility in trifles, from the stooping to occasions recommended by Bacon.—(See page 169.)

How unlike to Solon! who, when Æsop said to him, "O Solon! either we must not come to princes, or else we must seek to please and content them," answered, "Either we must not come to princes at all, or else we must needs tell them truly and counsel them for the best."—How unlike to Seneca speaking to Nero? "Suffer me to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine ear, for this is not my custom; I had rather offend thee by truth, than please thee by flattery."

There is in this part of the work, (see page 169,) an observation upon dedications, which, except by this doctrine of the necessity of stooping to occasions, it seems difficult to reconcile with Bacon's dedication to the king. Some allowance may, possibly, be made for the exuberance of expression with which dedications at that time abounded, and, *secundum magis et minus*, will at all times abound: epistles dedicatory and epitaphs, being, it is said, the proper places for panegyric.—See as specimens, Dryden's dedications to the Earl of Abingdon and to the Duke of Ormond. See Locke's dedication to Lord Pembroke of his Essay on the Human Understanding, in which there are some passages in the same style of adulation. See also Addison's dedication to the Earl of Wharton, in Spectator, vol. v.—To Mr. Methuen, vol. vii., and to Lord Somers, vol. i. See also Middleton's dedication of his Life of Cicero to Lord Hervey, in which he, as usual, ascribing every virtue to his patron, says, "I could wish to see the dedicatory style reduced to that classical simplicity, with which the ancient writers used to present their books to their friends or patrons." Some allowance too may be made for the style in which princes have, at all times, been addressed, and particularly in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, when Sir Nicholas Bacon, after the queen's departure from Gorhambury, caused the door to be closed that no other step might pass the same threshold; and when a dedication to the king in the style of the dedication of the Spanish Grammar of the Academy, "La Academia Castellana," which begins simply Senor, and ends only Senor, would have partaken almost of the nature of treason. Some allowance may be made for Bacon's anxiety that his work should be protected by the king, from a supposition that this

protection was necessary for the advancement of knowledge. In his letter of the 12th of October, 1620, to the king, he says, speaking of the Novum Organum: "This work is but a new body of clay, whereunto your majesty, by your countenance and protection, may breathe life. And, to tell your majesty truly what I think, I account your favour may be to this work as much as an hundred years' time: for I am persuaded, the work will gain upon men's minds in ages, but your gracing it may make it take hold more swiftly; which I would be very glad of, it being a work meant, not for praise or glory, but for practice, and the good of men."

If this opinion of the necessity of the king's protection, or of any patronage, for the progress of knowledge, be now supposed a weakness: if in these times, and in this enlightened country, truth has nothing to dread: if Galileo may now, without fear of the inquisition, assert that the earth moves round; or if an altar is raised to the "unknown God," he who is ignorantly worshipped, we may declare; let us not be unmindful of the present state of the press in other countries, or forget that, although Bacon saw a little ray of distant light, yet that it was seen from far, the refraction of truth yet below the horizon. Let us not forget that he had neither schools nor disciples. "We," he says, "judge also, that mankind may conceive some hope from our example, which we offer not by way of ostentation, but because it may be useful. If any one, therefore, should despair, let him consider a man as much employed in civil affairs as any other of his age, a man of no great share of health, who must therefore have lost much time, and yet, in his undertaking, he is the first that leads the way, unassisted by any mortal, and steadfastly entering the true path that was absolutely untrod before, and submitting his mind to things, may thus have somewhat advanced the design." Let us, remembering this, not withhold from him the indulgence which he solicits for the infirmities from which even philosophy is not exempt. "I am not ignorant what it is that I do now move and attempt, nor insensible of mine own weakness to sustain my purpose; but my hope is that if my extreme love to learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection; for 'that it is not granted to man to love and to be wise.'"

In addition to these reasons, the explanation to the penetration and judgment of the reader in the body of the treatise of the object of the address with which it opens, ought not to be forgotten; and some caution ought, it should seem, to be used in not suffering our judgments to be warped when examining a charge of indignity offered by such a philosopher to philosophy; but, after every caution which can in justice be used, and after every allowance which can in charity be made, it cannot but be wished that this work, which will be consecrated to the remotest posterity for its many excellencies, had not in any part or for any purpose, been wanting in that dignity for which, as a whole, it stands so proudly eminent.

Note B.

Referring to page 130.

As to prevalence of delicate learning.

"After the barbarism of the feudal times, the only politeness of conversation, as the only knowledge, was among the clergy. Tournaments, hunting, hawking, &c. made the sole occupation of the nobility. Upon the revival of the humanity studies, they were eagerly followed, to polish as well as to inform. They answered that end which keeping good company does at this day; they gave an habitual elegance to the conversation and sentiments of those who cultivated them, and were therefore, at that time, of much more positive import than at present, or even in Bacon's time. As society became improved, and its intercourse became more frequent, the nicety and time bestowed in these pursuits became a frivolous vanity: the end was otherwise answered. Hence may be deduced their gradual decline, till at length they serve now for the first institutions of schools, and, perhaps, for the occasional amusement of a few persons of just taste, who read them not for information, but through indolence.

"Of the renovation of the humanity studies, in Europe, particularly the Greek language, vid. Hody de Græcis illustribus, &c., who has given the lives of Leon. Pilatus, who was master to Boccace, of Crysolorus, Gaza, Trapezuntius, Bessarion, and others, who passed into Europe, and lectured on the Greek language, both before and after the taking of Constantinople.

"Among the promoters of frivolous studies, may be reckoned the modern Latin poets, of various nations: the making verses in a dead language was the prevalent taste and occupation of the learned world, at the revival of letters, and produced almost infinite attempts of an inferior order, for a very few good poets. Those, in fact, who possessed the powers of imagination and judgment, displayed them successfully in whatever language they wrote: as Politan, Fracastilo, Vida, Orlton, (whose two remaining poems have great merit,) Mantuan, and some others. The rest attained the language, and were elegantly dull. Such were Vaniere and Rapin the jesuits, Barbeirni, (D'Urban,) and even Casimir with some exceptions.—*Anon. MSS. Notes.*

Note C.

Referring to page 130.

In the Novum Organum this sentiment is repeated. "The opinions which men entertain of antiquity, is a very idle thing, and almost incongruous to the word; for the old age and length of days of the world, should in reality be accounted antiquity, and ought to be attributed to our own times, not to the youth of the world, which it enjoyed among the ancients: for that age, though with respect to us it be ancient and greater, yet, with regard to the world, it was new and less And as we justly expect a greater knowledge of things, and a riper judgment, from a man of years than from a youth, on account of the greater experience, and the greater variety and number of things seen, heard, and thought of, by the person in years; so might much greater matters be justly expected from the present age, (if it knew but its own strength, and would make trial and apply,) than from former times; as this is the more advanced age of the world, and now enriched and furnished with infinite experiments and observations."

Sir Henry Wotton, in his answer to Bacon's presentation of the Novum Organum, says, "Of your Novum Organum I shall speak more hereafter; but I have learnt thus much already by it, that we are extremely mistaken in the computation of antiquity by searching it backwards; because, in deed, the first times were the youngest."

Note D.

Referring to page 130.

Bacon, in various parts of his works, expresses his disapprobation of method and arrangement, but acknowledges the necessity of attention to style, for the purpose of rendering philosophy acceptable to heedless or unwilling ears.—See page 214 of this volume, where he explains the preference of writing in aphorisms to methodical writing: for as to writing in aphorisms, he says; 1st. It trieth the writer whether he be superficial or solid. 2d. Methods are more fit to win consent or belief, but less fit to point to action. 3d. Aphorisms generate inquiry. And again, see page 241, when speaking of interpretation of Scripture, he says,

"It is true that knowledges reduced into exact methods have a show of strength, in that each part seemeth to support and sustain the other; but this is more satisfactory than substantial: like unto buildings which stand by architecture and compaction, which are more subject to ruin than those which are built more strong in their several parts though less compacted."

And again he says,

"The worst and most absurd sort of triflers are those who have pent the whole art into strict methods and narrow systems, which men commonly cry up for the sake of their regularity and style.

"Knowledge is uttered to men in a form, as if every thing were finished: for it is reduced into arts and methods which in their divisions do seem to include all that may be. And how weakly soever the parts are filled, yet they carry the show and reason of a total; and thereby the writings of some received authors go for the very act; whereas antiquity used to deliver the knowledge which the mind of man had gathered in observations, aphorisms, or short or disposed sentences, or small tractates of some parts that they had diligently meditated and laboured; which did incite men both to ponder that which was invented and to add and supply farther."

Rawley, in his preface to the Sylva Sylvarum, says, "I have heard his lordship often say, that, if hee should have served the glory of his owne name, hee had beene better not to have published this naturall history: for it may seeme an indigested

heape of particulars, and cannot have that lustre, which bookes cast into methods have: but that he resolved to preferre the goode of men, and that which might best secure it, before any thing that might have relation to himselfe. I have heard his lordship say also, that one great reason, why hee would not put these particulars into any exact method (though hee that looketh attentively into them shall finde that they have a secret order) was, because he conceived that other men would not thinke that they could doe the like; and so goe on with a further collection; which if the method had beene exact, many would have despaired to attaine by imitation.' "

His opinion of the necessity of attention to style is stated in pages 169, 170 of this work, in his dissertation upon Delicate Learning. To these opinions of Bacon's, we are most probably indebted for the symmetry and beauty in the Advancement of Learning. They have been, as Bacon foresaw they would be, causes, and only temporary causes, of the preference which has been given to the Advancement of Learning. He was too well acquainted with what he terms the idols of the mind to be diverted from truth either by the love of order or by the love of beauty. He knew the charms of theories and systems, and the necessity of adopting them to insure a favourable reception for abstruse works, but he was not misled by them. It did not require his sagacity to predict such observations as, two centuries after his death, have been made upon his classification by the philosophers of our times. The noble temple which he raised may now, perhaps, be destroyed and rejected of the builders altogether, but though it should be levelled to the ground, the genius of true philosophy will stand discovered among the ruins.

Professor Stewart, after various observations upon the arrangements of Bacon and D'Alembert, says: "If the foregoing strictures be well founded, it seems to follow, that not only the endeavours of Bacon and D'Alembert to classify the sciences and arts according to a logical division of our faculties, is altogether unsatisfactory, but that every future attempt of the same kind may be expected to be liable to similar objections."—Bentham in his Chrestomathia, speaking of Bacon's arrangement says, "Of the sketch given by D'Alembert the leading principles are, as he himself has been careful to declare, taken from that given by Lord Bacon. Had it been entirely his own, it would have been, beyond comparison, a better one. For the age of Bacon, Bacon's was a precocious and precious fruit of the union of learning with science: for the age of D'Alembert, it will, it is believed, be found but a poor production, below the author as well as the age."—The Chrestomathia then contains various objections to these systems of arrangement, and suggests another system which, perhaps, after the lapse of two more centuries, will share the same fate. No man was, for his own sake, less attached to system or ornament than Lord Bacon. A plain, unadorned style in aphorisms, in which the Novum Organum is written, is, he invariably states, the proper style for philosophy

Note E.

Referring to page 140.

Amongst the many "idols of the understanding," as they are termed by Bacon; amongst the many tendencies of the mind to warp us from truth, the most subtle seem to be those which emanate from the love of truth itself, undermining the understanding, as ruin ever works, on the side of our virtues. The love of truth, the desire to know the causes of things, is, perhaps, one of our strongest passions; and, like all strong passion, it has a tendency, unless restrained, to hurry us into excess. From an impatience to possess this treasure we are induced to assent hastily, and accept counterfeits as sterling coin:—we are induced to generalize hastily, and to abandon universality, to suppose that we have attained the truth in all the extent in which it exists. The idols of the understanding from the love of truth which generate haste, seem therefore to be

1. Hasty Assent.
2. Hasty Generalization.
3. Abandoning Universality.

This note is upon "Abandoning universality," the nature of which is mentioned in page 173 of this work, and in pages 193, 194, and 201. And in the treatise "De Augmentis," there is an observation founded upon this doctrine which is not contained in the Advancement of Learning. Speaking of astronomy, he says: "Astronomy, such as now it is made, may well be counted in the number of Mathematical Arts, not without great diminution of the dignity thereof; seeing it ought rather (if it would maintain its own right) be constituted a branch, and that most principal of Natural Philosophy For whoever shall reject the feigned divorces or superlunary and sublunary bodies; and shall intentively observe the appetencies of matter, and the most universal passions, (which in either globe are exceeding potent, and transverberate the universal nature of things,) he shall receive clear information concerning celestial matters from the things seen here with us: and contrariwise from those motions which are practised in heaven; he shall learn many observations which now are latent, touching the motions of bodies here below: not only so far as these inferior motions are moderated by superior, but in regard they have a mutual intercourse by passions common to them both." (See the mode by which Newton is said first to have thought of the influence of the laws of gravity.)

So, in another work, "Descriptio Globi intellectualis," he says, "We must, however, openly profess, that our hope of discovering the truth, with regard to the celestial bodies, depends not solely upon such a history, raised after our own manner; but much more upon the observation of the common properties, or the passions and appetites of the matter of both globes. For as to the separation that is supposed betwixt the etherial and sublunary bodies, it seems to us no more than a fiction, and a degree of superstition, mixed with rashness: for it is certain, that numerous effects, as expansion, contraction, impression, yielding, collection, attraction, repulsion, assimilation, union, and the like, have place, not only here upon the surface, but also in the bowels of the earth, and regions of the heavens. And no more faithful guide can be used or consulted, than these properties of matter, to conduct the understanding to the depths of the earth, which are absolutely not seen at all, and to the sublime regions of the heavens, which are generally seen, but falsely; on account of their great distance, the refraction of the air, the imperfection of glasses, &c. The ancients, therefore, excellently represented Proteus as capable of various shapes, and a most extraordinary prophet, who knew all things, both the past, the future, and the secrets of the present. For he who knows the universal properties of matter, and by that means understands what may be, cannot but know what has been, is, and shall be the general state and issue of things. Our chiefest hope and dependence in the consideration of the celestial bodies, is therefore placed in physical reasons; though not such as are commonly so called; but those laws, with regard to the appetites of matter, which no diversity of place or region can abolish, break through, disturb, or alter."

See also the fable of Proteus, in his Wisdom of the Ancients. See also the beginning of the tenth century of the Sylva Sylvarum; and in his Aphorisms concerning the composure of History, he says: "In the history which we require, and purpose in our mind, above all things it must be looked after, that its extent be large, and that it be made after the measure of the universe, for the world ought not to be tied into the straitness of the understanding (which hitherto hath been done) but our intellect should be stretched and widened, so as to be capable of the image of the world, such as we find it; for the custom of respecting but a few things, and passing sentence according to that paucity and scantness hath spoiled all."

Upon the same principle, he says, I think in his history of Life and Death, "All tangible bodies contain a spirit covered over, enveloped with the grosser body. There is no known body, in the upper parts of the earth, without its spirit; whether it be generated by the attenuating and concocting power of the celestial warmth, or otherwise: for the pores of tangible bodies are not a vacuum; but either contain air, or the peculiar spirit of the substance, and this not a vis, an energy, a soul, or a fiction; but a real, subtile, and invisible body, circumscribed by place and dimension." "Such was the language of Bacon two centuries ago; the same sentiments have lately appeared in another form in the works of one of our modern poets.

"To every form of being is assigned
An *active* principle, howe'er removed
From sense and observation; it subsists
In all things, in all natures, in the stars
Of azure heaven, the unendurling clouds,
In flower and tree, and every pebbly stone

That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
The moving waters and the invisible air.
Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
Beyond itself, communicating good,
A simple blessing or with evil mixed:
Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
No chasm, no solitude, from link to link
It circulates the soul of all the worlds."

Excursion, page 397.

Note F.

Referring to page 140.

To this tendency to hasty assent, which is one of the idols of the understanding, originating in a love of truth, (see ante note E) it may seem that Bacon ought to have traced the evils of credulity, which he has classed under Fantastical Learning. (page 171.) Bacon, also says,

"The mind of man doth wonderfully endeavour and extremely covet that it may not be pensile: but that it may light upon something fixed and immoveable, on which, as on a firmament, it may support itself in its swift motions and disquisitions. Aristotle endeavours to prove that in all motions of bodies, there is some point quiescent: and very elegantly expounds the fable of Atlas, who stood fixed and bare up the heavens from falling, to be meant of the poles of the world, whereupon the conversion is accomplished. In like manner, men do earnestly seek to have some atlas or axis of their cogitations within themselves, which may, in some measure, moderate the fluctuations and wheelings of the understanding, fearing it may be the falling of their heaven."

He says also,

"We are not so eager as to reap moss for corn: or the tender blade for ears: but wait with patience the ripeness of the harvest."

And again,

Beware of too forward maturation of knowledge, which makes man bold and confident, and rather wants great proceeding than causeth it."

"Such a rash impotency and intemperance doth possess and infatuate the whole race of man: that they do not only presume upon and promise to themselves what is repugnant in nature to be performed: but also are confident that they are able to conquer, even at their pleasure, and that by way of recreation, the most difficult passages of nature without trouble or travail."

"Stay a little, that you may make an end the sooner," was a favourite maxim of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

In Locke's Conduct of the Understanding, there are some observations upon the evils of haste in the acquisition of knowledge, in departing from the old maxim that "the sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief." So true it is,

"We must take root downwards, if we would bear fruit upwards; if we would bear fruit and continue to bear fruit, when the foodful plants that stand straight, only because they grew in company; or whose slender service-roots owe their whole steadfastness to their entanglement, have been beaten down by the continued rains, or whirled aloft by the sudden hurricane."—*Coleridge.*

So true is it, that

"The advances of nature are gradual. They are scarce discernible in their motions, but only visible in their issue. Nobody perceives the grass grow or the shadow move upon the dial till after some time and leisure we reflect upon their progress."—*South.*

Note G.

Referring to page 140.

This pedant humour of learning, "the delivering knowledge too peremptorily, ought, it seems, to have been referred to delivery of knowledge, where it is more copiously treated." —See page 213.)

Note H.

Referring to page 140.

This most important part of the conduct of the understanding, a consideration of the motives by which we are actuated in the acquisition of knowledge, may, as in this beautiful passage, and in other parts of Bacon's works, be separated into

1. A love of excelling.
2. A love of excellence.

Although the love of excelling is the motive by which in our public schools, and our universities, youth is stimulated, and is in the common world a very common motive of action, yet this intellectual gladiatorship does not and never did influence the noblest minds: it is only a temporary motive, and fosters bad passion. The love of excellence on the other hand, is powerful and permanent, and constantly generates good feeling. *That the love of excelling does not influence philosophy*, is an opinion so prevalent that, assuming it to be the motive by which men are generally induced to engage in public life, it has been urged by politicians as an objection to learning, "that it doth divert men's travails from action and business, and bringeth them to a love of leisure and privateness."* The error of the supposition that the love of excelling can influence philosophy, may be seen in the nature of the passion, in the opinions of eminent moralists, and in the actions of those illustrious men, who, without suffering worldly distinctions to have precedence in their thoughts, are content without them, or with them, when following in the train of their duty.

With respect to the nature of the passion, it is difficult to suppose that it can influence any mind, which lets its hopes and fears wander towards future and far distant events. "If a man," says Bacon, "meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, (the divineness of souls except,) will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where as some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to-and-fro a little heap of dust." So says Bishop Taylor, "Whatsoever tempts the pride and vanity of ambitious persons is not so big as the smallest star which we see scattered in disorder and unregarded upon the pavement and floor of heaven. And if we would suppose the pismires had but our understanding, they also would have the method of a man's greatness, and divide their little mole-hills into provinces and exarchats: and if they also grew as vitious and as miserable, one of their princes would lead an army out, and kill his neighbour ants, that he might reign over the next handful of a turf."

The same lesson may be taught by a moment's self-reflection.

"I shall entertain you," Bishop Taylor, in the preface to his Holy Dying, says, "in a charnel-house, and carry your meditation a while into the chambers of death, where you shall find the rooms dressed up with melancholick arts, and fit to converse with your most retired thoughts, which begin with a sigh, and proceed in deep consideration, and end in a holy resolution. The sight that St. Augustin most noted in that house of sorrow was the body of Cæsar clothed with all the dishonours of corruption that you can suppose in six months' burial."

"I have read of a fair young German gentleman, who living, often refused to be pictured, but put off the importunity of his friends' desire, by giving way that after a few days' burial, they might send a painter to his vault, and, if they saw cause for it, draw the image of his death unto the life. They did so, and found his face half eaten, and his midriff and backbone full of serpents; and so he stands pictured amongst his armed ancestours."

With respect to the opinions and actions of eminent men, Bacon says, "It is commonly found that men have views to fame and ostentation, sometimes in uttering, and sometimes in circulating the knowledge they think they have acquired. But for our undertaking, we judge it of such a nature, that it were highly unworthy to pollute it with any degree of ambition or affectation; as it is an unavoidable decree with us ever to retain our native candour and simplicity, and not attempt a passage to truth under the conduct of vanity; for, seeking real nature with all her fruits about her, we should think it a betraying of our trust to infect such a subject either with an ambitious, an ignorant, or any other faulty manner of treating it."

So John Milton says,

"I am not speaking to the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind."

* See page 164 *ante*.

And Tucker, in his most valuable work on the Light of Nature pursued, in his chapter on vanity, says,

"We find in fact that the best and greatest men, those who have done the most essential services to mankind, have been the most free from the impulses of vanity. Lycurgus and Solon, those two excellent lawgivers, appear to have had none: Socrates, the prime apostle of reason, Euclid and Hippocrates, had none: whereas Protagoras with his brother sophists, Diogenes, Epicurus, Lucretius, and the Stoics who were the bigots, and the latter Academies who were the free-thinkers of antiquity, were overrun with it. And among the moderns, Boyle, Newton, Locke, have made large improvements in the sciences without the aid of vanity; while some others I could name, having drawn in copiously of that intoxicating vapour, have laboured only to perplex and obscure them."

Thomas Carlysle, in his Life of Schiller, just published, says,

"The end of literature was not, in Schiller's judgment, to amuse the idle, or to recreate the busy, by showing spectacles for the imagination, or quaint paradoxes and epigrammatic disquisitions for the understanding: least of all was it to gratify in any shape the selfishness of its professors, to minister to their malignity, their love of money, or even of fame. For persons who degrade it to such purposes, the deepest contempt of which his kindly nature could admit was at all times in store. 'Unhappy mortal!' says he to the literary tradesman, the man who writes for gain, 'Unhappy mortal! that with science and art, the noblest of all instruments, effectest and attemptest nothing more, than the day drudge with the meanest! That in the domain of perfect freedom bearest about in thee the spirit of a slave!' As Schiller viewed it, genuine literature includes the essence of philosophy, religion, art; whatever speaks to the immortal part of man. The daughter, she is likewise the nurse of all that is spiritual and exalted in our character. The boon she bestows is truth; truth not merely physical, political, economical, such as the sensual man in us is perpetually demanding, ever ready to reward, and likely in general to find; but the truth of moral feeling, truth of taste, that inward truth in its thousand modifications, which only the most ethereal portion of our nature can discern, but without which that portion of it languishes and dies, and we are left divested of our birthright, thenceforward 'of the earth earthy,' machines for earning and enjoying no longer worthy to be called the Sons of Heaven. The treasures of literature are thus celestial, imperishable, beyond all price: with her is the shrine of our best hopes, the palladium of pure manhood; to be among the guardians and servants of this is the noblest function that can be entrusted to a mortal. Genius, even in its faintest scintillations, is 'the inspired gift of God;' a solemn mandate to its owner to go forth and labour in his sphere, to keep alive 'the sacred fire' among his brethren, which the heavy and polluted atmosphere of this world is forever threatening to extinguish. Woe to him if he neglect this mandate, if he hear not its small still voice! Woe to him if he turn this inspired gift into the servant of his evil or ignoble passions; if he offer it on the altar of vanity, if he sell it for a piece of money!"

The most apparent extraordinary influence of ambition, which is but a form of the love of excelling, is in the conduct of Lord Bacon in his political life, who appears to have been attracted by worldly distinction, although he well knew its emptiness, and well knew "how much it diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up the race is hindered."*

That Bacon's real inclination was for contemplation, appears in the following letters: "To my Lord Treasurer Burghley, (A. D. 1591.)—"My lord, with as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service, and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your lordship. I wax now somewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it; because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bear a mind, in some middle place that I could discharge, to serve her majesty; not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour; nor under Jupiter, that loveth business, for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly: but as a man born under an excellent sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides I do not find in myself so much self-love, but that the greater part of my thoughts are to deserve well, if I were able of my friends, and namely of your lordship; who being the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to do you service. Again the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me: for though I cannot accuse myself, that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities: the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions, and impostures, hath committed so many spoils; I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vainglory, or nature, or, if one take it favourably, *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind, as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own; which is a thing I greatly affect. And for your lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your lordship shall find now or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty: but this I will do, I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain, that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth, which, he said, lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your lordship, is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation: wherein I have done honour both to your lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your lordship which is truest; and to your lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so, I wish your lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my faithful desire to do your service.—From my lodging at Gray's-Inn."

"To the Lord Treasurer Burghley.—It may please your good lordship, I am to give you humble thanks for your favourable opinion, which by Mr. Secretary's report I find you conceive of me, for the obtaining of a good place, which some of my honourable friends have wished unto me *ex opinanti*. I will use no reason to persuade your lordship's mediation, but this, that your lordship, and my other friends, shall in this beg my life of the queen; for I see well the bar will be my bier, as I must and will use it, rather than my poor estate or reputation shall decay."

"To my Lord of Essex.—For as for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw, that give a stomach; but rather they quench appetite and desires."

A letter of recommendation of his service to the Earl of Northumberland, a few days before Queen Elizabeth's death. —"To be plain with your lordship, it is very true, and no winds or noises of civil matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacity and love towards studies and contemplations of a higher and worthier nature, than popular, a nature rare in the world, and in a person of your lordship's quality almost singular, it is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection and admiration towards you."

"To Mr. Matthew."—Written, as it seems, when he had made progress in the Novum Organum, probably about 1609. "I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future ages. As to the Instauration your so full approbation thereof I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it; and by how much less I expected consent and concurrance in a matter so obscure. Of this I

* See page 174 of this volume.

can assure you, that though many things of great hope decay with youth, and multitude of civil businesses is wont to diminish the price, though not the delight of contemplations, yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me upon my affection and desire, both by years and businesses. And therefore I hope, even by this, that it is well pleasing to God, from whom, and to whom, all good moves. To him I most heartily commend you."

"To Sir George Villiers, acknowledging the king's favour.—Sir, I am more and more bound unto his majesty, who, I think, knowing me to have other ends than ambition, is contented to make me judge of mine own desires."

Such was Bacon's inclination: and if, instead of his needy circumstances, he had possessed the purse of a prince, and the assistance of a people,* he

> in the prime of early youth,
> Would have shunned the broad way and the green,
> And laboured up the hill of heavenly truth.

Upon the nature of ambition and great place, it is scarcely possible to suppose that he could have entertained erroneous opinions. His sentiments are contained in his Essays on those subjects, and are incidentally mentioned in different parts of his works. He could not much respect a passion by which men, to use his own words, were—"Like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. . . . As if," he says, "man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should doe nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himselfe subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are) yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes." He must have contrasted the philosophic freedom of a studious life with the servile restraints of an ambitious life, who says—"Men in great place, are thrice servants: servants of the soveraigne or state; servants of fame; and servants of businesse. So as they have no freedome, neither in their persons; nor in their actions; nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seeke power and to lose liberty; to seeke power over others, and to lose power over a mans selfe." He was not likely to form an erroneous estimate of different pleasures who knew that the great difference between men consisted in what they accepted and rejected. "The *logical* part of men's minds," he says, "is often good, but the *mathematical* part nothing worth: that is, they can judge well of the mode of attaining any end, but cannot estimate the value of the end itself."—(See page 177.) But, notwithstanding his love of contemplation, and his knowledge that the splendid speculations of genius are rarely united with that promptness in action or consistence in general conduct which is necessary for the immediate control of civil affairs, he was impelled by various causes to engage in active life. His necessities in youth: the importunities of his friends; the queen encouraging him, "as her young lord keeper:" his sentiment that all men should be active, that man's motto should not be *abstine* but *sustine:* that in this theatre of man's life, God and angels only should be lookers on:† his opinion that he was actuated by the only lawful end of aspiring—"the power to do good,"‡ and the consciousness of his own superiority by which he was hurried into the opinion that he could subdue all things under his feet,§ ipduced him to attempt the union of two not very reconcilable characters, the philosopher and the statesman.

> Forth reaching to the fruit, he plucked, he eat,

and, after all the honours of his professions had been successively conferred upon him, in the year 1617, when he was fifty-seven years of age, the great seals were offered to him. Unmindful of the feebleness of his constitution; unmindful of his love of contemplation; unmindful of his own words: he in an evil hour accepted the offer. One of the consequences was, the sacrifice of his favourite work, upon which he had been engaged for thirty years, and had twelve times transcribed with his own hand. In his letter to the king, dated 16th October, 1620, and sent with the Novum Organum, he says: "The reason why I have published it now specially, being imperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days and would have it saved." The same sentiment was expressed by him in the year 1607. "But time, in the interim, being on the wing, and the author too much engaged in civil affairs, especially considering the uncertainties of life, he would willingly hasten to secure some part of his design from contingencies." Another consequence was, the injury to his reputation; a subject upon which, although I hope at some future time to be more explicit, I cannot refrain from subjoining a few observations.

When the chancellor first heard of the threatened attack upon him by the very Parliament, convened by his advice for the detection of abuses, he wrote to the House of Lords, requesting to be heard: and he thus wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham:—"Your lordship spoke of purgatory. I am now in it; but my mind is in a calm, for my fortune is not my felicity; I know I have clean hands, and a clean heart; and I hope a clean house for friends, or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him, as hath been used against me, may, for a time, seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark, and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think, if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the king and your lordship will, I hope, put an end to these my straits one way or other." By what way the king and his lordship did put an end to these straits, is stated by Bushel in his old age, in the year 1659, thirty-three years after the death of the chancellor. As the tract is very scarce, I subjoin the statement. "But before this could be accomplished to his own content, there arose such complaints against his lordship and the then favourite at court, that for some days put the king to this query, whether he should permit the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his council, to sink in his service; whereupon his lordship was sent for by the king, who, after some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to his house of peers, and that (upon his princely word) he would then restore him again, if they (in their honours) should not be sensible of his merits. Now though my lord foresaw his approaching ruin, and told his majesty there were little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were to give fire, if he did not plead for himself; yet such was his obedience to him from whom he had his being, that he resolved his majesty's will should be his only law, and so took leave of him with these words: 'Those that will strike your chancellor, it's much to be feared will strike at your crown;' and wished, that as he was then the first, so he might be the last of sacrifices. Soon after (according to his majesty's commands) he wrote a submissive letter to the house, and sent me to my Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loath, at my return, to acquaint him with; for, alas! his sovereign's favour was not in so high a measure, but he, like the phœnix, must be sacrificed in flames of his own raising, and so perished, like Icarus, in that his lofty design, the great revenue of his office being lost, and his titles of honour saved but by the bishops' votes; whereunto he replied, that he was only bound to thank his clergy; the thunder of which fatal sentence did much perplex my troubled thoughts, as well as others, to see that famous lord, who procured his majesty to call this parliament, must be the first subject of this revengeful wrath; and that so unparalleled a master should be thus brought upon the public stage for the foolish miscarriages of his own servants, whereof with grief of heart I confess myself to be one. Yet shortly after the king dissolved the parliament, but never restored that matchless lord to his place, which made him then to wish the many years he had spent in state policy and law study had been solely devoted to true philosophy: for, said he, the one at best doth but comprehend man's frailty in its greatest splendour, but the other the mysterious knowledge of all things created in the six days' work." That there was a private interview between the chancellor and the king, thus appears from the journals of the House of Lords, 17th April, 1621. "The lord treasurer

* "Such a collection of natural history," says Bacon, "as we have measured out in our mind, and such as really ought to be procured, is a great and royal work, requiring the purse of a prince and the assistance of a people."

† See his beautiful illustration in page 220 of this volume.

‡ "Power to doe good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men, are little better than good dreams: except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power, and place as the vantage, and commanding ground. Merit, and good works, is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same, is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man be partaker of God's theatre; he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest."

§ See page 163 of this volume.

signified, that in the interim of this cessation, the lord chancellor was an humble suitor unto his majesty, that he might see his majesty, and speak with him; and although his majesty, in respect of the lord chancellor's person, and of the place he holds, might have given his lordship that favour, yet, for that his lordship is under trial of this house, his majesty would not on the sudden grant it. That on Sunday last, the king calling all the lords of this house which were of his council before him, it pleased his majesty, to show their lordships, what was desired by the lord chancellor, demanding their lordships' advice therein. The lords did not presume to advise his majesty; for that his majesty did suddenly propound such a course as all the world could not devise better, which was that his majesty would speak with him privately. That yesterday, his majesty admitting the lord chancellor to his presence, &c. It was thereupon ordered, That the lord treasurer should signify unto his majesty, that the lords do thankfully acknowledge that his majesty's favour, and hold themselves, highly bound unto his majesty for the same." In the morning of the 24th of April, a few days after this interview, the king was present in the House of Lords, commended the complaint of all public grievances, and protested, that he would prefer no person whomsoever before the public good; and, in the evening of the same day, the Prince of Wales signified to the lords, that the Lord Chancellor had sent a submission.—The sentence was passed. The king remitted all which it was in his power to pardon. That the time would arrive when it would be proper to investigate the whole nature of these proceedings, Bacon foresaw. In a paper written in November, 1592, in Greek characters, and found amongst his papers, he says, "Of my offences, far be it from me to say, Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas: but I will say what I have good warrant for, they were not the greatest offenders in Israel, upon whom the wall of Shilo fell:" And in his will, after desiring to be buried by his mother, he says, "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages." It is hoped that documents are now in existence, by which the whole of this transaction may, without impropriety, be elucidated. It seems that, from the intimacy between Archbishop Tennison and Dr. Rawley, the chancellor's chaplain and secretary, all the facts were known to the Archbishop, who published his Baconiana in the year 1679, "too near to the heels of truth and to the times of the persons concerned;" in which he says, "His lordship owned it under his hand, 'that he was frail and did partake of the abuses of the times.' And surely he was a partaker of their severities also. The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James. 'I wish, as I am the first, so I may be the last sacrifice in your times, and, when from private appetite it is resolved, that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket, whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with.' At present I shall only add, that when upon his being accused, he was told it was time to look about him, he said, 'I do not look about me, I look above me,' and when he was condemned, and his servants rose upon his passing through the gallery, 'Sit down, my friends,' he said, 'your rise has been my fall.'"

That the *love of excelling is only a temporary motive for the acquisition of knowledge*, may as easily be demonstrated: when the object is gained, or the certainty of failure discovered, what motive is there for exertion? What worlds are there to conquer? "Sed quid ego hæc, quæ cupio deponere et toto animo atque omni curâ φιλοσοφεῖν. Sic inquam in animo est. Vellem ab initio;" are the words of Cicero. "Indeed, my lord, I greatly deceive myself, if in this hard season I would give a peck of refuse wheat for all that is called fame and honour in the world," are the words of Burke. Milton, in his tract on Education, speaking of young men when they quit the universities: "Now on the sudden transported under another climate to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity; some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat, contentious, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery and courtshifts and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery; if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, (knowing no better,) to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned."

That the love of excelling has a tendency to generate bad feeling, is as easily demonstrated. Tucker says, "This passion always chooses to move alone in a narrow sphere, where nothing noble or important can be achieved, rather than join with others in moving mighty engines, by which much good might be effected. Where did ambition ever glow more intensely than in Cæsar? whose favourite saying, we are told, was, that he would rather be the first man in a petty village, than the second in Rome. Did not Alexander, another madman of the same kind, reprove his tutor Aristotle for publishing to the world those discoveries in philosophy he would have had reserved for himself alone? 'Nero,' says Plutarch, 'put the fiddlers to death, for being more skilful in the trade than he was.' Dionysius, the elder, was so angry at Philoxenus for singing, and with Plato for disputing better than he did, that he sold Plato a slave to Ægina, and condemned Philoxenus to the quarries." In illustration of this doctrine, I cannot refrain from subjoining an anecdote which explains the whole of this morbid feeling. "A collector of shells gave thirty-six guineas for a shell: the instant he paid the money, he threw the shell upon the hearth, and dashed it into a thousand pieces: 'I have now,' said he, 'the only specimen in England.'"

The love of excelling has, however, its uses. It leads "to that portion of knowledge for which it operates

> 'The spur is powerful, and I grant its force;
> It pricks the genius forward in his course,
> Allows short time for play and none for sloth,
> And, felt alike by each, advances both—'

and is attended with the chance of generating a habit to acquire knowledge, which may continue when the motives themselves have ceased to act. It is a bait for pride, which, when seized, may sink into the affections."

Such is the nature of the love of excelling. The love of excellence, on the other hand, produced the Paradise Lost: the Ecclesiastical Polity, and the Novum Organum. It influenced Newton, and Descartes, and Hooker, and Bacon. It has ever permanently influenced, and will ever permanently influence the noblest minds, and has ever generated, and will ever generate good feeling. "We see," says Bacon, "in all other pleasures there is a satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth: which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures: and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy: but of knowledge there is no satiety; but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable, and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply without fallacy or accident." "I have," says Burke, "through life been willing to give every thing to others, and to reserve nothing to myself, but the inward conscience that I have omitted no pains to discover, to animate, to discipline, to direct the abilities of the country for its service, and to place them in the best light to improve their age, or to adorn it. This conscience I have. I have never suppressed any man; never checked him for a moment in his course, by any jealousy, any policy. I was always ready to the height of my means (and they were always infinitely below my desires) to forward those abilities which overpowered my own." And so Pæderatus, "being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred, said, 'It does me good to see there are three hundred found better in the city than myself.'"

If any reader of this note conceive that education cannot

be conducted without the influence of this motive, he will find the subject most ably investigated in the chapter on Vanity in Tucker's Light of Nature;—and if he imagine that this doctrine is injurious, he may be satisfied that there never will be wanting men to fill up the niches of society. "These things will continue as they have been: but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: 'Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis.'" And if he imagine that this doctrine will deter elevation of mind from engaging in worldly pursuit, let him read Bacon's refutation of the conceit that learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness,* and his admonition that we should direct our strength against nature herself, and take her high towers and dismantle her fortified holds, and thus enlarge the borders of man's dominion as far as Almighty God of his goodness shall permit.

Note I.

Referring to page 140.

In page 207 of this work may be found Bacon's observations upon the importance of invention: upon which the considerations seem to be:

1. The utility of inventions.

"Let any one consider what a difference there is betwixt the life led in any polite province of Europe, and in the savage and barbarous parts of the world; and he will find it so great that one man may deservedly seem a god to another, not only on account of greater helps and advantages, but also upon a comparison of the two conditions; and this difference is not owing to the soil, the air, or bodily constitution, but to arts."

2. Utility of an art of invention.

"If some large obelisk were to be raised, would it not seem a kind of madness for men to set about it with their naked hands? and would it not be greater madness still to increase the number of such naked labourers, in confidence of effecting the thing? and were it not a further step in lunacy, to pick out the weaker bodied, and use only the robust and strong; as if they would certainly do? but if, not content with this, recourse should be had to anointing the limbs, according to the art of the ancient wrestlers, and then all begin afresh, would not this be raving with reason? Yet this is but like the wild and fruitless procedure of mankind in intellectuals; whilst they expect great things from multitude and consent; or the excellence and penetration of capacity; or strengthen, as it were, the sinews of the mind with logic. And yet, for all this absurd bustle and struggle, men still continue to work with their naked understandings."

The object of the Novum Organum is to explain the nature of the art of invention.

3. The high estimation of inventors.

In addition to the passage to which this note is appended, there is another similar passage, I believe, in the Novum Organum.

"The introduction of noble inventions seems to hold by far the most excellent place among all human actions. And this was the judgment of antiquity, which attributed divine honours to inventors, but conferred only heroical honours upon those who deserved well in civil affairs, such as the founders of empires, legislators, and deliverers of their country. And whoever rightly considers it, will find this a judicious custom in former ages, since the benefits of inventors may extend to all mankind, but civil benefits only to particular countries, or seats of men; and these civil benefits seldom descend to more than a few ages, whereas inventions are perpetuated through the course of time. Besides, a state is seldom amended in its civil affairs, without force and perturbation, whilst inventions spread their advantage, without doing injury or causing disturbance."

See also in page 209 of this volume, where Bacon speaks in his New Atlantis of the respect due to inventors: the passage beginning with the words, "we have two very long and fair galleries."

4. The art of inventing arts and sciences is deficient.

See page 207 of this volume.

Note L.

Referring to page 141.

The power of man is his means to attain any end. "Archimedes by his knowledge of optics was enabled to burn the Roman fleet before Syracuse, and baffled the unceasing efforts of Marcellus to take the town. An Athenian admiral delayed till evening to attack, on the coast of Attica, a Lacedemonian fleet, which was disposed in a circle, because he knew that an evening breeze always sprung up from the land. The breeze arose, the circle was disordered, and at that instant he made his onset. The Athenian captives, by repeating the strains of Euripides, were enabled to charm their masters into a grant of their liberty."

* See page 165 of this volume.

Note M.

Referring to page 142.

See page 208 of this volume, relating to the houses of experiments in the New Atlantis.

At the time I am writing this note, a proposal has just been published for the formation of a university in Yorkshire, and another proposal for the formation of a university in London: and I please myself with the consciousness of the good which must result from the agitation of this question, in the age in which we are so fortunate to live. London is, perhaps, except Madrid, the only capital in Europe, without an university. Why is such an institution expedient in Edinburgh and Dublin, and inexpedient in the capital in England? Lord Bacon thought, in the year 1620, that from the constitution of our universities, they opposed the advancement of learning. He says, "In the customs and institutions of schools, universities, colleges, and the like conventions, destined for the seats of learned men and the promotion of knowledge, all things are found opposite to the advancement of the sciences; for the readings and exercises are here so managed, that it cannot easily come into any one's mind to think of things out of the common road. Or if here and there one should venture to use a liberty of judging, he can only impose the task upon himself, without obtaining assistance from his fellows; and if he could dispense with this, he will still find his industry and resolution a great hinderance to the raising of his fortune. For the studies of men in such places are confined, and pinned down to the writings of certain authors; from which, if any man happens to differ, he is presently reprehended as a disturber and innovator. But there is surely a great difference between arts and civil affairs; for the danger is not the same from new light, as from new commotions. In civil affairs, it is true, a change even for the better is suspected, through fear of disturbance; because these affairs depend upon authority, consent, reputation, and opinion, and not upon demonstration: but arts and sciences should be like mines, resounding on all sides with new works, and farther progress. And thus it ought to be, according to right reason; but the case, in fact, is quite otherwise. For the above-mentioned administration and policy of schools and universities, generally opposes and greatly prevents the improvement of the sciences."

Whether these observations made by Bacon, in 1620, are to any and what extent applicable to the year 1820, I know not: but I have been informed, that the anxiety for improvement, for which this age is distinguished, has extended to the university of Cambridge: that it has already beautified the buildings; and that an inquirer may now safely consider whether the compendia and calculations of moral and political philosophy which are to be found in the university manuals, are best calculated to form high national sentiments.

There is scarcely any subject of more importance than the subject of universities. So Bacon thought. In this note, I had intended to have collected his scattered opinions, and to have investigated various questions respecting universities; but I must reserve these considerations for the same passage in the treatise "De Augmentis," where I hope to examine

1. The uses of universities.
    1. The preservation and propagation of existing knowledge.
    2. The formation of virtuous habits in youth
    3. The discovery of unexplored truths
2. The situation of universities.
3. The buildings.
    1. Libraries.
        1. General.
        2. Particular.
            1. Law.
            2. Medical, &c.

2. Scientific houses.
    1. Mathematical houses.
    2. Chemical houses.
    3. Houses for fine arts, &c.
4. Collections of natural history.
    1. Animals.
    2. Vegetables.
    3. Minerals.
5. Collections of arts.
    1. Patents.
    2. Mathematical arts.
    3. Fine arts.
        1. Engravings.
        2. Paintings.
        3. Sculpture.
6. Lectures.
7. Defects of universities.

At present I must content myself with expressing my anxious hope that the project for a metropolitan university will (as it will sooner or later) be realized, and that the enquirers for knowledge will not be under the present necessity of attending for information at the different taverns in the different parts of this city: at Willis's Rooms, and at the London Tavern, and at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, and the Paul's Head, Cateaton Street, where lectures, numerously attended, are now delivered upon different parts of natural and human philosophy.

Query 1. As a tree is for some dimension and space entire and continued before it breaks and parts itself into arms and boughs, ought there not to be lectures upon such general subjects as will be applicable to men in all states of society: upon

1. Man as an individual.
    1. The laws of health.
    2. The passions, including all our different pleasures.
    3. The understanding
2. Man in society.
    1. The general principles of law.
    2. The general principles of politics, political economy, &c. &c.

Query 2. As the British Museum contains a noble library, a collection of natural history, of sculpture, and of paintings: as the buildings are rapidly advancing, and as it has been intimated that a street is to be opened from the museum to Waterloo bridge, could this establishment be of any and what use to such an institution?

Note N.

Referring to page 142.

John Milton in his tract on education, says, "That which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities: partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood flowing out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idioms, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious conversing among the pure authors digested, which they scarce taste." "I deem it to be an old error of universities, not well recovered from scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy, (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense,) they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics."

Cicero, says Middleton, made it his constant care that the progress of his knowledge should keep pace with the improvement of his eloquence. He considered the one as the foundation of the other, and thought it in vain to acquire ornaments before he had provided necessary furniture.

I subjoin the following observations from a MS. in my possession; by whom it was written I know not:—

"The defects here noted in the universities seem to have cured themselves. Logic, by the supineness of teachers, and indolence of pupils, having become a mere dead letter: nothing however has been properly substituted in its place, and the crude, hasty, and injudicious method in which mathematics are taught in one university, seems little preferable to the absolute neglect of them in the other. In both the genuine sources of information, the ancient writers, have been too much neglected, and from the same neglect has proceeded the downfall of logic, as well as mathematics. Since neither in the first is Aristotle, or his purest Greek commentators, Simplicius and Philopinus regarded; nor in the latter have the elegant inventions recorded in Pappus and Archimedes, the Analytical restitutions which Vieta and Halley have given from Apollonius, the genuine conic geometry of the same author, the spherics of Theodosius and Menœaus, the remains of Theon and Eutocius, of Eratosthenes and Hero, been sufficiently attended, to which, and to the successful use of the new methods of calculus, it has happened that mathematics, as they are now cultivated, have much departed from that perspicuity and evidence which ought always to be their character.

"I make it therefore a desideratum that the use and effect of the ancient Analysis be well considered both in plane and solid problems, since it is certain that its use did extend very far among the ancients, and the restitution of it would very much improve the construction of problems, which are always less perspicuously, many times less easily treated by common Algebra.

"Something of this kind, though not generally known, is to be found in an unpublished MS. of Sir Isaac Newton, de Geometriâ libri tres, great part of which is perfect.

"The true theory of the Porisms, imperfectly found in Pappus, given up as unintelligible by Halley, inadequately attempted by the acute Fermat, and laboured with much unvailing industry by Rob. Simson, may be said to be at last completely ascertained by Professor Playfair of Edinburgh."

Note O.

Referring to page 143.

Bacon arranges the History of Arts as a species of Natural History. This subject is much improved in the treatise "De Augmentis," where he states his reasons for this arrangement, (See chap. 2. Book 2. De Aug.) saying, "We are the rather induced to assign the History of Arts, as a branch of Natural History, because an opinion hath long time gone current, as if *art* were some different thing from *nature*, and *artificial* from *natural*." The same sentiment is expressed both by Sir Thomas Brown and by Shakspeare. Brown says, "Nature is not at variance with art; nor art with nature: they being both the servants of the Providence of God. Art is the perfection of nature: were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a chaos. Nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial: for, nature is the art of God."

So Shakspeare says,

> "*Perdita.* For I have heard it said,
> There is an art, which in their piedness shares
> With great creating nature.
> "*Pol.* Say there be,
> Yet nature is made better by no mean,
> But nature makes that mean;
> So over that art, which you say adds to nature,
> Is an art that nature makes; you see, sweet maid,
> We marry a gentle scion to the wildest stock,
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind
> By bud of nobler race. This is an art,
> Which does mend nature, change it rather; but
> The art itself is nature."

Note P.

Referring to page 146.

This note is referred to the treatise De Augmentis.

Note Q.

Referring to page 150.

See as to the nature of credulity under Fantastical Learning, ante pages 139, 171. See also Nov. Org. aph. 9.

"The mind has the peculiar and constant error of being more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives, whereas it should duly and equally yield to both. But, on the contrary, in the raising of true axioms, negative instances have the greatest force.

"The mind of man, if a thing have once been existent, and

held good, receives a deeper impression thereof, than if the same thing far more often failed and fell out otherwise: which is the root, as it were, of all superstition and vain credulity."

Bacon, in his experiments respecting antipathy in his Sylva Sylvarum, speaking of "the supposed sympathies between persons at distant places," says, "it is true that they may hold in these things which is the general root of superstition, namely that men observe when things hit, and not when they miss: and commit to memory the one, and forget and pass over the other."

Note R.

Referring to page 150

"The spirit of man presupposes and feigns a greater equality and uniformity in nature than in truth there is. Hence that fiction of the mathematicians, that in the heavenly bodies all is moved by perfect circles, rejecting spiral lines. So it comes to pass that whereas there are many things in nature, as it were, monodica and full of imparity: yet the conceits of men still feign and frame unto themselves relatives; parallels, and conjugates: for upon this ground the element of fire and its orb is brought in to keep square with the other three, earth, water, air. The chymists have set out a fanatical squadron of words, feigning by a most vain conceit in these their four elements, (heaven, air, water, earth,) there are to be found to every one parallel and uniform species.

"As the northern part of the earth was supposed to be a hemisphere, the southern part was assumed to be of the same form.

"Bacon says, 'In the structure of the universe the motion of living creatures is generally performed by quadruple limits or flexuree: as the fins of fish; the feet of quadrupeds; and the feet and wings of fowl.'—To which Aristotle adds, 'the four wreaths of serpents.'

"That produce increases in an arithmetic and population in a geometric ratio, is a position which seems to partake of the love of uniformity."

See Novum Organum, aph. 45.

Note S.

Referring to page 150.

Bacon's doctrine of idols of the understanding is more fully explained in the beginning of the Novum Organum, where these idols or tendencies of the mind to be warped from the truth are investigated and deprecated. He then explains, that if these idols once take root in the mind, truth will hardly find entrance, or if it do, that it will be choked and destroyed, and he warns us that "Idols are to be solemnly and forever renounced, that the understanding may be thereby purged and cleansed; for the kingdom of man, which is founded in the sciences, can scarce be entered otherwise than the kingdom of God, that is, in the condition of little children."

And in his introduction to the just method of compiling history, he says; "If we have any humility towards the Creator; if we have any reverence and esteem of his works; if we have any charity towards men, or any desire of relieving their miseries and necessities; if we have any love for natural truths; any aversion to darkness; and any desire of purifying the understanding; mankind are to be most affectionately intreated, and beseeched to lay aside, at least for a while, their preposterous, fantastic and hypothetical philosophies, which have led experience captive, and childishly triumphed over the works of God; and now at length condescend, with due submission and veneration, to approach and peruse the volume of the Creation; dwell some time upon it; and, bringing to the work a mind well purged of opinions, idols, and false notions, converse familiarly therein. This volume is the language which has gone out to all the ends of the earth, unaffected by the confusion of Babel; this is the language that men should thoroughly learn, and not disdain to have its alphabet perpetually in their hands: and in the interpretation of this language they should spare no pains; but strenuously proceed, persevere, and dwell upon it to the last."

Bacon having explained the general nature of idols, and demonstrated the importance of destroying them, divides them into four sorts: but they seem to be reducible to two, which may be thus exhibited.

- 1. General.
  - 1. Of the tribe.
  - 2. Of the market.
- 2. Particular.
  - 1. Of the den.
  - 2. Of the theatre.

"Speaking of idols of the tribe, he says, 'There are certain predispositions which beset the mind of man; certain idols which are constantly operating upon the mind and warping it from the truth; the mind of man, drawn over and clouded with the sable pavilion of the body, is so far from being like a smooth, equal, and clear glass, which might sincerely take and reflect the beams of things according to their true incidence, that it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstitions and impostures.'"

Having explained the nature of some of the "idols of the tribe," he explains the "idols of the den," or those prejudices which result from the false appearances imposed by every man's own peculiar nature and custom. "We every one of us have our particular den or cavern which refracts and corrupts the light of nature, either because every man has his respective temper, education, acquaintance, course of reading and authorities, or from the difference of impressions, as they happen in a mind prejudiced or prepossessed, or in one that is calm and equal. The faculties of some men are confined to poetry: of some to mathematics: of some to morals: of some to metaphysics. The schoolmaster, the lawyer, the physician, have their several and peculiar ways of observing nature."

Note T.

Referring to page 150.

The prejudices from words are what Bacon calls, "idols of the market," which are fully explained in the Novum Organum, where there is an expansion of the following doctrine.

"There are also idols that have their rise, as it were, from compact, and the association of mankind; which, on account of the commerce and dealings that men have with one another, we call idols of the market. For men associate by discourse, but words are imposed according to the capacity of the vulgar; whence a false and improper imposition of words strangely possesses the understanding. Nor do the definitions and explanations wherewith men of learning in some cases defend and vindicate themselves, any way repair the injury; for words absolutely force the understanding, put all things in confusion, and lead men away to idle controversies and subtleties without number."

This important subject is investigated in the Novum Organum, where the different defects of words are explained.

Note U.

Referring to page 150.

This important subject of memory is investigated in the Novum Organum, under the head of "Constituent Instances," and may be thus exhibited.

- I. The art of making strong impressions.
  - 1. The state of the mind *of the patient.*
    - 1. When the mind is free.
    - 2. When the mind is agitated.
  - 2. By the conduct *of the agent.*
    - 1. Variety of impression.
    - 2. Slowness of impression.
- II. The art of recalling a given impression.
  - 1. Cutting off infinity.
    - 1. Order.
    - 2. Places for artificial memory.
    - 3. Technical memory.
  - 2. Reducing intellectual to sensible things.

That impressions are strongly made when the mind is free and disengaged, may appear from the permanent impressions made in early life, which often remain in old age, when all intermediate impressions are forgotten.

That impressions may be strongly made when the mind is influenced by passion, may be illustrated by the following anecdote, from the Life of Benvenuto Cellini, who says, "My father happened to be in a little room, in which they had been washing, and where there was a good fire of oak burning, with a fiddle in his hand he sang and played near the fire; the weather being exceeding cold, he looked at this time into the flames and saw a little animal resembling a lizard,

which could live in the hottest part of that element: instantly perceiving what it was, he called for my sister, and, after he had shown us the creature, he gave me a box of the ear: I fell a crying, while he soothing me with his caresses, spoke these words, 'My dear child, I dont give you that box for any fault you have committed, but that you may recollect that this little creature which you see in the fire, is a salamander.'" Instances of the same nature occur daily, of which one of the most common and practical is the custom, when boys walk the boundaries of parishes, for the officer to strike the boy, that he may remember in old age the boundary which he walked; so that Bacon's doctrine seems to be well founded, that these things which make an impression by means of strong affection or passion assist the memory. The mind when disturbed, being, for this purpose, free from the same cause, the exclusion of all thought but the predominant passion.

That strong impressions are produced by a variety of circumstances, appears by "proving the same geometrical proposition by different forms of proofs, as algebraic and geometric, &c. Reading the same several truths in prose and in verse, and in different styles in each, &c.

That impressions ought not to be too hastily made, may be inferred from the old adage, that "*great wits have short memories.*"

With respect *to cutting of infinity*, or what Bacon terms, "the limitation of an indefinite seeking to an inquiry within a narrow compass."

The first mode is, he says, by *order or distribution*; the second by *places for artificial memory*; which he says, "May either be places in a proper sense, as a door, a window, a corner, &c., or familiar and known persons, or any known persons, or any other things at pleasure: provided they be placed in a certain order, as animals, plants, words, letters, characters, historical personages, &c., though some of these are more, and some less fit for the purpose. But such kind of places greatly help the memory, and raise it far above its natural powers." And we are told by Aubrey, that Lord Bacon's practice corresponded with his theory; for "In his description of Lord Bacon's house at Gorhambury, he says, 'Over this portico is a stately gallery, where glass windows are all painted: and every pane with several figures of beast, bird, or flower: perhaps his lordship might use them as topics for local memory.'"

The third mode is, he says, by technical memory, of which there are an infinite number of modes, not very highly prized by Bacon, (see page 212 of this volume,) of which old Fuller says, "It is rather a task than an art, and more for the gain of the teacher than profit of the learners. Like the tossing of a pike, which is no part of the postures and motions thereof, and is rather ostentation than use, to show the strength and nimbleness of the arm, and is often used by wandering soldiers as an introduction to beg. Understand it of the artificial rules which at this day are delivered by the memory mountebanks: for sure an art therefore may be made, (wherein as yet the world may be defective,) and that no more destructive to natural memory than spectacles are to the eyes, which girls in Holland wear from twelve years of age."

With respect to *the reduction of intellectual to sensible things*, Bacon is more copious in his treatise "De Augmentis," where he says, "What is presented to the senses strikes more forcibly than what is presented to the intellect. The image of a huntsman pursuing a hare; or an apothecary putting his boxes in order; or a man making a speech; or a boy reciting verses by heart; or an actor upon the stage, are more easily remembered than the notions of invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and action."

Note V.

Referring to page 157.

This seed has, for the last two centuries, been apparently not really dormant. It has, during this interval, been softening and expanding, and has lately appeared above the surface. By the labours of foreign authors, from Montesquieu to the benevolent Beccarria, and of various philosophers and political economists in this island, and, above all, of Jeremy Bentham, it is beginning to be admitted that "law is a science," and that "pour diriger les mouvemens de la pouppée humaine, il faudroit connoitre les fils qui la meuvent." Commerce has already felt the influence of these opinions, the injurious restraints, by which its freedom was shackled, are mouldering away: and the lesson taught two thousand years ago, of forgiveness of debtors, has, after the unremitted exertions of philosophy during this long period, been lately sanctioned by the legislature. It is now no longer contended that the counting-house has any alliance with the jail, or that a man should be judge in his own cause, and assign the punishment of his own pain. These errors have passed away. In the first year of the reign of his present majesty, arbitrary imprisonment for debt was abolished by the establishment of the Insolvent Court. The same influence has extended to our criminal law. The restraints upon conscience are gradually declining: and the punishment of death is receding within its proper limits, which it has for years exceeded, by the erroneous notion, that the power of a law varied not inversely, but directly as the opinion of its severity. Twenty years have scarcely passed away since Sir Samuel Romilly first proposed the mitigation of the punishment of death. His proposal was met in the English parliament as disrespectful to the judges, and an innovation by which crime would be increased, and the constitution endangered. During the excesses of the French revolution, the prudence of this country stood upon the old ways, dreading the very name of change; but these fears no longer exist: timidity is finding its level, and, instead of being perplexed by fear of change, our intellectual government encourages improvement, which, thus fostered, is now moving upon the whole island. In the same first year of the reign of his present majesty, the following laws were enacted:

"An Act, to repeal so much of the several Acts passed in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Elizabeth, the fourth of George I., the fifth and eighth of George II., as inflicts capital punishments on certain offences therein specified, and to provide more suitable and effectual punishment for such offences.

"An Act to repeal so much of the several Acts passed in the first and second years of the reign of Philip and Mary, the eighteenth of Charles II., the ninth of George I., and the twelfth of George II., as inflicts capital punishment on certain offences therein specified.

"An Act to repeal so much of an Act passed in the tenth and eleventh years of King William III., entitled, An Act for the better apprehending, prosecuting, and punishing of felons, that commit burglary, house-breaking, or robbery, in shops, ware-houses, coach-houses, or stables, or that steal horses, as takes away the benefit of clergy from persons privately stealing in any shop, ware-house, coach-house, or stable, any goods, wares, or merchandises, of the value of 5s., and for more effectually preventing the crime of stealing privately in shops, ware-houses, coach-houses, or stables."

May we not hope that during the next fifty years more progress will be made in sound legislation, than for some preceding centuries? and may we not ascribe these improvements partly to the exertions of this great philosopher, who, in his dedication of the Novum Organum to King James, says, "I shall, perhaps, when I am dead, hold out a light to posterity, by this new torch set up in the obscurity of philosophy."

NEW ATLANTIS.

A WORK UNFINISHED.

TO THE READER.

This fable my lord devised, to the end that he might exhibit therein a model or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Solomon's House, or the College of the Six Day's Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded, as to finish that part. Certainly, the model is more vast, and high, than can possibly be imitated in all things; notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the Natural History diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.

This work of the New Atlantis (as much as concerneth the English edition) his lordship designed for this place;* in regard it hath so near affinity (in one part of it) with the preceding Natural History.

W. Rawley.

NEW ATLANTIS

We sailed from Peru, where we had continued by the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more. But then the wind came about and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east, which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north; by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that finding ourselves in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victual, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who showeth "his wonders in the deep;" beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us that we might not perish. And it came to pass, that the next day about evening, we saw within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were thick clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown; and might have islands or continents, that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land all that night; and in the dawning of the next day, we might plainly discern that it was a land, flat to our sight and full of boscage, which made it show the more dark. And after an hour and a half's sailing, we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city; not great indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore, and offered to land. But straightways we saw divers people with batons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land; yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off by signs that they made. Whereupon being not a little discomforted, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat, with about eight persons in it; whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who came aboard our ship, without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew

* See the Note at the end.

forth a little scroll of parchment, somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing tables, but otherwise soft and flexible, and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and good Latin of the school, and in Spanish, these words; "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you: mean while, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread but hanging downwards, and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon amongst ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much; on the other side, to find that the people had languages and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little. And above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and as it were a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue; "That for our ship, it was well; for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case; so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular; adding, "that we had some little store of merchandise, which if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had despatched our answer, there came towards us a person, as it seemed, of place. He had on him a gown with wide sleeves, of a kind of water-chamblet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours; his under apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat; and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight shot of our ship, signs were made to us, that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water, which we presently did in our ship-boat, sending the principal men amongst us save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called us to stay, and not to approach farther; which we did. And thereupon the man, whom I before described, stood up, and with a loud voice in Spanish, asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "we were;" fearing the less, because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lifted up his right hand towards heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth, which is the gesture they use when they thank God, and then said; "If ye will sware, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates; nor have shed blood lawfully nor unlawfully within forty days past, you may have license to come on land." We said, "we were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being, as it seemed, a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great person, which was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud; "My lord would have you know, that it is not of pride or greatness that he cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare, that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city, that he should keep a distance." We bowed ourselves towards him and answered, "we were his humble servants;" and accounted for great honour, and singular humanity towards us, that which was already done; but hoped well, that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious." So he returned; and a while after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of colour between orange-tawney and scarlet, which cast a most excellent odour. He used it, as it seemeth, for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath; "By the name of Jesus and his merits:" and after told us, that the next day by six of the clock in the morning we should be sent to, and brought to the Strangers' House, so he called it, where we should be accommodated of things, both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he smiling, said, "he must not be twice paid for one labour:" meaning, as I take it, that he had salary sufficient of the state for his service. For, as I after learned, they call an officer that taketh rewards, Twice-paid.

The next morning early, there came to us the same officer that came to us at first with his cane, and told us, "he came to conduct us to the Strangers' House: and that he had prevented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business. For," said he, "if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you; and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number, which ye will bring on land." We thanked him, and said, that this care, which he took of

desolate strangers God would reward. And so six of us went on land with him: and when we were on land, he went before us, and turned to us, and said, "he was but our servant, and our guide." He led us through three fair streets; and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row; but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been, not to wonder at us but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad; which is their gesture when they bid any welcome. The Strangers' House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above stairs, and then asked us, "What number of persons we were? And how many sick?" We answered, "we were in all, sick and whole, one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us to have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers, which were provided for us, being in number nineteen: they having cast it, as it seemeth, that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company, and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers, were to lodge us two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dorture, where he showed us along the one side, for the other side was but wall and window, seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty, many more than we needed, were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little, as they do when they give any charge or command, said to us, "Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth, that after this day and to-morrow, which we give you for removing of your people from your ship, you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing, and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said, "What! twice paid!" And so he left us. Soon after our dinner was served in; which was right good viands, both for bread and meat: better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good; wine of the grape; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country; a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought into us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick; which, they said, were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also, a box of small gray or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep; which, they said, would hasten their recovery. The next day, after that our trouble of carriage, and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together; and when they were assembled said unto them; "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was, out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life; for we are beyond both the old world and the new; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither: and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity; let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more: for they have by commandment, though in form of courtesy, cloistered us within these walls for three days: who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions? and if they find them bad, to banish us straightways; if good, to give us further time. For these men, that they have given us for attendance, may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people." Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time, we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white, with a small red cross on the top. He had also a tippet of fine linen

At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner, as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us: whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said, "I am by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest; and therefore am come to you, to offer you my service, both as strangers and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The state hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks: and let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as may be convenient. Ye shall also understand, that the Strangers' House is at this time rich, and much aforehand; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years; for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part: and therefore take ye no care; the state will defray you all the time you stay; neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandise ye have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return either in merchandise or in gold and silver: for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not. For ye shall find, we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a *karan*," that is with them a mile and a half, "from the walls of the city without special leave." We answered, after we had looked awhile one upon another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage; "that we could not tell what to say: for we wanted words to express our thanks; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us, that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground." We added; "that our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths, ere we should forget either his reverend person or this whole nation in our prayers." We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden, laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said; "he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward; which was our brotherly love and the good of our souls and bodies." So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes; and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves, "that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and prevent us with comforts which we thought not of, much less expected."

The next day, about ten of the clock, the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly, that he was come to visit us: and called for a chair, and sat him down: and we being some ten of us, the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad, sat down with him. And when we were set, he began thus: "We of this island of Bensalem," for so they call it in their language, have this, that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world and are ourselves unknown. Therefore, because he that knowest least is fittest to ask questions, it is more reason for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions, than that I ask you." We answered; "That we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do: and that we conceived by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all," we said, "since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven, for that we were both parts Christians, we desired to know, in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas, from the land where our Saviour walked on earth, who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith?" It appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question: he said, "Ye knit my heart to you, by asking this question in the first place; for it showeth that you 'first seek the kingdom of heaven;' and I shall gladly and briefly satisfy your demand.

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour, it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa, a city upon the eastern coast of our island, within night, the night was cloudy and calm, as it might be some mile into the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder rising from the sea a great way up towards heaven: and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands to wonder, and so after put themselves into a number of small boats, to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer: so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light as an heavenly sign. It so fell out, that there was in one of the boats one of the wise men of the society of Solomon's

House, which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom; who having awhile attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner:

"'Lord God of heaven and earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace, to those of our order, to know thy works of creation, and the secrets of them; and to discern, as far as appertaineth to the generations of men, between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing which we now see before our eyes, is thy finger, and a true miracle; and forasmuch as we learn in our books, that thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end, for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause, we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy; which thou dost in some part secretly promise by sending it unto us.'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in movable and unbound: whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar. But ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light brake up, and cast itself abroad, as it were into a firmament of many stars; which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam. And in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them, for we know well what the churches with you receive, and the Apocalypse itself: and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book: and for the letter it was in these words:

"'I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare, unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation, and peace, and good-will, from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apostles in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time in this land, Hebrews, Persians and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity, as the remain of the old world was from water, by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew." And here he paused, and a messenger came, and called him from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, "that the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable:" We answered, "that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past and fears to come for the time we heard him speak; and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life." He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said; "Well the questions are on your part." One of our number said, after a little pause; "that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know, than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But encouraged by his rare humanity towards us, that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants, we would take the hardiness to propound it: humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it." We said; "we well observed those his words which he formerly spake, that this happy island where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world; which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business; and yet we in Europe, notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age, never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange; for that all nations have inter-knowledge one of another either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them: and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye, than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree, on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world, that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this. For the situation of it, as his lordship said, in the secret conclave of such a vast sea might cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of

the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open, and as in a light to them." At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile, and said; "that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked; for that it imported, as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries." It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge that we knew that he spake it but merrily, "That we were apt enough to think there was something supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly, what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered, he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers." To this he said; "You remember it aright; and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal; but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand, that which perhaps you will scarce think credible, that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world, especially for remote voyages, was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you within these six-score years: I know it well; and yet I say greater then than now: whether it was, that the example of the ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was, but such is the truth. The Phœnicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets. So had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east, the shipping of Egypt, and of Palestine, was likewise great. China also, and the great Atlantis, that you call America, which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island, as appeareth by faithful registers of those times, had then fifteen hundred strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none; but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And as it cometh to pass, they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither; of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits which you call the pillars of Hercules, as to the other part in the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas; as to Peguin, which is the same with Cambaline, and Quinzy, upon the Oriental Seas; as far as to the borders of the East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after, or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man with you, that the descendants of Neptune planted there; and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which, as so many chains, environed the same site and temple; and the several degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a *scala cœli*, be all poetical and fabulous: yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches: so mighty, as at one time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions, they of Tyrambel, through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea; and they of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island: and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Ægyptian priest whom he citeth. For assuredly, such a thing there was, but whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing: but certain it is, there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior; knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies; handled the matter so, as he cut off their land-forces from their ships, and entoiled both their navy and their camp, with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land; and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke: and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath, that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of one hundred years, the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed: not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge or inundation: those countries having, at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains, to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true, that the same inundation was not deep; not past forty foot, in most places, from the ground; so that although it destroyed man and beast generally,

yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water; yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance; whereby they of the vale, that were not drowned, perished for want of food and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people; younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world; for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed, which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly, by little and little: and being simple and savage people, not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth, they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used, in respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds; and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the infinite flights of birds, that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, by this main accident of time, we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom, of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest, that in the ages following, whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time, navigation did everywhere greatly decay; and especially far voyages, the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean, were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased; except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. For I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all other things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever: and therefore why should we sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself: and it will draw nearer to give you satisfaction to your principal question.

"There reigned in this island about nineteen hundred years ago, a king whose memory of all others we most adore; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man; his name was Solomona: and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was to maintain itself, without any aid at all from the foreigner, being five thousand six hundred miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this state; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing state wherein this land was: so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only, as far as human foresight might reach, to give perpetuity to that, which was in his time so happily established. Therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom, he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions, which we have, touching entrance of strangers; which, at that time, though it was after the calamity of America, was frequent; doubting novelties, and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law, against the admission of strangers without licence is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use: but there it is a poor thing; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order, and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed, whereof you have tasted." At which speech, as reason was, we all rose up, and bowed ourselves. He went on. "That king also still desiring to join humanity and policy together. and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills; and against policy that they should return, and discover their knowledge of this estate, he took this course; he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many, at all times, might depart as would; but as many as would stay, should have very good conditions, and means to live, from the state. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory, not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad I know not: but you must think, whatsoever they have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For

the Chinese sail where they will or can; which showeth, that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt; and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent. Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order or society which we call Solomon's House; the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomona's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the King of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no stranger to us; for we have some parts of his works, which with you are lost; namely, that Natural History which he wrote of all plants, 'from the cedar of Libanus, to the moss that groweth out of the wall;' and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think, that our king, finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews, which lived many years before him, honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the college of the six days' works; whereby I am satisfied, that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews, that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days; and therefore he instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in the use of them, did give it also that second name. But now to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance; that every twelve years there should be set forth, out of this kingdom, two ships appointed to several voyages: that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House; whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind; that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. These ships are not otherwise fraught, than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things, and rewarding of such persons, as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land; and how they that must be put on shore for any time colour themselves under the names of other nations; and to what places these voyages have been designed; and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practique, I may not do it: neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels; nor for silks; nor for spices; nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world. And when he had said this, he was silent; and so were we all. For indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes, and in the end concluded, that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the state; and bade us not to scant ourselves; for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up, and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet, but he would not suffer us; and so took his leave. But when it came once amongst our people, that the state used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship; and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions. But with much ado we refrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for free men, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition; and lived most joyfully, going abroad and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder; and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality; at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers as it were into their bosom as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries; and continually we met with many things right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it. A most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it. It is granted to any man, that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the state. The father of the family, whom they call the Tirsan, two

days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose; and is assisted also by the governor of the city, or place, where the feast is celebrated: and all the persons of the family of both sexes are summoned to attend him. These two days the Tirsan sitteth in consultation concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased. There, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief, and competent means to live. There, if any be subject to vice, or take ill courses, they are reproved and censured. So likewise direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor assisteth, to the end to put in execution, by his public authority, the decrees and orders of the Tirsan, if they should be disobeyed; though that seldom needeth: such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature. The Tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from amongst his sons, to live in the house with him: who is called ever after the Son of the Vine. The reason will hereafter appear. On the feast-day, the father, or Tirsan, cometh forth after divine service into a large room where the feast is celebrated: which room hath a half pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it. Over the chair is a state made round or oval, and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver asp, but more shining, for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colours, broiding or binding in the ivy; and is ever the work of some of the daughters of the family: and veiled over at the top with a fine net of silk and silver. But the substance of it is true ivy; whereof, after it is taken down, the friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The Tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him; and if there be a mother, from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a privy door, and a carved window of glass leaded with gold and blue; where she sitteth, but is not seen. When the Tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair; and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half pace, in order of their years, without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept, and without disorder; after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan, which is as much as an herald, and on either side of him two young lads; whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment; and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk. The herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water green satin; but the herald's mantle is streamed with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald with three curtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half pace; and there first taketh in his hand the scroll. This scroll is the king's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honour, granted to the father of the family; and is ever styled and directed, "To such a one, our well beloved friend and creditor:" which is a title proper only to this case. For they say, the king is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects. The seal set to the king's charter, is the king's image, embossed or moulded in gold; and though such characters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud: and while it is read, the father or Tirsan standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he choseth. Then the herald mounteth the half pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand: and with that there is an acclamation by all that are present in their language, which is thus much: "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand, from the other child, the cluster of grapes, which is of gold both the stalk and the grapes. But the grapes are daintily enamelled; and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the Tirsan; who presently delivereth it over to that son, that he had formerly chosen to be in the house with him: who beareth it before his father as an ensign of honour, when he goeth in public, ever after; and is thereupon called the Son of the Vine. After this ceremony ended, the father or Tirsan retireth; and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state as before, and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity soever, except he hap to be of Solomon's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male; who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee; and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below the half pace, hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden; who are served in great and comely order; and towards the end of dinner, which, in the greatest feast with them, lasteth never above an hour and a half, there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composeth it, for they have excellent poesy, but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and

Abraham; whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful; concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed. Dinner being done, the Tirsan retireth again: and having withdrawn himself alone into a place, where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time, to give the blessing, with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth by one and by one, by name, as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called, the table being before removed, kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem or daughter of Bensalem, thy father saith it; the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; The blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them; and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again; and saith, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing; "Sons, it is well ye are born, give God the praise, and persevere to the end." And withal he delivereth to either of them a jewel made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban or hat. This done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations, after their manner for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into strait acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin. He was a Jew, and circumcised: for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion; which they may the better do, because they are of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancour against the people amongst whom they live: these, contrariwise, give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak, would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a virgin; and that he was more than a man: and he would tell how God made him ruler of the seraphims which guard his throne; and they call him also the milken way, and the Eliah of the Messias; and many other high names; which though they be inferior to his divine Majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it: being desirous by tradition among the Jews there, to have it believed, that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham, by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses, by a secret cabala, ordained the laws of Bensalem which they now use; and that when the Messias should come and sit in his throne at Hierusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep a great distance. But yet setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man, and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation. Amongst other discourses, one day I told him I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company, of their custom in holding the feast of the family; for that, methought I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him, what laws and customs they had concerning marriage; and whether they kept marriage well; and whether they were tied to one wife? For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives. To this he said, "You have reason for to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience, that those families that are partakers of the blessing of that feast, do flourish and prosper ever after in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem; nor so free from all pollution or foulness. It is the virgin of the world. I remember I have read, in one of your European books, of a holy hermit among you, that desired to see the spirit of fornication; and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Æthiop: but if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherubim. For there is nothing amongst mortal men more fair and admirable, than the chaste minds of this people. Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtesans, nor any thing of that kind. Nay, they wonder with detestation at you in Europe, which permit such things. They say, ye have put marriage out of office: for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence; and natural concupiscence seemeth but a spur to marriage. But when men have at hand a remedy more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expulsed. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life, than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years is past. And when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain; wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire, almost indifferent, of issue; and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife, that was first instituted. Neither is it possible, that those that

have cast away so basely so much of their strength should greatly esteem children, being of the same matter, as chaste men do. So likewise during marriage, is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity? No, but they remain still as a very affront to marriage. The haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courtesans, are no more punished in married men than in bachelors. And the depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements, where sin is turned into art, maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax. They hear you defend these things, as done to avoid greater evils; as adulteries, deflouring of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like. But they say this is a preposterous wisdom; and they call it Lot's offer, who to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters: nay, they say farther, that there is little gained in this; for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound; unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether, it will quench; but if you give it any vent, it will rage. As for masculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there; and to speak generally, as I said before, I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is, That whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself: and they say, That the reverence of a man's self is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices." And when he had said this, the good Jew paused a little; whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak on than to speak myself; yet thinking it decent, that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this; "that I would say to him, as the woman of Sarepta said to Elias; that he was come to bring to memory our sins; and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe." At which speech he bowed his head, and went on in this manner: "They have also many wise and excellent laws touching marriage. They allow no polygamy; they have ordained that none do intermarry, or contract until a month be passed from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors: for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance. I have read in a book of one of your men, of a feigned commonwealth, where the married couple are permitted before they contract, to see one another naked. This they dislike; for they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge: but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way: for they have near every town a couple of pools, which they call Adam and Eve's pools, where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich habit, that spake with the Jew: whereupon he turned to me and said; "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste." The next morning he came to me again joyful, as it seemed, and said, "There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night: we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state: but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and told him, I was most glad of the news. The day being come he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth, with wide sleeves and a cape. His under garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same; and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck. He had gloves that were curious, and set with stone; and shoes of peach-coloured velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet or Spanish Montera; and his locks curled below it decently; they were of colour brown. His beard was cut round, and of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter He was carried in a rich chariot without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered; and two footmen on each side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt, and adorned with crystal; save that the fore-end had pannels of sapphires, set in borders of gold, and the hinder-end the like of emeralds of Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold tissued upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk; and shoes of blue velvet; and hats of blue velvet; with fine plumes of divers colours, set round like hat-bands. Next before the chariot went two men bare headed, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff, like a sheep hook; neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot: as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone, upon cushions of a kind of excellent plush, blue; and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people but

in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept: so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array, than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them as if they had been placed. When the show was past, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me, for the entertaining of this great person." Three days after the Jew came to me again, and said; "Ye are happy men; for the father of Solomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you, that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon." We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hanged, and carpeted under foot, without any degrees to the state; he was set upon a low throne richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head, of blue satin embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honour, on either hand one, finely attired in white. His under-garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle with a cape, of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down, and kissed the hem of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:

"God bless thee, my son; I will give thee the greatest jewel I have. For I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Solomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Solomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And, fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths; the deepest are sunk six hundred fathom; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains: so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill, and the depth of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of a hill, and the depth of a cave from the flat is the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region. And we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines: and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes, which may seem strange, for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

"We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We have also great variety of composts, and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

"We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height; and some of them likewise set upon high mountains; so that the vantage of the hill with the tower, is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region: accounting the air between the high places and the low, as a middle region. We use these towers according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors; as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

"We have great lakes both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies; for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air, below the earth; and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt; and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea: and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein is required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions: and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds, to set also on going divers motions.

"We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths: as tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals. And again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker

and better, than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water, which we call water of paradise, being, by that we do to it, made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

"We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors; as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies and not of water, thunders, lightnings: and generations of bodies in air; as frogs, flies, and diverse others.

"We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

"We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from arefaction: and others, for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

"We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty, as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs: and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons; and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater, and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order, as they become of medicinal use.

"We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds; and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar; and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

"We have also parks and enclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds, which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials; that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects; as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished, and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance; and the like. We try also all poisons and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise, we make them greater or taller than their kind is; and contrariwise dwarf them, and stay their growth: we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is; and contrariwise barren, and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of different kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction; whereof some are advanced in effect to be perfect creatures, like beasts, or birds; and have sexes and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand, of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

"We have also particular pools, where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

"We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms, and flies, which are of special use: such as are with you your silk-worms and bees.

"I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew-houses, bake-houses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare, and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes; and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots: and of mixtures with honey, sugar, mana, and fruits dried and decocted. Also of the tears or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs, and roots, and spices; yea, with several fleshes, and white meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both: so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them, with little or no meat, or bread. And above all, we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; insomuch as some of them, put upon the back of your hand, will, with a little stay, pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters which we ripen in that fashion as they become nourishing; so that they are indeed excellent drink; and many will use no other. Breads we have of several grains, roots, and kernels: yea, and some of flesh and fish, dried; with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings: so that some do extremely move appetites; some do nourish so, as divers do live on them, without any other meat; who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten, and made tender, and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also, and breads and drinks, which taken by men enable them to fast long after: and some other, that used to make the very flesh of mens' bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensatories, or shops of medi

cines; wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants and living creatures more than you have in Europe, (for we know what you have,) the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines, must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations and separations, and especially by gentle heats and percolations through divers strainers, yea, and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts, which you have not; and stuffs made by them; as papers, linen, silks, tissues: dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre; excellent dyes, and many others; and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use among us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited, many of them are grown into use throughout the kingdom; but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principals.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversities of heats; fierce and quick; strong and constant; soft and mild; blown, quiet, dry, moist; and the like. But above all, we have heats in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and, as it were, orbs, progresses and returns, whereby, we produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures, and of their bloods and bodies; and of hays and herbs laid up moist; of lime unquenched; and such like. Instruments also which generate heat only by motion. And farther, places for strong insolations; and again, places under the earth, which by nature or art, yield heat. These divers heats we use, as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective houses, where we make demonstrations of lights and radiations; and of all colours; and out of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours; not in rainbows as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We represent also all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance; and make so sharp, as to discern small points and lines; also all colorations of light: all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find also divers means yet unknown to you, of producing of light originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off; as in the heaven and remote places; and represent things near as far off; and things afar off as near; making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight, far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means, to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly; as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains and flaws in gems, which cannot otherwise be seen; observations in urine and blood, not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplications of visual beams of objects.

"We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty, to you unknown; crystals likewise; and glasses of divers kinds; and amongst them some of metals vitrificated, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils, and imperfect minerals, which you have not. Likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue; and other rare stones, both natural and artificial.

"We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds, and their generation. We have harmonies which you have not of quarter-sounds, and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; together with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep; likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp; we make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire. We represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voice and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echoes, reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it: and some that give back the voice louder than it came; some shriller, and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances.

"We have also perfume-houses; wherewith we join also practices of taste. We multiply smells, which may seem strange. We imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a comfiture-house; where we make all sweetmeats, dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, in far greater variety than you have.

"We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets, or any engine that you have; and to make them, and multiply them more easily, and with small force, by wheels and other means: and to make them stronger, and more violent than yours are; exceeding your greatest cannons and

basiliaks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds: and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water, and unquenchable. Also fireworks of all variety both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flight of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air; we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas; also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses; where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures, and illusions; and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we that have so many things truly natural, which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them seem more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies: insomuch as we have severally forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing, adorned or swelling; but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Solomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows; we have twelve that sail into foreign countries, under the names of other nations, for our own we conceal, who bring us the books, and obstructs, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call merchants of light.

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call depredators.

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts; and also of liberal sciences; and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call mystery-men.

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call pioneers or miners.

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles, and tablets, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call compilers.

"We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means, natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or benefactors.

"Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care, out of them, to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call lamps.

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call inoculators.

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call interpreters of nature.

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail: besides a great number of servants, and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultation, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not: and take all an oath of secrecy, for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep a secret: though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.

"For our ordinances and rites: we have two very long and fair galleries: in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions: in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies: also the inventor of ships: your monk that was the inventor of ordnance, and of gunpowder: the inventor of music: the inventor of letters: the inventor of printing: the inventor of observations of astronomy: the inventor of works in metal: the inventor of glass: the inventor of silk of the worm: the inventor of wine: the inventor of corn and bread: the inventor of sugars: and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then have we divers inventors of our own excellent works; which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of these descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value, we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass; some of marble and touch-stone; some of cedar, and other special woods gilt and adorned: some of iron; some of silver; some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for his marvellous works: and forms of prayers, implor-

ing his aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours; and the turning of them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where as it cometh to pass, we do publish new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, kneeled down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said; "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom a land unknown." And so he left me; having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats, for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses where they come upon all occasions.

[THE REST WAS NOT PERFECTED.]

NOTE.

Referring to page 255.

There have been various editions of the New Atlantis. In 1631, it was translated into French, of which there is a copy in the British Museum; where there is also the New Atlantis continued A. D. 1660, by R. H. Esq. wherein is set forth a platform of monarchical government: and also in French, A. D. 1702, avec des reflexions sur l'institution et les occupations des academies, &c. par M. R.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO

I. The Wisdom of the Ancients.

II. Civil History.
1. History of Henry VII.
2. History of Henry VIII.
3. History of Great Britain.
4. The State of Europe.

III. Biography.
1. Queen Elizabeth.
2. Julius Cæsar.
3. Augustus Cæsar.
4. Henry, Prince of Wales.

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§ 1.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

The first edition of this work was published in Latin in the year 1609. It is entitled—

Francisci
Baconi
EQVITIS AVRATI,
Procvratoris se-
cvndi, Jacobi Regis
Magnæ Britanniæ
DE SAPIENTIA
Vetervm liber,
Ad inclytam academiam
Cantabrigiensem.

Londini
Excudebat ROBERTUS BAR-
KERUS Serenissimæ Regiæ
Maiestatis Typographus
anno 1609.

In February 27, 1610, Lord Bacon wrote "To Mr. Matthew, upon sending his book 'De Sapientia Veterum.'

"Mr. Matthew,

"I do very heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompence thereof I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into silver, and become current: had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth: but, I think, the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament; thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so with my wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness."

"From Gray's Inn, Feb. 27, 1610."

And in his letter to Father Fulgentio, giving some account of his writings, he says, "My Essays will not only be enlarged in number, but still more in substance. Along with them goes the little piece 'De Sapientia Veterum.'"

Bacon's sentiments with respect to these fables may be found in the "Advancement of Learning," and in the "De Augmentis," under the head of Poetry.

In the "Advancement of Learning," he says, "There remaineth yet another use of poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it: that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine

poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity; as in the fable that the giants being overthrown in their war against the gods, the Earth their mother in revenge thereof brought forth Fame:

"Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit:"

expounded, that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of the people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the state, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine. So in the fable, that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid: expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. So in the fable, that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the Centaur, who was part a man and part a beast: expounded ingeniously, but corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence, and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice. Nevertheless, in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first and the exposition then devised, than that the moral was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertions of the Stoics upon the fictions of the ancient poets; but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself, (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter schools of the Grecians,) yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but what they might have upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm; for he was not the inventor of many of them."

In the treatise "De Augmentis," the same sentiments will be found with a slight alteration in the expressions. He says, "There is another use of parabolical poesy, opposite to the former, which tendeth to the folding up of those things, the dignity whereof deserves to be retired and distinguished, as with a drawn curtain: that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy are veiled and invested with fables, and parables. But whether there be any mystical sense couched under the ancient fables of the poets, may admit some doubt: and indeed for our part we incline to this opinion, as to think, that there was an infused mystery in many of the ancient fables of the poets. Neither doth it move us that these matters are left commonly to school-boys, and grammarians, and are so embased, that we should therefore make a slight judgment upon them; but contrariwise because it is clear, that the writings which recite those fables, of all the writings of men, next to sacred writ, are the most ancient; and that the fables themselves are far more ancient than they (being they are alleged by those writers, not as excogitated by them, but as credited and recepted before) seem to be, like a thin rarified air, which from the traditions of more ancient nations, fell into the flutes of the Grecians."

This tract seems in former times, to have been much valued, for the same reason, perhaps, which Bacon assigns for the currency of the Essays; "because they are like the late new halfpence, which, though the silver is good, yet the pieces are small." Of this tract, Archbishop Tenison, in his Baconiana, says, "In the seventh place, I may reckon his book De Sapientia Veterum, written by him in Latin, and set forth a second time, with enlargement;[1] and translated into English by Sir Arthur Georges: a book in which the sages of former times are rendered more wise than it may be they were, by so dexterous an interpreter of their fables. It is this book which Mr. Sandys means, in those words which he hath put before his notes, on the Metamorphosis of Ovid. 'Of modern writers, I have received the greatest light from Geraldus, Pontanus, Ficinus, Vives, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, and the crown of the latter, the Viscount of St. Albans.'

"It is true, the design of this book was instruction in natural and civil matters, either couched by the ancients under those fictions, or rather made to seem to be so by his lordship's wit, in the opening and applying of them. But because the first ground of it is poetical story, therefore let it have this place, till a fitter be found for it."

The author of Bacon's Life, in the Biographia Britannica, says, "that he might relieve himself a little from the severity of these studies, and as it were amuse himself with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of philosophy was building, he composed and sent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatise Of the Wisdom of the Ancients, in which he showed that none had studied them more closely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning. There have been very few books published, either in this or in any other nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this

[1] In the year 1617, in Latin. It was published in Italian in 1618—in French in 1619.

performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in literature, as in his political conduct he stood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate, that the sagacity of a modern genius, had found out much better meanings for the ancients than ever were meant by them."

And Mallet, in his Life of Bacon, says, "In 1610 he published another treatise entitled Of the Wisdom of the Ancients. This work bears the same stamp of an original and inventive genius with his other performances. Resolving not to tread in the steps of those who had gone before him, men, according to his own expression, not learned beyond certain commonplaces, he strikes out a new tract for himself, and enters into the most secret recesses of this wild and shadowy region, so as to appear new on a known and beaten subject. Upon the whole, if we cannot bring ourselves readily to believe that there is all the physical, moral, and political meaning veiled under those fables of antiquity, which he has discovered in them, we must own that it required no common penetration to be mistaken with so great an appearance of probability on his side. Though it still remains doubtful whether the ancients were so knowing as he attempts to show they were, the variety and depth of his own knowledge are, in that very attempt unquestionable."

In the year 1619, this tract was translated by Sir Arthur Georges. Prefixed to the work are two letters; the one to the Earl of Salisbury, the other to the University of Cambridge, which Georges omits, and dedicates his translation to the High and Illustrious Princess the Lady Elizabeth of Great Britain, Duchess of Baviare, Countess Palatine of Rheine, and Chief Electress of the Empire. As this translation was published during the life of Lord Bacon, by a great admirer of his works, and as it is noticed by Archbishop Tenison, I have inserted it in this volume. I am not certain that I have done right, as it is my intention, with the translation of all the works, to publish a new translation of these fables; for which I am indebted to a member of the University of Oxford, who has lately so eminently distinguished himself for his classical attainments, and who will I trust forgive this expression of my affectionate respect for his virtuous exertions. It would be grateful to me to say more.

§ 2.

CIVIL HISTORY.

At an early period of his life, Bacon was impressed with the importance of a History of England from the union of the Roses to the union of the Kingdoms. In the Advancement of Learning, published in 1605, he says, "But for modern histories, whereof there are some few very worthy, but the greatest part beneath mediocrity, leaving the care of foreign stories to foreign states, because I will not be 'curiosus in aliena republica,' I cannot fail to represent to your majesty, the unworthiness of the history of England in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland, in the latest and largest author that I have seen; supposing that it would be honour for your majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Brittany, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come: so were joined in one history for the times passed, after the manner of the sacred history, which draweth down the story of the ten tribes, and of the two tribes, as twins together. And if it shall seem that the greatness of this work may make it less exactly performed, there is an excellent period of much smaller compass of time, as to the story of England, that is to say, from the uniting of the roses, to the uniting of the kingdoms; a portion of time wherein, to my understanding, there hath been the rarest varieties that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known: for it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown by arms and title; an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage: and therefore times answerable, like waters after a tempest, full of working and swelling, though without extremity of storm: but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot, being one of the most sufficient kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king, whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably; in whose time also began that great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the stage. Then the reign of a minor: then an offer of an usurpation, though it was but as 'febris ephemera:' then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried, and yet her government so masculine that it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence. And now last, this most happy and glorious event that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be thus united in itself: and that oracle of rest, given to Æneas. 'Antiquam exquirite matrem,' should now be performed and fulfilled upon the nations of England and Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother name of Britain, as a full period

of all instability and peregrinations; so that as it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle; so it seemeth that by the providence of God, this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations, (in which, I hope, it is now established forever,) had these prelusive changes and varieties."

And the same passage is repeated in the treatise "De Augmentis," which was published in the year 1623, with the omission of the praise of the reign of Elizabeth.

HISTORY OF HENRY VII.

The history of Henry VII. was written in English, and was the first book which he composed after his retirement from active life.[1] In a letter to the king, dated 20th of March, 1621, he says,

"To the King's most excellent majesty.

"May it please your majesty,

"I acknowledge myself in all humbleness infinitely bounden to your majesty's grace and goodness, for that, at the intercession of my noble and constant friend, my lord marquis, your majesty hath been pleased to grant me that which the civilians say is 'res inæstimabilis,' my liberty. So that now, whenever God calleth me, I shall not die a prisoner. Nay, farther, your majesty hath vouchsafed to cast a second and iterate aspect of your eye of compassion upon me, in referring the consideration of my broken estate to my good lord the treasurer; which as it is a singular bounty in your majesty, so I have yet so much left of a late commissioner of your treasure, as I would be sorry to sue for any thing that might seem immodest. These your majesty's great benefits, in casting your bread upon the waters, as the Scripture saith, because my thanks cannot any ways be sufficient to attain, I have raised your progenitor of famous memory, (and now, I hope, of more famous memory than before,) King Henry VII., to give your majesty thanks for me; which work, most humbly kissing your majesty's hands, I do present. And because, in the beginning of my trouble, when in the midst of the tempest I had a kenning of the harbour, which I hope now by your majesty's favour I am entering into, I made a tender to your majesty of two works, 'A History of England,' and 'A digest of your laws;' as I have, by a figure of pars pro toto, performed the one, so I have herewith sent your majesty, by way of an epistle, a new offer of the other. But my desire is farther, if it stand with your majesty's good pleasure, since now my study is my exchange, and my pen my factor, for the use of my talent; that your majesty, who is a great master in these things, would be pleased to appoint me some task to write, and that I shall take for an oracle. And because my 'Instauration,' which I esteem my great work, and do still go on with silence, was dedicated to your majesty; and this 'History of King Henry VII.' to your lively and excellent image the prince; if now your majesty will be pleased to give me a theme to dedicate to my Lord of Buckingham, whom I have so much reason to honour, I should with more alacrity embrace your majesty's direction than my own choice. Your majesty will pardon me for troubling you thus long. God evermore preserve and prosper you. Your majesty's poor beadsman most devoted,

"Fr. St. Alban.

"Gorhambury, 20 Mar. 1621."

"To the Right Honourable his very good lord, the Lord Marquis of Buckingham, High-Admiral of England.

"My very good lord,

"These main and real favours which I have lately received from your good lordship, in procuring my liberty, and a reference of the consideration of my release, are such, as I now find that in building upon your lordship's noble nature and friendship, I have built upon the rock, where neither winds nor waves can cause overthrow. I humbly pray your lordship to accept from me such thanks as ought to come from him whom you have so much comforted in fortune, and much more comforted in showing your love and affection to him; of which also I have heard by my Lord Falkland, Sir Edward Sackville, Mr. Mathews, and otherways.

"I have written, as my duty was, to his majesty, thanks touching the same, by the letter here put into your noble hands.

"I have made also, in that letter, an offer to his majesty, of my service, for bringing into better

[1] "His historical works are these:—the first is the history of Henry the Seventh, written elegantly, by his lordship in the English tongue, and addressed to his Highness the Prince of Wales: and turned afterwards into Latin. A history which required such a reporter: those times being times both of great revolution, and settlement, through the division and union of the roses.

"This was the first book which he composed after his retirement from an active life. Upon which occasion he wrote thus to the Bishop of Winchester. Being (as I am) no more able to do my country service, it remaineth unto me, to do it honour; which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the reign of King Henry the Seventh."—*Baconiana.*

order and frame the laws of England: the declaration whereof I have left with Sir Edward Sackville, because it were no good manners to clog his majesty, at this time of triumph and recreation, with a business of this nature; so as your lordship may be pleased to call for it to Sir Edward Sackville when you think the time seasonable.

"I am bold likewise to present your lordship with a book of my 'History of King Henry the Seventh.' And now that, in summer was twelve months, I dedicated a book to his majesty; and this last summer, this book to the prince; your lordship's turn is next, and this summer that cometh (if I live to it) shall be yours. I have desired his majesty to appoint me the task, otherwise I shall use my own choice; for this is the best retribution I can make to your lordship. God prosper you. I rest

"Your lordship's most obliged friend and faithful servant,

"FR. ST. ALBAN.

"Gorhambury, this 20th of March, 1621."

On September 5, 1621, Bacon, in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, says, "I am much fallen in love with a private life; but yet I shall so spend my time, as shall not decay my abilities for use."

On the 8th of October, 1621, he wrote the following letter to the king.

"It may please your most excellent majesty,—I do very humbly thank your majesty for your gracious remission of my fine. I can now, I thank God and you, die, and make a will.

"I desire to do, for the little time God shall send me life, like the merchants of London, which when they give over trade, lay out their money upon land. So, being freed from civil business, I lay forth my poor talent upon those things, which may be perpetual, still having relation to do you honour with those powers I have left.

I have therefore chosen to write the reign of King Henry the Seventh, who was in a sort your forrunner, and whose spirit, as well as his blood, is doubled upon your majesty.

"I durst not have presumed to entreat your majesty to look over the book, and correct it, or at least to signify what you would have amended. But since you are pleased to send for the book, I will hope for it.

"God knoweth, whether ever I shall see you again: but I will pray for you to the last gasp, resting [1] the same, your true beadsman,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

"October 8th, 1621."

During the progress of the work, considerable expectation was excited respecting the history. Rawley, in his life of Bacon, says, "His fame is greater, and sounds louder, in foreign parts abroad than at home, in his own nation. Thereby verifying that divine sentence; a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house. Concerning which, I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from Italy, (the storehouse of refined wits,) to the late Earl of Devonshire; then the Lord Cavendish. I will expect the new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon, as also his history, with a great deal of desire: and whatsoever else he shall compose. But in particular, of his history, I promise myself, a thing perfect, and singular; especially in Henry the Seventh, where he may exercise the talent of his divine understanding."

After the completion of the work there seems to have been a demur with respect to its publication, in a letter from Sir Thomas Meautys,[2] he says, "May it please your lordship, I have been attending upon my lord marquis' minutes for the signing of the warrant."

The letter then continues, and, in the conclusion, says, "Your books are ready, and passing well bound up. If your lordship's letters to the king, prince, and my lord marquis were ready, I think it were good to lose no time in their delivery; for the printer's fingers itch to be selling."

It seems by the following letter, that there was another letter from Sir Thomas Meautys complaining of this demur.

"Good Mr. Meautys, for the difference of the warrant, it is not material at the first. But I may not stir till I have it; and therefore I expect it to-morrow.

"For my Lord of London's stay, there may be an error in my book; but I am sure there is none in me, since the king had it three months by him, and allowed it; if there be any thing to be mended it is better to be espied now than hereafter.

"I send you the copies of the three letters, which you have; and, in mine own opinion, this demur, as you term it, in my Lord of London,[3] maketh it more necessary than before, that they were delivered, specially in regard they contain withal my thanks. It may be signified they were sent before I knew of any stay: and being but in those three hands, they are private enough. But this I leave merely at your discretion, resting your most affectionate and assured friend,

"FR. ST. ALBAN.

"March 21, 1621."

[1] Note. This passage has a line drawn over it. [2] Birch, 310. [3] Dr. George Mountain

It was published in folio, in the year 1625. The following is a copy of the titlepage.

The
Historie
Of the Raigne
Of King
Henry
The Seventh
Written
By the Right Honourable
Francis
Lord Verulam, Viscount
St. Alban.

London,
Printed by W. Stransby for Matthew
Lownes, and William
Barret.

1622.

He sent copies of the history, to the Queen of Bohemia, and to the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, his successor.

"To the Queen of Bohemia.

"It may please your majesty,

"I find in books, and books I dare allege to your majesty in regard of your singular ability to read and judge of them even above your sex, that it is accounted a great bliss for a man to have leisure with honour. That was never my fortune nor is. For time was, I had honour without leisure; and now I have leisure without honour. And I cannot say so neither altogether, considering there remain with me the marks and stamp of the king's, your father's, grace, though I go not for so much in value as I have done. But my desire is now to have leisure without loitering, and not to become an abbey-lubber, as the old proverb was, but to yield some fruit of my private life. Having therefore written the reign of your majesty's famous ancestor, King Henry the Seventh, and it having passed the file of his Majesty's judgment, and been graciously also accepted of the prince, your brother, to whom it is dedicated, I could not forget my duty so far to your excellent majesty, to whom, for that I know and have heard, I have been at all times so much bound, as you are ever present with me, both in affection and admiration, as not to make unto you, in all humbleness, a present thereof, as now being not able to give you tribute of any service. If King Henry the Seventh were alive again, I hope verily he could not be so angry with me for not flattering him, as well pleased in seeing himself so truly described in colours that will last and be believed. I most humbly pray your majesty graciously to accept of my good-will; and so, with all reverence kiss your hands, praying to God above, by his divine and most benign providence, to conduct your affairs to happy issue; and resting

"Your majesty's most humble and devoted servant, FR. ST. ALBAN.

"April 20, 1622."

"To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

"My very good lord,

"I have received, by this bearer, the privy seal for the survey of coals, which I will lay aside until I shall hear further from my lord steward, and the rest of the lords.

"I am ready to do as much as your lordship desireth, in keeping Mr. Cotton of from the violence of those creditors: only himself is, as yet, wanting in some particular directions.

"I heartily thank your lordship for your book; and all other symbols of your love and affection, which I will endeavour, upon all opportunities, to deserve: and, in the mean time, do rest

"Your lordship's assured faithful
"poor friend and servant,
"JO. LINCOLN, C. S.

"Westminster College, this 7th of Febuary, 1623.

"To the Right Honourable his very good lord, the Lord Viscount St. Alban."

In a letter, written in the year 1622, to the Bishop of Winchester, and prefixed, in the nature of a dedication, to his dialogue touching a holy war, he says, "having in the work of my 'Instauration' had in contemplation the general good of men in their very being, and the dowries of nature;

and in my work of laws, the general good of men likewise in society, and the dowries of government; I thought in duty I owed somewhat unto my own country, which I ever loved; insomuch as although my place hath been far above my desert, yet my thoughts and cares concerning the good thereof were beyond, and over, and above my place: so now being, as I am, no more able to do my country service, it remained unto me to do it honour: which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the reign of King Henry the Seventh."

Soon after the publication, he expressed his anxiety that the history should be translated into Latin. In a letter to Mr. Tobie Matthew, he says, "It is true, my labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of Advancement of Learning, that of Henry the Seventh, that of the Essays, being retractate, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity."

In the year 1627, this history was published in French.[1] In 1629, there was a new edition in English. In 1638, an edition in Latin was published by Dr. Rawley; and the press has since abounded with editions.[2]

Such was the progress of the History of Henry the Seventh.

In the composition, Lord Bacon seems to have laboured with some anxiety.

Aubrey, in his anecdotes, says, "about his time, and within his view, were borne all the wits that could honour a nation or help study. He came often to Sr. John Danvers at Chelsey. Sir John told me that when his lordship had wrote the history of Henry the Seventh, he sent the manuscript copy to him to desire his opinion of it before 'twas printed. Qd Sir John, your lordship knows that I am no scholar. 'Tis no matter, said my lord, I know what a scholar can say; I would know what you can say. Sir John read it, and gave his opinion what he misliked, (which I am sorry I have forgot,) which my lord acknowledged to be true, and mended it. 'Why,' said he, 'a scholar would never have told me this.'"

And it appears by a letter from his faithful friend, Sir Thomas Meautys, that the king did correct the manuscript. The letter is dated January 7, 162½, and directed "To the Lord Viscount St. Alban." It contains the following passage.

"Mr. Murray tells me, the king hath given your book to my Lord Brooke, and enjoined him to read it, recommending it much to him: and then my Lord Brooke is to return it to your lordship; and so it may go to the press, when your lordship pleases, with such amendments, as the king hath made, which I have seen, and are very few, and those rather words, as epidemic, and mild instead of debonnaire, &c. Only that of persons attainted, enabled to serve in parliament by a bare reversal of their attainder, the king by all means will have left out. I met with my Lord Brooke, and told him that Mr. Murray had directed me to wait upon him for the book, when he had done with it. He desired to be spared this week, as being to him a week of much business; and the next week I should have it: and he ended in a compliment, that care should be taken, by all means, for good ink and paper to print it in; for that the book deserveth it. I beg leave to kiss your lordship's hands."

But notwithstanding this labour and anxiety, the work is perhaps an illustration of Archbishop Tenison's observation upon Dr. Playfer's attempt to translate the "Advancement of Learning."

"Men generally come short of themselves when they strive to outdo themselves. They put a force upon their natural genius, and, by straining of it, crack and disable it."

If, however, in the History of Henry the Seventh, it is vain to look for the vigour or beauty with which the Advancement of Learning abounds: if there is not such nervous language as "the honest and just bounds of observation by one person upon another, extend no farther but to understand him sufficiently whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution in respect of a man's self: but to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous."

If there is not such beauty as "men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a tarrasse for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to

[1] 8vo. Paris, Par Holman, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

[2] In 1641, and in 1647, and in 1662; and in the British Museum there is a MS. (Sloan's collection, 84,) entitled Notes, taken out of his History of the reign of Henry Seventh; and another MS. Harleian, vol. ii. of Catalogue 300, entit ed Notes of Henry Seventh's reign, set down in MS. by the Lord Chancellor Bacon.

raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."

If the intricacies of a court are neither discovered nor illustrated with the same happiness as the intricacies of philosophy, "because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of 'Philosophia Prima,' primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves."

"'That it be a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common and of a higher stage.' Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet accord, alike true in affection! Is not the trope of music, to avoid or slide from the close or cadence, common with the trope of rhetoric of deceiving expectation? Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music the same with the playing of light upon the water."

If in a work written when the author was more than sixty years of age, and if, after the vexations and labours of a professional and political life, the varieties and sprightliness of youthful imagination, are not to be found, yet the peculiar properties of his mind may easily be traced, and the stateliness of the edifice be discovered from the magnificence of the ruins. His vigilance in recording every fact tending to alleviate misery or to promote happiness, is noticed by Bishop Sprat in his history of the Royal Society, where he says, "I shall instance in the sweating-sickness. The medicine for it was almost infallible: but, before that could be generally published, it had almost dispeopled whole towns. If the same disease should have returned, it might have been again as destructive, had not the Lord Bacon taken care, to set down the particular course of physic for it, in his History of Henry the Seventh, and so put it beyond the possibility of any private man's invading it."

And his account of the same calamity contains an allusion to his favourite doctrine of vital spirit, of which the philosophy is explained in his history of Life and Death, and illustrated in his fable of Proserpine in the Wisdom of the Ancients, and which is thus stated in his Sylva Sylvarum:

"The knowledge of man, hitherto, hath been determined by the view, or sight; so that whatsoever is invisible, either in respect of the fineness of the body itself; or the smallness of the parts; or of the subtilty of the motion, is little inquired. And yet these be the things that govern nature principally; and without which, you cannot make any true analysis and indication of the proceedings of nature. The spirits or pneumaticals, that are in all tangible bodies, are scarce known. Sometimes they take them for vacuum; whereas they are the most active of bodies. Sometimes they take them for air; from which they differ exceedingly, as much as wine from water; and as wood from earth. Sometimes they will have them to be natural heat, or a portion of the element of fire; whereas some of them are crude, and cold. And sometimes they will have them to be the virtues and qualities of the tangible parts, which they see; whereas they are things by themselves. And then, when they come to plants, and living creatures, they call them souls. And such superficial speculations they have; like prospectives, that show things inward when they are but paintings. Neither is this a question of words, but infinitely material in nature. For spirits are nothing else but a natural body, rarified to a proportion, and included in the tangible parts of bodies, as in an integument. And they be no less differing one from the other, than the dense or tangible parts: and they are in all tangible bodies whatsoever, more or less; and they are never (almost) at rest: and from them, and their motions, principally proceed arefaction, colliquation, concoction, maturation, putrefaction, vivification, and most of the effects of nature."

One of his maxims of government for the enlargement of the bounds of empire is to be found in his comment upon the ordinance. "That all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up forever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them;" and which is thus stated in the treatise "De Augmentis," which was published in the year 1623. "Let states and kingdoms that aim at greatness by all means take heed how the nobility, and grandees, and that those which we call gentlemen, multiply too fast; for that makes the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain driven out of heart, and in effect nothing else but the nobleman's bond-slaves and labourers. Even as you may see in coppice-wood, if you leave your studdles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes: so in a country, if the nobility be too many, the commons will be base and heartless, and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth pole will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been in no nation more clearly confirmed

than in the examples of England and France, whereof England, though far inferior in territory and population, hath been nevertheless always an overmatch in arms; in regard the middle-people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of Henry the Seventh King of England (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, or at least usufructuary, and not hirelings and mercenaries; and thus a country shall merit that character whereby Virgil expresses ancient Italy,

"Terrâ potens armis atque ubere glebâ."

His love of familiar illustration is to be found in various parts of the history; speaking of the commotion by the Cornish men in behalf of the impostor Perkin Warbeck, he says, "The course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice: which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown; it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom: according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise." And again, "All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water." And his kind nature and holy feeling appear in his account of the conquest of Granada. "Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of Granada, from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the showing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom: showing, amongst other things, that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption."

HISTORY OF HENRY VIII.

Of this tract Archbishop Tenison says, "the Second is, the fragment of the History of Henry the Eighth, printed at the end of his lordship's miscellany works, of which the best edition is that in quarto, in the year 1629. This work he undertook, upon the motion of King Charles the First, but (a greater king not lending him time) he only began it; for that which we have of it, was (it seems) but one morning's work."

This tract is thus noticed in his letters.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

"Excellent lord,

"Though your lordship's absence fall out in an ill time for myself; yet because I hope in God this noble adventure will make your lordship a rich return in honour, abroad and at home, and chiefly in the inestimable treasure of the love and trust of that thrice-excellent prince; I confess I am so glad of it, as I could not abstain from your lordship's trouble in seeing it expressed by these few and hasty lines.

"I beseech your lordship, of your nobleness vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his highness, who, I hope, ere long will make me leave King Henry the Eighth, and set me on work in relation of his highness's adventures.

"I very humbly kiss your lordship's hands, resting ever

"Your lordship's most obliged friend and servant.

"February 21, 1622."

To the Prince.

"It may please your excellent highness,

"I send your highness, in all humbleness, my book of Advancement of Learning, translated into Latin, but so enlarged as it may go for a new work. It is a book, I think, will live, and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not. For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your highness, I did so despair of my health this summer, as I was glad to choose some such work, as I might compass within days; so far was I from entering into a work of length. Your highness's return hath been my restorative. When I shall wait upon your highness, I shall give you a farther account. So I most humbly kiss your highness's hands, resting

"Your highness's most devoted servant.

"I would (as I wrote to the duke in Spain) I could do your highness's journey any honour with my pen. It began like a fable of the poets; but it deserveth all in a piece a worthy narration."

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The first letter upon this subject is

"To the Lord Chancellor, touching the History of Britain.

"It may please your good lordship,

"Some late act of his majesty, referred to some former speech which I have heard from your lordship, bred in me a great desire, and the strength of desire a boldness to make an humble proposition to your lordship, such as in me can be no better than a wish: but if your lordship should apprehend it, it may take some good and worthy effect. The act I speak of, is the order given by his majesty for the erection of a tomb or monument for our late sovereign Queen Elizabeth:[1] wherein I may note much, but only this at this time, that as her majesty did always right to his majesty's hopes, so his highness doth in all things right to her memory; a very just and princely retribution. But from this occasion, by a very easy ascent, I passed farther, being put in mind, by this representative of her person, of the more true and more vive representation, which is of her life and government: for as statues and pictures are dumb histories, so histories are speaking pictures; wherein if my affection be not too great, or my reading too small, I am of this opinion, that if Plutarch were alive to write lives by parallels, it would trouble him both for virtue and fortune, to find for her a parallel amongst women. And though she was of the passive sex, yet her government was so active, as, in my simple opinion, it made more impression upon the several states of Europe, than it received from thence. But I confess unto your lordship I could not stay here, but went a little farther into the consideration of the times which have passed since King Henry VIII; wherein I find the strangest variety, that in so little number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath ever been known. The reign of a child; the offer of an usurpation, though it was but as a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to a foreigner; and the reign of a lady solitary and unmarried; so that as it cometh to pass in massy bodies, that they have certain trepidations and wavering before they fix and settle; so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy, before it was to settle in his majesty, and his generations, in which I hope it is now established forever, hath had these prelusive changes in these barren princes. Neither could I contain myself here, as it is easier for a man to multiply than to stay a wish, but calling to remembrance the unworthiness of the history of England,[2] in the main continuance thereof; and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland, in the latest and largest author[3] that I have seen: I conceived it would be honour for his

[1] "The monument here spoken of was erected in King Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, in the year 1606."

[2] "The unworthiness of the history of England hath been long complained of by ingenious men, both of this and other nations, Sir Francis Bacon hath expressed himself much to the same effect, though more at large in his second book of the Advancement of Learning: where he carries this period of remarkable events somewhat higher than in this letter, beginning with the union of the roses under Henry VII. and ending with the union of the kingdoms under King James. A portion of time filled with so great and variable accidents both in church and state, and since so well discovered to the view of the world, that had other parts the same performance, we should not longer lie under any reproach of this kind. The reign of King Henry VII. was written by our author soon after his retirement, with so great beauty of style, and wisdom of observation, that nothing can be more entertaining; the truth of history not being disguised with the false colours of romance. It was so acceptable to the P. of Wales, that when he became king, he commanded him to proceed with the reign of King Henry VIII. But my Lord Bacon meditating the history of nature, which he hardly lived to publish; his ill state of health, and succeeding death, put an end to this and other noble designs; leaving the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of those times to be related by the learned pens of Dr. Burnet, notwithstanding the objections of the avowed enemies, and seeming friends to the reformation, and the Lord Herbert of Cherbury: that I think there is not much of moment to be expected from a future hand. And for the annals of Queen Elizabeth compiled by Mr. Camden, the esteem of them is as universal as the language in which they are written. Nor must I forget in this place to take notice of two fair and large volumes lately published in French by Monsieur de Larrey; where building upon the foundations laid by these gentlemen, and some other memoirs, he hath not forgotten to do much honour to the English nation: beginning his history also with Henry VII."—*Stephens.*

[3] "This I take to be meant of Buchanan's history of Scotland; a book much admired by some, though censured by many for his partiality in favour of the lords, against Mary Queen of the Scots, and the regal power. In other respects, Archbishop Spotswood informs us that he penned it with such judgment and eloquence, as no country can show a better."—*Stephens.*

majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so it were joined in history for the times past: and that one just and complete history were compiled of both nations. And if any man perhaps should think it may refresh the memory of former discords, he may satisfy himself with the verse 'olim hæc meminisse juvabit:' for the case being now altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation to remember former troubles. Thus much, if it may please your lordship, is in the optative mood; and it is time that I did look a little into the potential; wherein the hope which I conceived was grounded upon three observations. The first, the nature of these times, which flourish in learning, both of art and language; which giveth hope not only that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I do see that which all the world sees in his majesty, both a wonderful judgment in learning, and a singular affection towards learning, and works which are of the mind more than of the hand. For there cannot be the like honour sought and found, in building of galleries,[1] and planting of elms along high-ways, and in those outward ornaments, wherein France is now so busy, things rather of magnificence than of magnanimity, as there is in the uniting of states,[2] pacifying of controversies,[3] nourishing and augmenting of learning and arts, and the particular actions appertaining to these; of which kind Cicero judged truly, when he said to Cæsar, 'Quantum operibus tuis detrahet vetustas, tantum addet laudibus.' And lastly, I call to mind, that your lordship at some times hath been pleased to express unto me a great desire, that something of this nature should be performed; answerable indeed to your other noble and worthy courses and actions: joining and adding unto the great services towards his majesty, which have, in small compass of time, been performed by your lordship, other great deservings both of the church and commonwealth, and particulars; so as the opinion of so great and wise a man doth seem to me a good warrant both of the possibility and worth of the matter. But all this while I assure myself, I cannot be mistaken by your lordship, as if I sought an office or employment for myself; for no man knows better than your lordship, that if there were in me any faculty thereunto, yet neither my course of life nor profession would permit it; but because there be so many good painters both for hand and colours, it needeth but encouragement and instructions to give life unto it. So in all humbleness I conclude my presenting unto your lordship this wish; which, if it perish, it is but a loss of that which is not. And so craving pardon that I have taken so much time from your lordship, I remain—"

The next letter is

"To the king, upon sending unto him a beginning of the history of his majesty's times.

"It may please your majesty,

"Hearing that your majesty is at leisure to peruse story, a desire took me to make an experiment what I could do in your majesty's times, which being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon, if I send it for your recreation; considering that love must creep where it cannot go. But to these I add these petitions: First, that if your majesty do dislike any thing, you would conceive I can amend it upon your least beck. Next, that if I have not spoken of your majesty encomiastically, your majesty would be pleased only to ascribe it to the law of a history; which doth not cluster together praises upon the first mention of a name, but rather disperseth and weaveth them through the whole narrative. And as for the proper place of commemoration, which is in the period of life, I pray God I may never live to write it. Thirdly, that the reason why I presumed to think of this oblation, was because whatsoever my disability be, yet I shall have that advantage which almost no writer of history hath had; in that I shall write of times not only since I could remember, but since I could observe. And lastly, that it is only for your majesty's reading."

Of this tract, Archbishop Tenison says, "This was an essay, sent to King James, whose times it considered. A work worthy his pen, had he proceeded in it; seeing (as he saith) he should have written of times, not only since he could remember, but since he could observe; and by way of introduction, of times, as he further noteth, of strange variety; the reign of a child; the offer of usurpation by the Lady Jane, though it were but as a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to a foreigner, and the reign of a lady solitary and unmarried.

"His lordship, who had given such proof of his skill in writing a History of England, leaving the world, to the unspeakable loss of the learned part of it; his late majesty, a great favourer of that work, and wise in the choice of fit workmen, encouraged Sir Henry Wotton to endeavour it, by his royal invitation, and a pension of 500*l.* per annum. This proposal was made to that excellent man, in his declining years; and he died after the finishing some short characters of some few kings; which characters are published in his Remains.

[1] "The magnificent gallery at the Louvre in Paris, built by Henry IV."

[2] "The union of England and Scotland."

[3] "The conference at Hampton Court held between the bishops and puritans as they were then called, soon after the king's coming to the crown of England, and where his majesty was the moderator."—*Stephens.*

STATE OF EUROPE.

This tract is supposed by Mallet to have been the first work written by Lord Bacon, and to have been written about the year 1580, when he was between 19 and 20 years of age:—because it states, "that Henry III. of France was then 30 years old: now that king began his reign in 1576, at the age of 24 years, so that Bacon was then 19." How far this evidence is satisfactory, may be collected from other parts of the same tract. It says, "Gregory XIII. of the age of 70 years:"—but Gregory XIII. was 70 years old in the year 1572, when he was elected pope, so that according to this reasoning, it might be inferred that it was written when Bacon was 12 years of age. In another part of the tract it states, "The King of Spain, Philip, son to Charles the Fifth, about 60 years of age:" but he was born on the 21st of May, 1527, so that he was 60 years old in 1587, when Bacon was between 16 and 17 years old.—The author of Bacon's Life in the Biographia Britannica, from these different dates, concludes that the tract was written at different periods of time, beginning, as he must suppose, when Bacon was quite a boy: but, as it was not necessary for the purposes of this tract that the ages of the different monarchs should be ascertained with great precision, it is, perhaps, not probable that they were accurately examined, and the only fair inference is, that it was written at a very early period of his life.[1]

The same author says, "But what is extremely remarkable in this small treatise, is the care and accuracy with which he has set down most of the little princes in Germany, with the state of their dominions." This minute observation, however, extends to all his works: and of all the extraordinary properties of Bacon's wonderful mind, his constant observation of what we, in common parlance, call trifles, appears to be one of the most extraordinary. "See," he says, "the little cloud upon glass or gems or blades of swords, and mark well the discharge of that cloud, and you shall perceive that it ever breaks up first in the skirts, and last in the midst. May we not learn from this the force of union even in the least quantities and weakest bodies, how much it conduceth to preservation of the present form and the resisting of a new. In like manner, icicles, if there be water to follow them, lengthen themselves out in a very slender thread, to prevent a discontinuity of the water; but if there be not a sufficient quantity to follow, the water then falls in round drops, which is the figure that best supports it against discontinuation; and at the very instant when the thread of water ends, and the falling in drops begins, the water recoils upwards to avoid being discontinued. So in metals, which are fluid upon fusion, though a little tenacious, some of the mettled mass frequently springs up in drops, and sticks in that form to the sides of the crucible. There is a like instance in the looking-glasses, commonly made of spittle by children, in a loop of rush or whalebone, where we find a consistent pellicle of water." Possessing this peculiar property himself, Bacon constantly admonishes his readers of its importance. "The eye of the understanding, (he says,) is like the eye of the sense: for as you may see great objects through small crannies or levels, so you may see axioms of great nature through small and contemptible instances." And again, "it should be considered as an oracle, the saying of the poor woman to the haughty prince, who rejected her petition as a thing below his dignity to notice—'then cease to reign;' for it is certain, that whoever will not attend to matters because they are too minute or trifling, shall never obtain command or rule over nature." And again, "he who cannot contract the sight of his mind as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth a great faculty: for certainly this may be averred for truth, that they be not the highest instances that give the best and surest information. This is not unaptly expressed in the tale, so common, of the philosopher, who while he gazed upward to the stars fell into the water; for if he had looked down, he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking up to heaven he could not see the water in the stars. In like manner it often comes to pass that small and mean things conduce more to the discovery of great matters, than great things to the discovery of small matters; and therefore Aristotle notes well, that the nature of every thing is best seen in its smallest portions. For that cause he inquires the nature of a commonwealth, first in a family and the simple conjugations of society, man and wife; parents and children; master and servant, which are in every cottage. So likewise the nature of this great city of the world, and the policy thereof, must be sought in every first concordances and least portions of things. So we see that secret of nature, (esteemed one of the great mysteries,) of the turning of iron touched with a loadstone towards the poles, was found out in needles of iron, not in bars of iron."

BIOGRAPHY.

Of the importance of biography, Bacon speaks in his Advancement of Learning; concluding his remarks by saying, "Bona fama propria possessio defunctorum," which possession I cannot but

[1] "The tract says, 'D. Antonio, elect King of Portugal, is now in France, where he hath levied soldiers, whereof part are embarked, hoping to be restored again."

note, that in our times it lieth much waste and that therein there is a deficience. This deficience with respect to Elizabeth he was anxious to supply by the publication of his sentiments, "in Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ:" but this publication seems to have required some caution, and to have been attended with some difficulty. In 1605, Bacon thus spoke: "But for a tablet, or picture of smaller volume, (not presuming to speak of your majesty that liveth,) in my judgment the most excellent is that of Queen Elizabeth, your immediate predecessor in this part of Britain; a princess that, if Plutarch were now alive to write lives by parallels, would trouble him, I think, to find for her a parallel amongst women. This lady was indued with learning in her sex singular, and rare even amongst masculine princes; whether we speak of learning, language, or of science, modern, or ancient, divinity or humanity: and unto the very last year of her life she was accustomed to appoint set hours for reading; scarcely any young student in any university more daily, or more duly. As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regimen. For if there be considered of the one side, the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of justice, the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained, the flourishing state of learning, sortable to so excellent a patroness, the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of crown and subject, the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome: and then, that she was solitary and of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince with felicity in the people." So he wrote in the year 1605; but, about the year 1612, "The king," says Wilson, "cast his thoughts towards Peterborough, where his mother lay, whom he caused to be translated to a magnificent tomb, at Westminster. And (somewhat suitable to her mind when she was living) she had a translucent passage in the night, through the city of London, by multitudes of torches: the tapers placed by the tomb and the altar, in the cathedral, smoking with them like an offertory, with all the ceremonies, and voices their quires and copes could express, attended by many prelates and nobles, who paid this last tribute to her memory."[1] Before this time Bacon had written his essay "in Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ." which he sent to Sir George Carew, whose death M. De Thou laments, in a letter to Mr. Camden, in the year 1613. The following is the letter to Sir George Carew.[2] "Being asked a question by this bearer, an old servant of my brother Anthony Bacon's, whether I would command him any thing into France; and being at better leisure than I would, in regard of sickness, I began to remember that neither your business nor mine, though great and continual, can be, upon an exact account, any just occasion why so much good-will as hath passed between us should be so much discontinued as it hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me by a letter: and thinking to fill it with somewhat besides salutations, it came to my mind, that this last summer vacation, by occasion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify Misera Fœmina, the addition of the pope's bull, upon Queen Elizabeth, I did write a few lines in her memorial, which I thought you would be pleased to read, both for the argument, and because you were wont to bear affection to my pen. 'Verum, ut aliud ex alio,' if it came handsomely to pass, I would be glad the president De Thou, who hath written a history, as you know, of that fame and diligence, saw it; chiefly because I know not whether it may not serve him for some use in his story; wherein I would be glad he did write to the truth, and to the memory of that lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written he is well inclined to do. I would be glad also, it were some occasion, such as absence may permit, of some acquaintance or mutual notice between us. For though he hath many ways the precedence, chiefly in worth, yet this is common to us both, that we serve our sovereigns in places of law eminent: and not ourselves only, but that our fathers did so before us. And lastly, that both of us love learning and liberal sciences, which was ever a bond of friendship in the greatest distance of places. But of this I make no farther request, than your own occasions and respects, to me known, may further or limit; my principal purpose being to salute you, and to send you this token: whereunto I will add my very kind commendations to my lady; and so commit you both to God's holy protection."

It seems probable that this tract was intended for publication during the life of the king. It says,

[1] Wilson.

[2] "Sir George Carew, of Cornwall, was Master in Chancery in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and in 1597 sent ambassador into Poland; and in 1606 went to the court of France with the like character. After about three years continuance, he was recalled by the king to make use of his services at home: but he survived not many years. M. De Thou, in a letter to Mr. Camden in 1613, very much laments his death; as losing a friend he much valued, and an assistant in the prosecution of his history: having received helps from him in that part which relates to the dissensions between the Poles and the Swedes in the year 1598, as appears before the contents of book cxxi."—*Stephens.*

"Restant felicitates posthumæ duæ, iis quæ vivam comitabantur fere celsiores et augustiores: una successoris, altera memoriæ. Nam successorem sortita est eum, qui licet et masculâ virtute et prole, et nova imperii accessione fastigium ejus excedat et obumbret; tamen et nomini et honoribus ejus faveat, et actis ejus quandam perpetuitatem donet: cum nec ex personarum delectu, nec ex institutorum ordine, quicquam magnopere mutaverit: adeo ut raro filius parenti, tanto silentio, atque tam exigua mutatione et perturbatione successerit." But it was not published during the life of the author; and the praise of Elizabeth, in the Advancement of Learning, is wholly omitted, and certainly not for its want of beauty, in the treatise "De Augmentis," published in 1623, where he also omits the passage already cited in this preface. "Then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried, and yet her government so masculine that it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence;" merely saying, 'Rursus regnum fœminæ solitariæ et cœlibis." Whatever were the motives by which he was induced to suppress, for a time, the just praise of Elizabeth, he ordered the publication in a will, which he afterwards cancelled, but, in all probability, after some understanding with Dr. Rawley, that the publication should appear, as it did, soon after his death. This appears from Rawley's account.[1] "I thought it fitting to intimate, that the discourse, within contained, entitled, A Collection of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth; was written by his lordship in Latin only, whereof, though his lordship had his particular ends then; yet in regard that I held it a duty, that her own nation, over which she so happily reigned for many years, should be acquainted and possessed with the virtues of that excellent queen, as well as foreign nations, I was induced, many years ago, to put the same into the English tongue; not 'ad verbum,' for that had been but flat and injudicious; but, (as far as my slender ability could reach,) according to the expressions which I conceived his lordship would have rendered it in, if he had written the same in English: yet ever acknowledging that Zeuxis, or Apelles' pencil could not be attained, but by Zeuxis, or Apelles himself. This work, in the Latin, his lordship so much affected, that he had ordained, by his last will and testament, to have had it published many years since: but that singular person intrusted therewith, soon after deceased. And therefore it must now expect a time to come forth amongst his lordship's other Latin works." And Archbishop Tenison says, "the third is, a memorial, entitled The Felicities of Queen Elizabeth. This was written by his lordship in Latin only. A person of more good will than ability, translated it into English, and called it in the singular, Her Felicity. But we have also a version, much more accurate and judicious, performed by Doctor Rawley, who was pleased to take that labour upon him, because he understood the value his lordship put upon this work; for it was such, that I find this charge given concerning it, in his last will and testament. 'In particular, I wish the eulogy which I writ, in Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ, may be published.'"

LIVES OF THE CÆSARS.

Of these tracts Tenison says, "The fifth is, 'the Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris.' The sixth, 'Imago Civilis Augusti Cæsaris.' Both of them short personal characters, and not histories of their empire: and written by his lordship in that tongue, which in their time was at its height, and became the language of the world. A while since, they were translated into English, and inserted into the first part of the Resuscitation."

In the few lines upon the character of Augustus Cæsar, there is a maxim well deserving the deep consideration of every young man of sensibility, apt to be

> Misled by fancy's meteor ray,
> By passion driven:
> And yet the light that leads astray,
> Is light from heaven.

Bacon says, "Those persons which are of a turbulent nature or appetite, do commonly pass their youth in many errors; and about their middle, and then and not before, they show forth their perfections; but those that are of a sedate and calm nature, may be ripe for great and glorious actions in their youth." The very same sentiment which he expresses in his Essay on Youth and Age: "Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimus Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, 'Juventutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;' and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others."

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

I have selected this piece of biography from the letters, and restored it to what appears to me to be its proper place. Of this a MS. may be found in the British Museum.

[1] Preface to the Resuscitatio.

THE

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

THE PREFACE.

The antiquities of the first age (except those we find in sacred writ) were buried in oblivion and silence; silence was succeeded by poetical fables: and fables again were followed by the records we now enjoy: so that the mysteries and secrets of antiquity were distinguished and separated from the records and evidences of succeeding times, by the veil of fiction, which interposed itself, and came between those things which perished and those which are extant. I suppose some are of opinion that my purpose is to write toys and trifles, and to usurp the same liberty in applying, that the poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (confess) if I listed, and with more serious contemplation intermix these things, to delight either myself in meditation, or others in reading. Neither am I ignorant how fickle and inconstant a thing fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of wit and discourse is, that is able to apply things well, yet so as never meant by the first authors. But I remember that this liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the reverence of antiquity to their own inventions and fancies, have for the same intent laboured to wrest many poetical fables; neither hath this old and common vanity been used only of late, or now and then: for even Chrysippus long ago did, as an interpreter of dreams, ascribe the opinions of the Stoics to the ancient poets: and more sottishly do the chymists appropriate the fancies and delights of poets in the transformations of bodies to the experiments of their furnace. All these things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed: and in them have seen and noted the general levity and indulgence of men's wits above allegories; and yet for all this, I relinquish not my opinion.

For, first, it may not be that the folly and looseness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the parables; for that were a conceit which might savour of profaneness and presumption: for religion itself doth sometimes delight in such veils and shadows; so that whoso exempts them, seems in a manner to interdict all commerce between things divine and human. But concerning human wisdom, I do indeed ingenuously and freely confess, that I am inclined to imagine, that under some of the ancient fictions lay couched certain mysteries and allegories, even from their first invention; and I am persuaded, whether ravished with the reverence of antiquity, or because in some fables I find such singular proportion between the similitude and the thing signified, and such apt and clear coherence in the very structure of them, and propriety of names wherewith the persons or actors in them are ascribed and intituled, that no man can constantly deny but this sense was in the author's intent and meaning, when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort: for who can be so stupid and blind in the open light, as (when he hears how Fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprang up as their younger sister) not to refer it to the murmurs and seditious reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of insurrections? Or when he hears how the giant Typhon, having cut out and brought away Jupiter's nerves, which Mercury stole from him and restored again to Jupiter, doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful rebellions, which take from princes their sinews of money and authority: but so that by affability of speech and wise edicts (the minds of their subjects being in time privily, and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their strength again? Or when he hears how, in that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, the braying of Silenus's ass conduced much to the profligation of the giants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to show how the greatest enterprises of rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain rumours and fears.

Moreover, to what judgments can the conformity and signification of names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the wife of Jupiter doth plainly signify counsel: Typhon, insurrection: Pan, universality: Nemesis, revenge: and the like. Neither let it trouble any man, if sometimes he meet with historical narrations, or additions for ornament's sake, or confusion of times, or something transferred from

one fable to another, to bring in a new allegory; for it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the inventions of men which lived in divers ages, and had also divers ends, some being ancient, others neoterical; some have an eye to things natural, others to moral.

There is another argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these fables contain certain hidden and involved meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they show, and, as it were, proclaim a parable afar off; for such tales as are probable they may seem to be invented for delight and in imitation of history. And as for such as no man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other ends: for what kind of fiction is that wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to wife, and perceiving that she was with child, to have devoured her, whence himself conceiving, brought forth Pallas armed out of his head? Truly, I think there was never dream, so different to the course of cogitation, and so full of monstrosity, ever hatched in the brain of man. Above all things this prevails most with me, and is of singular moment; many of these fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod, and others: for if it were so, that they took beginning in that age, and from those authors by whom they are delivered and brought to our hands, my mind gives me there could be no great or high matter expected, or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these originals. But if with attention we consider the matter, it will appear that they were delivered and related as things formerly believed and received, and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversely related by writers that lived near about one and the selfsame time, we may easily perceive that they were common things derived from precedent memorials; and that they became various by reason of the divers ornaments bestowed on them by particular relations; and the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the times, or inventions of the poets, but as sacred relics or abstracted airs of better times, which, by tradition from more ancient nations, fell into the trumpets and flutes of the Grecians. But if any do obstinately contend, that allegories are always adventitially, and as it were by constraint, never naturally and properly included in fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of judgment which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but lumpish and almost leaden. And, if they be worthy to be taken notice of, we will begin afresh with them in some other fashion.

There is found among men, and it goes for current, a twofold use of parables, and those, which is more to be admired, referred to contrary ends, conducing as well to the folding up and keeping of things under a veil, as to the enlightening and laying open of obscurities. But, omitting the former, rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient fables as things vagrant and composed only for delight, the latter must questionless till remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder, but it must absolutely be received as a thing grave and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable and necessary to all sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the understanding of man by an easy and gentle passage through all novel and abstruse inventions which any way differ from common received opinions. Therefore, in the first ages, (when many human inventions and conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new, and not generally known,) all things were full of fables, enigmas, parables, and similes of all sorts; by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and conceal knowledge, especially seeing the understandings of men were in those times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any subtilties, such things only excepted as were the objects of sense; for, as hieroglyphics preceded letters, so parables were more ancient than arguments: and in these days also, he that would illuminate men's minds anew in any old matter, and that not with disprofit and harshness, must absolutely take the same course, and use the help of similes. Wherefore after all that hath been said, we will thus conclude, the wisdom of the ancients, it was either much or happy: much, if these figures and tropes were invented by study and premeditation; happy, if they, intending nothing less, gave matter and occasion to so many worthy meditations. As concerning my labours, if there be any thing in them which may do good, I will on neither part count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate either antiquity or things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very subject hath been attempted by others: but to speak as I think, and that freely, without ostentation, the dignity and efficacy of the thing, is almost lost by these men's writings, though voluminous and full of pains, whilst not diving into the depth of matters, but skilful only in certain commonplaces, have applied the sense of these parables to certain vulgar and general things, not so much as glancing at their true virtue, genuine propriety, and full depth. I, if I be not deceived, shall be new in common things; wherefore, leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at further and richer matters.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

CASSANDRA, OR DIVINATION.

The poets fable, that Apollo being enamoured of Cassandra, was, by her many shifts and cunning sleights, still deluded in his desire; but yet fed on with hope until such time as she had drawn from him the gift of prophesying; and having by such her dissimulation, in the end attained to that which from the beginning she sought after, at last flatly rejected his suit: who, finding himself so far engaged in his promise, as that he could not by any means revoke again his rash gift, and yet inflamed with an earnest desire of revenge, highly disdaining to be made the scorn of a crafty wench, annexed a penalty to his promise, to wit, that she should ever foretell the truth, but never be believed; so were her divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded, whereof she still found the experience, yea, even in the ruin of her own country, which she had often forewarned them of, but they neither gave credit nor ear to her words.

This fable seems to intimate the unprofitable liberty of untimely admonitions and counsels: for they that are so overweened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own wit and capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the documents of Apollo, the god of harmony, whereby to learn and observe the method and measure of affairs, the grace and gravity of discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar ears, and the due times when to speak and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their judgments never so profound and profitable, yet in all their endeavours either of persuasion or perforce, they avail nothing; neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage matters, but do rather hasten on the ruin of all those that they adhere or devote themselves unto; and then, at last, when calamity hath made men feel the event of neglect, then shall they, too late, be reverenced as deep foreseeing and faithful prophets: whereof a notable instance is eminently set forth in Marcus Cato Uticensis, who, as from a watch-tower, discovered afar off, and as an oracle long foretold, the approaching ruin of his country, and the plotted tyranny hovering over the state, both in the first conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil contention between Cæsar and Pompey, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the commonwealth and hastened on his country's bane; which M. Cicero wisely observed, and writing to a familiar friend, doth in these terms excellently describe, "Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum Reipublicæ: loquitur enim tanquam in Republicâ Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli." Cato (saith he) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the state, for he speaks as in the commonwealth of Plato, and not as in the dregs of Romulus.

TYPHON, OR A REBEL.

Juno, being vexed (say the poets) that Jupiter had begotten Pallas by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other gods and goddesses, that she might also bring forth of herself alone without him; and having by violence and importunity obtained a grant thereof, she smote the earth, and forthwith sprang up Typhon, a huge and horrid monster. This strange birth she commits to a serpent, as a foster-father, to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of years but he provokes Jupiter to battle. In the conflict, the giant, getting the upper hand, takes Jupiter upon his shoulders, carries him into a remote and obscure country, and (cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maimed; but Mercury recovering these nerves from Typhon by stealth, restored them again to Jupiter. Jupiter being again by this means corroborated, assaults the monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a thunderbolt, from whose blood serpents were engendered. This monster at length fainting and flying, Jupiter casts on him the mount Ætna, and with the weight thereof crushed him.

This fable seems to point at the variable fortune of princes, and the rebellious insurrection of traitors in state. For princes may well be said to be married to their dominions, as Jupiter was to Juno; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of empiring and bending towards tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and, contemning the counsel of their nobles and senators, hatch laws in their own brain, that is, dispose of things by their own fancy and absolute power. The people, repining at this, study how to create and set up a chief of their own choice. This project, by the secret instigation of the peers and nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning; by whose connivance the commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring or discontent in the state, shadowed by the infancy of Typhon, which

being nursed by the natural pravity, and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort, (unto princes as infestuous as serpents,) is again repaired by renewed strength, and at last breaks out into open rebellion, which, because it brings infinite mischiefs upon prince and people, is represented by the monstrous deformity of Typhon: his hundred heads signify their divided powers, his fiery mouths their inflamed intents, his serpentine circles their pestilent malice in besieging, his iron hands their merciless slaughters, his eagle's talons their greedy rapines, his plumed body their continual rumours, and scouts, and fears, and suchlike; and sometimes these rebellions grow so potent, that princes are enforced (transported as it were by the rebels, and forsaking the chief seats and cities of the kingdom) to contract their power, and, being deprived of the sinews of money and majesty, betake themselves to some remote and obscure corner within their dominions; but in process of time, if they bear their misfortunes with moderation, they may recover their strength by the virtue and industry of Mercury, that is, they may, by becoming affable, and by reconciling the minds and wills of their subjects with grave edicts and gracious speech, excite an alacrity to grant aids and subsidies whereby to strengthen their authority anew. Nevertheless, having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of fortune by war, and yet study how to suppress the reputation of the rebels by some famous action, which if it fall out answerable to their expectation, the rebels, finding themselves weakened, and fearing the success of their broken projects, betake themselves to some sleight and vain bravadoes like the hissing of serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to flight, and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for kings to pursue and oppress them with the forces and weight of the kingdom, as it were with the mountain Ætna.

THE CYCLOPS, OR THE MINISTERS OF TERROR.

They say the Cyclops, for their fierceness and cruelty, were by Jupiter cast into hell, and there doomed to perpetual imprisonment; but Tellus persuaded Jupiter that it would do well, if being set at liberty, they were put to forge thunderbolts, which being done accordingly, they became so painful and industrious, as that day and night they continued hammering out in laborious diligence thunderbolts and other instruments of terror. In process of time Jupiter having conceived a displeasure against Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, for restoring a dead man to life by physic, and concealing his dislike because there was no just cause of anger, the deed being pious and famous, secretly incensed the Cyclops against him, who without delay slew him with a thunderbolt; in revenge of which act, Apollo, Jupiter not prohibiting it, shot them to death with his arrows.

This fable may be applied to the projects of kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting officers, do first punish and displace them; afterwards, by the counsel of Tellus, that is of some base and ignoble person, and by the prevailing respect of profit, they admit them into their places again, that they may have instruments in a readiness, if at any time there should need either severity of execution or acerbity of exaction. These servile creatures being by nature cruel, and by their former fortune exasperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their hands, do show themselves wonderful officious in such kind of employments; but being too rash and precipitate in seeking countenance and creeping into favour, do sometimes take occasion, from the secret beckonings and ambiguous commands of their prince, to perform some hateful execution. But princes abhorring the fact, and knowing well that they shall never want such kind of instruments, do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the friends and allies of the wronged, to their accusations and revenge, and to the general hatred of the people; so that with great applause and prosperous wishes and acclamations towards the prince, they are brought rather too late than undeservedly to a miserable end.

NARCISSUS, OR SELF-LOVE.

They say that Narcissus was exceeding fair and beautiful, but wonderful proud and disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary life in the woods and chases with a few followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongst the rest there follows him the nymph Echo. During his course of life, it fatally so chanced that he came to a clear fountain, upon the bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the heat of the day; and having espied the shadow of his own face in the water, was so besotted and ravished with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that he by no means possibly could be drawn from beholding his image in this glass; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a flower of his own name, which appears in the beginning of the spring, and is sacred to the infernal powers, Pluto, Proserpina, and the Furies.

This fable seems to show the dispositions and fortunes of those, who in respect either of their beauty or other gift wherewith they are adorned and graced by nature, without the help of industry, are so far besotted in themselves as that they prove the cause of their own destruction. For it is the property of men infected with this humour not to come much abroad, or to be conversant in civil affairs; specially seeing those that are in

public place must of necessity encounter with many contempts and scorns which may much deject and trouble their minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure life, attended on with a few followers, and those such as will adore and admire them, like an echo, flatter them in all their sayings, and applaud them in all their words; so that being by this custom seduced and puffed up, and as it were stupified with the admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a sloth and idleness, that they grow in a manner benumbed and defective of all vigour and alacrity. Elegantly doth this flower, appearing in the beginning of the spring, represent the likeness of these men's dispositions, who in their youth do flourish and wax famous; but being come to ripeness of years, they deceive and frustrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal deities, because men of this disposition become unprofitable to all human things. For whatsoever produceth no fruit of itself, but passeth and vanisheth as if it never had been, like the way of a ship in the sea, that the ancients were wont to dedicate to the ghosts, and powers below.

STYX, OR LEAGUES.

The oath by which the gods were wont to oblige themselves when they meant to ratify any thing so firmly as never to revoke it, is a thing well known to the vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every fable, which was, when they did not invoke or call to witness any celestial majesty or divine power, but only the river Styx, that with crooked and meandry turnings encircleth the palace of the infernal Dis. This was held as the only manner of their sacrament, and, besides it, not any other vow to be accounted firm and inviolable, and therefore the punishment to be inflicted, if any did perjure themselves, was, that for certain years they should be put out of commons, and not to be admitted to the table of the gods.

This fable seems to point at the leagues and pacts of princes, of which more truly than opportunely may be said, that be they never so strongly confirmed with the solemnity and religion of an oath, yet are for the most part of no validity; insomuch, that they are made rather with an eye to reputation, and report, and ceremony, than to faith, security, and effect. Moreover, add to these the bonds of affinity, as the sacraments of nature, and mutual deserts of each part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these things are placed a degree under ambition and profit, and the licentious desire of domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easy thing for princes to defend and cover their unlawful desires and unfaithful vows with many outwardly seeming fair pretexts, especially seeing there is no umpire or moderator of matters concluded upon, to whom a reason should be tendered. Therefore there is no true and proper thing made choice of for the confirmation of faith, and that no celestial power neither, but is indeed necessity, (a great god to great potentates,) the peril also of state, and the communication of profit. As for necessity, it is elegantly represented by Styx, that fatal and irremeable river; and this godhead did Ipichrates, the Athenian, call to the confirmation of a league, who, because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his words. He observing how the Lacædemonians had thought upon and propounded divers cautions, sanctions, confirmations, and bonds, pertaining to leagues, interposed thus: "Unum Lacædemonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum, et securitatis ratio esse possit, si plane demonstretis, vos ea nobis concessisse, et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos si maxime velletis minime suppetere possit." There is one thing, oh Lacædemonians! that would link us unto you in the bond of amity, and be the occasion of peace and security, which is, if you would plainly demonstrate that you have yielded up and put into our hands such things as that, would you hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of means to do it. If, therefore, the power of hurting be taken away, or if, by breach of league, there follow the danger of the ruin or diminution of the state or tribute, then indeed the leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the sacrament of the Stygian lake; seeing that it includes the fear of prohibition and suspension from the table of the gods, under which name the laws and prerogatives, the plenty and felicity of a kingdom were signified by the ancients.

PAN, OR NATURE.

The ancients have exquisitely described Nature under the person of Pan, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the son of Mercury, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common offspring of Penelope's suitors, upon a suspicion that every one of them had to do with her; which latter relation doubtless gave occasion to some after writers to entitle this ancient fable with the name of Penelope: a thing very frequent amongst them when they apply old fictions to young persons and names, and that many times absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: for Pan, being one of the ancient gods, was long before the time of Ulysses and Penelope. Besides, for her matrimonial chastity, she was held venerable by antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third conceit of his birth: for some say

that he was the son of Jupiter and Hybris, which signifies contumely or disdain: but howsoever begotten, the Parcæ, they say, were his sisters. He is portrayed by the ancients in this guise; on his head a pair of horns to reach to heaven, his body rough and hairy, his beard long and shaggy, his shape biformed, above like a man, below like a beast, his feet like goats' hoofs; bearing these ensigns of his jurisdiction, to wit, in his left hand a pipe of seven reeds, and in his right a sheep-hook, or a staff crooked at the upper end, and his mantle made of a leopard's skin. His dignities and offices were these: he was the god of hunters, of shepherds, and of all rural inhabitants; chief president also of hill and mountains; and, next to Mercury, the ambassador of the gods. Moreover, he was accounted the leader and commander of the nymphs, which were always wont to dance the rounds, and frisk about him; he was accosted by the satyrs and the old Sileni. He had power also to strike men with terrors, and those especially vain and superstitious, which are termed panic fears. His acts were not many, for aught that can be found in records; the chiefest was, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, in which conflict he had the foil. The tale goes, too, how that he caught the giant Typhon in a net, and held him fast. Moreover, when Ceres, grumbling and chafing that Proserpina was ravished, had hid herself away, and that all the gods took pains, by dispersing themselves into every corner, to find her out, it was only his good hap, as he was hunting, to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to trial who was the best musician, he or Apollo; and by the judgment of Midas was indeed preferred: but the wise judge had a pair of asses' ears privily chopped to his noddle for his sentence. Of his love tricks there is nothing reported, or at least not much; a thing to be wondered at, especially being among a troop of gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the nymph Echo, whom he took to wife; and one pretty wench more called Syrinx, towards whom Cupid, in an angry and revengful humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at wrestling, inflamed his desire. Moreover, he had no issue, which is a marvel also, seeing the gods, especially those of the male kind, were very generative, only he was the reputed father of a little girl called Iambe, that with many pretty tales was wont to make strangers merry: but some think that he did indeed beget her by his wife Iambe.

This, if any be, is a noble tale, as being laid out and big bellied with the secrets and mysteries of nature. Pan, as his name imports, represents and lays open the all of things or nature. Concerning his original there are two only opinions that go for current; for either he came of Mercury, that is, the Word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all controversy affirm, and such of the philosophers as had any smack of divinity assented unto, or else from the confused seeds of things. For they that would have one simple beginning, refer it unto God; or if a materiate beginning, they would have it various in power; so that we may end the controversy with this distribution, that the world took beginning, either from Mercury, or from the seeds of all things.

VIRG. ECLOG. 6.

"Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.
Semina, terrarumque, animæque marisque fuissent.
Et liquidi simul ignis: Et his exordia primis
Omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis."

For rich-vein'd Orpheus sweetly did rehearse
How that the seeds of fire, air, water, earth,
Were all pact in the vast void universe:
And how from these, as firstlings, all had birth,
And how the body of this orbic frame,
From tender infancy so big became.

But as touching the third conceit of Pan's original, it seems that the Grecians, either by intercourse with the Egyptians, or one way or other, had heard something of the Hebrew mysteries; for it points to the state of the world, not considered in immediate creation, but after the fall of Adam, exposed and made subject to death and corruption; for in that state it was, and remains to this day, the offspring of God and sin; and therefore all these three narrations concerning the manner of Pan's birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between things and times. For this Pan, or Nature, which we inspect, contemplate, and reverence more than is fit, took beginning from the word of God by the means of confused matter, and the entrance of prevarication and corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the sisters of Pan, or Nature, because the beginnings, and continuances, and corruptions, and depressions, and dissolutions, and eminences, and labours, and felicities of things, and all the chances which can happen unto any thing, are linked with the chain of causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because horns are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, the nature of all these things being like a pyramis, sharp at the top. For individual or singular things being infinite are first collected into species, which are many also; then from species into generals, and from generals, by ascending, are contracted into things or notions more general; so that at length Nature may seem to be contracted into an unity. Neither is it to be wondered at that Pan toucheth heaven with his horns, seeing the height of nature or universal ideas do in some sort pertain to things divine; and there is a ready and short passage from metaphysic to natural theology.

The body of nature is elegantly and with deep judgment depainted hairy, representing the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are, as it

were, the hairs and bristles of nature; and every creature is either more or less beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of seeing, and no less in every virtue and operation that effectuates upon a distant object; for whatsoever works up any thing afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth rays or beams.

Moreover, Pan's beard is said to be exceeding long, because the beams or influences of celestial bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the sun, when his higher half is shadowed with a cloud, his beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were bearded.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a biformed body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior creatures. For one part, by reason of their pulchritude and equability of motion, and constancy and dominion over the earth and earthly things, is worthily set out by the shape of man; and the other part in respect of their perturbations and unconstant motions, and therefore needing to be moderated by the celestial, may be well fitted with the figure of a brute beast. This description of his body pertains also to the participation of species; for no natural being seems to be simple, but as it were participated and compounded of two; as for example, man hath something of a beast, a beast something of a plant, a plant something of inanimate body, of that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior species.

It is a witty allegory that same, of the feet of the goat, by reason of the upward tending motion of terrestial bodies towards the air and heaven; for the goat is a climbing creature, that loves to be hanging about the rocks and steep mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner even by those things which are destinated to this inferior globe, as may manifestly appear in clouds and meteors.

The two ensigns which Pan bears in his hands do point, the one at harmony, the other at empire: for the pipe, consisting of seven reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the consent, and harmony, and discordant concord of all inferior creatures, which is caused by the motion of the seven planets: and that of the sheep-hook may be excellently applied to the order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: this staff therefore or rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the works of divine Providence in the world are done in a far-fetched and circular manner, so that one thing may seem to be effected, and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass, as the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and the like. Besides, in all wise human government, they that sit at the helm do more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the minds of the people by pretext and oblique courses than by direct methods: so that all sceptres and masses of authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's cloak or mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a skin of a leopard, because it is full of spots: so the heavens are spotted with stars, the sea with rocks and islands, the land with flowers, and every particular creature also is for the most part garnished with divers colours about the superficies, which is as it were a mantle unto it.

The office of Pan can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed, as by feigning him to be the god of hunters; for every natural action, and so by consequence motion and progression, is nothing else but a hunting. Arts and sciences have their works, and human counsels their ends, which they earnestly hunt after. All natural things have either their food as a prey, or their pleasure as a recreation which they seek for, and that in a most expert and sagacious manner.

"Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam.
Florentem cytisum, sequitur lasciva capella.

The hungry lioness, with gasp desire,
Pursues the wolf, the wolf the wanton goat:
The goat again doth greedy aspire
To have the trefoil juice pass down her throat.

Pan is also said to be the god of the country-clowns; because most of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto nature than those that live in cities and courts of princes, where nature, by too much art, is corrupted; so as the saying of the poet, though in the sense of love, might be here verified:

"Pars minima est ipsa puella sui."

The maid to trick'd herself with art,
That of herself she is least part.

He was held to be lord president of the mountains; because in the high mountains and hills nature lays herself most open, and men most apt to view and contemplation.

Whereas Pan is said to be, next unto Mercury, the messenger of the gods, there is in that a divine mystery contained; for, next to the word of God, the image of the world proclaims the power and wisdom divine, as sings the sacred poet. Psal. xix. 1. "Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum." The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth the works of his hands.

The nymphs, that is, the souls of living things, take great delight in Pan: for these souls are the delights or minions of nature; and the direction or conduct of these nymphs is, with great reason, attributed unto Pan, because the souls of all things living do follow their natural dispositions as their guides; and with infinite variety every one of them, after his own fashion, doth leap, and frisk, and dance, with incessant motions about her. The satyrs and Sileni also, to wit, youth and old age, are some of Pan's followers: for of all natural things, there is a lively, jocund, and, as I may say, a dancing age; and an age

again that is dull, bibling, and reeling. The carriages and dispositions of both which ages, to some such as Democritus was, that would observe them duly, might, peradventure, seem as ridiculous and deformed as the gambols of the satyrs, or the gestures of the Sileni.

Of those fears and terrors which Pan is said to be the author, there may be this wise construction made: namely, that nature hath bred in every living thing a kind of care and fear tending to the preservation of its own life and being, and to the repelling and shunning of all things hurtful; and yet nature knows not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes vain and empty fears with such as are discreet and profitable: so that all things, if their insides might be seen, would appear full of panic frights; but men, especially in hard, fearful, and diverse times, are wonderfully infatuated with superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a panic terror.

Concerning the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid at wrestling; the meaning of it is, that matter wants not inclination and desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the world into the old chaos, if her malice and violence were not restrained and kept in order by the prepotent unity and agreement of things, signified by Cupid or the god of love; and therefore it was a happy turn for men, and all things else, that in that conflict Pan was found too weak and overcome.

To the same effect may be interpreted his catching of Typhon in a net; for howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted tumours, as the name of Typhon imports, either in the sea, or in the air, or in the earth, or elsewhere; yet nature doth entangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and restrain it as it were with a chain of adamant, the excesses and insolencies of these kind of bodies.

But forasmuch as it was Pan's good fortune to find out Ceres as he was hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously, it gives us this true and grave admonition, that we expect not to receive things necessary for life and manners from philosophical abstractions, as from the greater gods, albeit they applied themselves to no other study, but from Pan; that is, from the discreet observation and experience, and the universal knowledge of the things of this world; whereby, oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a hunting, such inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrel he made with Apollo about music, and the event thereof, contains a wholesome instruction, which may serve to restrain men's reasons and judgments with reins of sobriety, from boasting and glorying in their gifts; for there seems to be a twofold harmony or music, the one of divine providence, and the other of human reason. Now to the ears of mortals, that is, to human judgment, the administration of the world and creatures therein, and the more secret judgments of God, sound very hard and harsh; which folly, albeit it be well set out with asses' ears, yet notwithstanding these ears are secret, and do not openly appear; neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondered at, that there is nothing attributed unto Pan concerning loves, but only of his marriage with Echo; for the world or nature doth enjoy itself, and in itself all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough there is no place left to desire; therefore there can be no wanting love in Pan, or the world, nor desire to obtain any thing, seeing he is contented with himself, but only speeches, which, if plain, may be intimated by the nymph Echo, or, if more quaint, by Syrinx. It is an excellent invention that Pan, or the world, is said to make choice of Echo only, above all other speeches or voices, for his wife; for that alone is true philosophy which doth faithfully render the very words of the world; and it is written no otherwise than the world doth dictate, it being nothing else but the image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and resounds. It belongs also to the sufficiency or perfection of the world, that he begets no issue; for the world doth generate in respect of its parts; but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no body? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tattling girl faltered upon Pan, may in very deed, with great reason, be added to this fable; for by her are represented those vain and idle paradoxes concerning the nature of things which have been frequent in all ages, and have filled the world with novelties; fruitless, if you respect the matter; changelings, if you respect the kind; sometimes creating pleasure, sometimes tediousness, with their overmuch prattling.

PERSEUS, OR WAR.

Perseus is said to have been employed by Pallas for the destroying of Medusa, who was very infestuous to the western parts of the world, and especially about the utmost coasts of Hiberia; a monster so dire and horrid, that by her only aspect she turned men into stones. This Medusa alone of all the Gorgons was mortal, the rest not subject to death. Perseus, therefore, preparing himself for this noble enterprise, had arms and gifts bestowed on him by three of the gods; Mercury gave him wings annexed to his heels, Pluto a helmet, Pallas a shield and a looking-glass. Notwithstanding, although he were thus furnished, he went not directly to Medusa, but first to the Greæ, which, by the mother's side, were sisters to the Gorgons. These Greæ from their birth were hoarheaded, resembling old women; they had but one only eye and one tooth

among them all, both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This eye and tooth they lent to Perseus; and so finding himself thoroughly furnished for the effecting of his design, hastens towards Medusa. Her he found sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his face towards her, lest she should awake; but turning his head aside beheld her in Pallas's glass, and, by this means directing his blow, cut off her head; from whose blood gushing out, instantly came Pegasus, the flying-horse. Her head thus smote off, Perseus bestows on Pallas's shield, which yet retained this virtue, that whatsoever looked upon it should become as stupid as a stone, or one like planet-strucken.

This fable seems to direct the preparation and order that is to be used in making of war; for the more apt and considerate undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesome precepts, savouring of the wisdom of Pallas, are to be observed.

First, That men do not much trouble themselves about the conquest of neighbour nations, seeing that private possessions and empires are enlarged by different means; for in the augmentation of private revenues, the vicinity of men's territories is to be considered; but in the propagation of public dominions, the occasion and facility of making war, and the fruit to be expected ought to be instead of vicinity. Certainly the Romans, what time their conquests towards the west scarce reached beyond Liguria, did yet in the east bring all the provinces as far as the mountain Taurus within the compass of their arms and command; and therefore Perseus, although he were bred and born in the east, did not yet refuse to undertake an expedition even to the uttermost bounds of the west.

Secondly, There must be a care had, that the motives of war be just and honourable; for that begets an alacrity as well in the soldiers that fight as in the people that pay; it draws on and procures aids, and brings many other commodities besides. But there is no pretence to take up arms more pious, than the suppressing of tyranny; under which yoke the people lose their courage, and are cast down without heart and vigour, as in the sight of Medusa.

Thirdly, It is wisely added, that seeing there were three Gorgons, by which wars are represented, Perseus undertook her only that was mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of war as was likely to be effected and brought to a period, not pursuing vast and endless hopes.

The furnishing of Perseus with necessaries was that which only advanced his attempt, and drew fortune to be of his side; for he had speed from Mercury, concealing of his counsels from Orcus, and providence from Pallas.

Neither is it without an allegory, and that full of matter too, that those wings of celerity were fastened to Perseus' heels and not to his ankles, to his feet and not to his shoulders; because speed and celerity are required, not so much in the first preparations for war, as in those things which second and yield aid to the first; for there is no error in war more frequent, than that prosecutions and subsidiary forces do fail to answer the alacrity of the first onsets.

Now for that helmet which Pluto gave him, powerful to make men invisible, the moral is plain; but that twofold gift of Providence, to wit, the shield and looking-glass, is full of morality; for that kind of providence, which like a shield avoids the force of blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the strength, and motions, and counsels of the enemy are descried, as in the looking-glass of Pallas.

But Perseus, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of special importance before he entered the lists with this monster, and that was to have some intelligence with the Greæ. These Greæ are treasons, which may be termed the sisters of war; not descended of the same stock, but far unlike in nobility of birth; for wars are generous and heroical, but treasons are base and ignoble. Their description is elegant, for they are said to be gray-headed, and like old women from their birth, by reason that traitors are continually vexed with cares and trepidations. But all their strength, before they break out into open rebellions, consists either in an eye or in a tooth; for every faction alienated from any state, contemplates and bites. Besides, this eye and tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of faction. And as concerning the tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same song; so that hear one and you hear all. Perseus therefore was to deal with these Greæ for the love of their eye and tooth; their eye to discover, their tooth to sow rumours and stir up envy, and to molest and trouble the minds of men. These things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the action of war, and sets upon Medusa as she slept; for a wise captain will ever assault his enemy when he is unprepared and most secure, and then is there good use of Pallas's glass; for most men, before it come to the push, can acutely pry into and discern their enemies' estate; but the best use of this glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered that the terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this glass with the face turned from Medusa.

The monster's head being cut off, there follow two effects. The first was the procreation and raising of Pegasus, by which may be evidently understood fame, that, flying through the world, proclaims victory. The second is the

bearing of Medusa's head in his shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable: for the one famous and memorable act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the motions and insolencies of enemies and makes Envy herself silent and amazed.

ENDYMION, OR A FAVOURITE.

It is said that Luna was in love with the shepherd Endymion, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her affection; for he lying in a cave framed by nature under the mountain Latmus, she oftentimes descended from her sphere to enjoy his company as he slept; and after she had kissed him ascended up again. Yet, notwithstanding this, his idleness and sleepy security did not any way impair his estate or fortune; for Luna brought it so to pass, that he alone, of all the rest of the shepherds, had his flock in best plight, and most fruitful.

This fable may have reference to the nature and dispositions of princes; for they being full of doubts and prone to jealousy, do not easily acquaint men of prying and curious eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful dispositions, with the secret humours and manners of their life; but such rather as are of quiet and observant natures, suffering them to do what they list without further scanning, making as if they were ignorant, and perceiving nothing, but of a stupid disposition, and possessed with sleep, yielding unto them simple obedience rather than sly compliments; for it pleaseth princes now and then to descend from their thrones or majesty, like Luna from the superior orb, and laying aside their robes of dignity, which always to be cumbered with would seem a kind of burden, familiarly to converse with men of this condition, which they think may be done without danger; a quality chiefly noted in Tiberius Cæsar, who, of all others, was a prince most severe; yet such only were gracious in his favour, as being well acquainted with his disposition, did yet constantly dissemble as if they knew nothing. This was the custom also of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, a cautious and wily prince.

Neither is it without elegancy that the cause of Endymion is mentioned in the fable, because that it is a thing usual with such as are the favourites of princes, to have certain pleasant retiring places whither to invite them for recreation both of body and mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their fortunes also. And indeed these kind of favourites are men commonly well to pass; for princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to places of honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their favour and countenance: neither do they affect them thus only to serve their own turn; but are wont to enrich them now and then with great dignities and bounties.

THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS, OR FAME.

It is a poetical relation, that the giants begotten of the earth made war upon Jupiter and the other gods; and by the force of lightning they were resisted and overthrown: whereat the earth being excitated to wrath, in revenge of her children, brought forth Fame, the youngest sister of the giants.

"Iliam terra parens ira irritata deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem,
Progenuit"——

Provoked by wrathful gods, the mother earth
Gives Fame, the giant's youngest sister, birth.

The meaning of the fable seems to be thus: By the earth is signified the nature of the vulgar, always swollen and malignant, and still broaching new scandals against superiors, and having gotten fit opportunity stirs up rebels and seditious persons, that with impious courage do molest princes, and endeavour to subvert their estates; but being suppressed, the same natural disposition of the people still leaning to the viler sort, being impatient of peace and tranquillity, spread rumours, raise malicious slanders, repining whisperings, infamous libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in authority; so as rebellious actions and seditious reports differ nothing in kind and blood, but as it were in sex only, the one sort being masculine and the other feminine.

ACTÆON AND PENTHEUS, OR A CURIOUS MAN.

The curiosity of men in prying into secrets, and coveting with an undiscreet desire to attain the knowledge of things forbidden, is set forth by the ancients in two other examples, the one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by chance, beheld Diana naked, was turned into a stag, and devoured by his own dogs.

And Pentheus climbing up into a tree with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden sacrifices of Bacchus, was strucken with such a kind of frenzy, as that whatsoever he looked upon he thought it always double, supposing, among other things, he saw two suns and two Thebes; insomuch, that running towards Thebes, spying another Thebes, instantly turned back again, and so kept still running forward and backward with perpetual unrest.

"Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas."

Pentheus amazed, doth troops of Furies spy;
And sun and Thebes seem double to his eye.

The first of the fables pertains to the secrets of princes, the second to divine mysteries. For those that are near about princes, and come to the knowledge of more secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great hatred: and there-

fore, suspecting that they are shot at, and opportunities watched for their overthrow, do lead their lives like stags, fearful and full of suspicion. And it happens oftentimes that their servants, and those of their household, to insinuate into the prince's favour, do accuse them to their destruction, for against whomsoever the prince's displeasure is known, look how many servants that man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many traitors unto him, that his end may prove to be like Actæon's.

The other is the misery of Pentheus; for that by the height of knowledge and nature in philosophy, having climbed as it were into a tree, do with rash attempts, unmindful of their frailty, pry into the secrets of divine mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed conceits; for seeing the light of nature is one thing and of grace another, it happens so to them as if they saw two suns. And seeing the actions of life and decrees of the will to depend on the understanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconstant no less in will than in opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two Thebes; for by Thebes, seeing there was the habitation and refuge of Pentheus, is meant the end of actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the scope of their intentions, are in all things carried about with sudden passions of the mind.

ORPHEUS, OR PHILOSOPHY.

The tale of Orpheus, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every point. It may seem to represent the image of philosophy: for the person of Orpheus, a man admirable and divine, and so excellently skilled in all kind of harmony, that with his sweet ravishing music he did, as it were, charm and allure all things to follow him, may carry a singular description of philosophy; for the labours of Orpheus do so far exceed the labours of Hercules in dignity and efficacy, as the works of wisdom excel the works of fortitude.

Orpheus, for the love he bare to his wife, snatched, as it were, from him by untimely death, resolved to go down to hell with his harp, to try if he might obtain her of the infernal power. Neither were his hopes frustrated: for having appeased them with the melodious sound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that she should follow him, and he look not back upon her till he came to the light of the upper world; which he, impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all danger, nevertheless violated, insomuch that the covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into hell. Orpheus falling into a deep melancholy, became a contemner of women-kind, and bequeathed himself to a solitary life in the deserts; where, by the same melody of his voice and harp, he first drew all manner of wild beasts unto him, who, forgetful of their savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate provocations of lust and fury, not caring to satiate their voracity by hunting after prey, as at a theatre, in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, standing all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their ears to his music. Neither is this all: for so great was the power and alluring force of this harmony, that he drew the woods, and moved the very stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him. These things succeeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain Thracian women, possessed with the spirit of Bacchus, made such a horrid and strange noise with their cornets, that the sound of Orpheus's harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that harmony, which was the bond of that order, and society being dissolved, all disorder began again, and the beasts returning to their wonted nature, pursued one another unto death as before; neither did the trees and stones remain any longer in their places; and Orpheus himself was by these female Furies torn in pieces, and scattered all over the desert; for whose cruel death the river Helicon, sacred to the Muses, in horrible indignation hid his head underground, and raised it again in another place.

The meaning of this fable seems to be thus: Orpheus's music is of two sorts, the one appeasing the infernal powers, the other attracting beasts and trees. The first may be fitly applied to natural philosophy, the second to moral or civil discipline.

The most noble work of natural philosophy is the restitution and renovation of things corruptible: the other, as a lesser degree of it, the preservation of bodies in their estates, detaining them from dissolution and putrefaction: and if this gift may be in mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite temper of nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an instrument; but seeing it is of all things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other reason, more than through curious diligence and untimely impatience: and therefore philosophy, hardly able to produce so excellent an effect in a pensive humour, and that without cause, busies herself about human objects, and by persuasion and eloquence insinuating the love of virtue, equity, and concord, in the minds of men, draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetful of their unbridled affections, whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves to

discipline: whence follows the building of houses, erecting of towns, planting of fields and orchards with trees, and the like; insomuch, that it would not be amiss to say, that even thereby stones and woods were called together and settled in order. And after serious trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a body mortal, this care of civil affairs follows in his due place; because, by a plain demonstration of the inevitable necessity of death, men's minds are moved to seek eternity by the fame and glory of their merits. It is also wisely said in the fable, that Orpheus was averse from the love of women and marriage, because the delights of wedlock and the love of children do for the most part hinder men from enterprising great and noble designs for the public good, holding posterity a sufficient step to immortality, without actions.

Besides, even the very works of wisdom, although amongst all human things they do most excel, do nevertheless meet with their periods. For it happens that after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, even tumults, and seditions, and wars arise; in the midst of which hurly-burlies first laws are silent; men return to the pravity of their natures; fields and towns are wasted and depopulated; and then, if their fury continue, learning and philosophy must needs be dismembered, so that a few fragments only in some places will be found, like the scattered boards of shipwreck, so as a barbarous age must follow; and the streams of Helicon being hid under the earth, until the vicissitude of things passing, they break out again and appear in some other remote nation, though not perhaps in the same climate.

CŒLUM, OR BEGINNINGS.

We have it from the poets by tradition, that Cœlum was the ancientest of the gods, and that his members of generation were cut off by his son Saturn. Saturn had many children, but devoured them as soon as they were born; Jupiter only escaped, who being come to man's estate, thrust Saturn his father into hell, and so usurped the kingdom. Moreover, he pared off his father's genitals with the same falchion that Saturn dismembered Cœlum, and cast them into the sea, whence came Venus. Not long after this, Jupiter, being scarce settled and confirmed in this kingdom, was invaded by two memorable wars; the first of the Titans, in the suppressing of which Sol, who alone of all the Titans favouring Jupiter's side, took exceeding great pains. The second was of the giants, whom Jupiter himself destroyed with thunderbolts; and so all wars being ended, he reigned secure.

This fable seems enigmatically to show from whence all things took their beginning, not much differing from that opinion of philosophers, which Democritus afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing eternity to the first matter and not to the world: in which he comes somewhat near the truth of divine writ, telling us of a huge deformed mass, before the beginning of the six days' work.

The meaning of the fable is this: by Cœlum may be understood that vast concavity or vaulted compass that comprehends all matter; and by Saturn may be meant the matter itself, which takes from his parent all power of generating; for the universality or whole bulk of matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its nature; but by the divers agitations and motions of it were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing compositions of things, making, as it were, certain worlds for proofs or essays, and so in process of time a perfect fabric or structure was framed, which would still retain and keep his form: and therefore the government of the first age was shadowed by the kingdom of Saturn, who for the frequent dissolutions and short continuances of things was aptly feigned to devour his children. The succeeding government was deciphered by the reign of Jupiter, who confined those continual mutations unto Tartarus, a place signifying perturbation. This place seems to be all that middle place between the lower superficies of heaven and the centre of the earth, in which all perturbations, and fragility, and mortality or corruption are frequent. During the former generation of things in the time of Saturn's reign Venus was not born: for so long as in the universality of matter, discord was better and more prevalent than concord, it was necessary that there should be a total dissolution or mutation, and that in the whole fabric; and by this kind of generation were creatures produced before Saturn was deprived of his genitals. When this ceased, that other which was wrought by Venus immediately came in, consisting in settled and prevalent concord of things, so that mutation should be only in respect of the parts, the universal fabric remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguished; because there was an opinion that the world should relapse into the old chaos and interregnum again, which Lucretius prayed might not happen in his time:

> "Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans;
> Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa."
>
> O, guiding providence be gracious
> That this dooms-day be far removed from us;
> And grant that by us it may be expected,
> Rather than on us, in our times effected.

For afterwards the world should subsist by its own quantity and power: yet from the beginning there was no rest; for in the celestial regions there first followed notable mutations, which by the power of the sun, predominating over superior

bodies, were so quieted, that the state of the world should be conserved; and afterward, in inferior bodies, by the suppressing and dissipating of inundations, tempests, winds, and general earthquakes, a more peaceful, durable agreement and tranquillity of things followed. But of this fable it may convertibly be said, that the fable contains philosophy, and philosophy again the fable: for we know by faith, that all these things are nothing else but the long-since ceasing and failing oracles of sense, seeing that both the matter and fabric of the world are most truly referred to a Creator.

PROTEUS, OR MATTER.

The poets say that Proteus was Neptune's herdsman; a grave sire, and so excellent a prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: for he knew not only things to come, but even things past as well as present: so that besides his skill in divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all antiquities and hidden mysteries. The place of his abode was a huge vast cave, where his custom was every day at noon to count his flock of sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover, he that desired his advice in any thing could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in manacles, and holding him fast therewith: who, nevertheless, to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of forms and wonders of nature: sometimes into fire, sometimes into water, sometimes into the shape of beasts, and the like, till at length he was restored to his own form again.

This fable may seem to unfold the secrets of nature and the properties of matter. For under the person of Proteus, the first matter, which, next to God, is the ancientest thing, may be represented; for matter dwells in the concavity of heaven as in a cave.

He is Neptune's bond-man, because the operations and dispensations of matter are chiefly exercised in liquid bodies.

His flock or herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary species of sensible creatures, plants, and metals, in which matter seems to diffuse, and, as it were, spend itself; so that after the forming and perfecting of these kinds, having ended as it were her task, she seems to sleep and take her rest, not attempting the composition of any more species. And this may be the moral of Proteus counting of his flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the morning nor in the evening, but at noon: to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of species out of matter duly prepared and predisposed; and in the middle, as it were, between their beginnings and declinations, which we know sufficiently, out of the holy history, to be done about the time of the creation; for then by the power of that divine word, producat, matter at the Creator's command did congregate itself, not by ambages or turnings, but instantly, to the production of its work into an act and constitution of species: and thus far have we the narration of Proteus, free and unrestrained, together with his flock complete; for the universality of things, with their ordinary structures and compositions of species, bears the face of matter not limited and constrained, and of the flock also of material beings. Nevertheless, if any expert minister of nature shall encounter matter by main force, vexing and urging her with intent and purpose to reduce her to nothing, she contrariwise, seeing annihilation and absolute destruction cannot be effected by the omnipotency of God, being thus caught in the straits of necessity, doth change and turn herself into divers strange forms and shapes of things, so that at length, by fetching a circuit as it were, she comes to a period, and, if the force continue, betakes herself to her former being. The reason of which constraint or binding will be more facile and expedite, if matter be laid on by manacles, that is, by extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that Proteus was a prophet, well skilled in three differences of times, it hath an excellent agreement with the nature of matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the properties and proceedings of matter, should comprehend in his understanding the sum of all things which have been, which are, or shall be, although no knowledge can extend so far as to singular and individual beings.

MEMNON, OR A YOUTH TOO FORWARD.

The poets say that Memnon was the son of Aurora, who, adorned with beautiful armour, and animated with popular applause, came to the Trojan war: where, in rash boldness, hasting into, and thirsting after glory, he enters into single combat with Achilles, the valiantest of all the Grecians, by whose powerful hand he was there slain. But Jupiter, pitying his destruction, sent birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful notes at the solemnization of his funeral obsequies. Whose statue also, the sun reflecting on it with his morning beams, did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournful sound.

This fable may be applied to the unfortunate destinies of hopeful young men, who, like the sons of Aurora, puffed up with the glittering show of vanity and ostentation, attempt actions above their strength, and provoke and press the most valiant heroes to combat with them, so that meeting with their overmatch, are vanquished and destroyed, whose untimely death is oft accompanied with much pity and commiseration. For among all the disasters that can happen to mortals, there is none so lamentable and so powerful to move

compassion as the flower of virtue cropped with too sudden a mischance. Neither hath it been often known that men in their green years become so loathsome and odious, as that at their deaths either sorrow is stinted or commiseration moderated: but that lamentation and mourning do not only flutter about their obsequies like those funeral birds, but this pitiful commiseration doth continue for a long space, and specially by occasions and new motions, and beginning of great matters, as it were by the morning rays of the sun, their passions and desires are renewed.

TITHONUS, OR SATIETY.

It is elegantly feigned that Tithonus was the paramour of Aurora who, desirous to enjoy his company, petitioned Jupiter that he might never die, but through womanish oversight, forgetting to insert this clause in her petition, that he might not withal grow old and feeble, it followed that he was only freed from the condition of mortality; but for old age that came upon him in a marvellous and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot die, yet every day grow weaker and weaker with age. Insomuch that Jupiter, in commiseration of that his misery, did at length metamorphose him into a grasshopper.

This fable seems to be an ingenious character or description of pleasure, which in the beginning, and as it were in the morning, seems to be pleasant and delightful, that men desire they might enjoy and monopolize it forever unto themselves, unmindful of that satiety and loathing, which, like old age, will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last, when the use of pleasure leaves men, the desire and affection not yet yielding unto death, it comes to pass that men please themselves only by talking and commemorating those things which brought pleasure unto them in the flower of their age, which may be observed in libidinous persons, and also in men of military professions: the one delighting in beastly talk, the other boasting of their valorous deeds, like grasshoppers, whose vigour consists only in their voice.

JUNO'S SUITOR, OR BASENESS.

The poets say, that Jupiter, to enjoy his lustful delights, took upon him the shape of sundry creatures, as of a bull, of an eagle, of a swan, and of a golden shower: but being a suitor to Juno, he came in a form most ignoble and base, an object full of contempt and scorn, resembling indeed a miserable cuckoo, weather-beaten with rain and tempest, numbed, quaking, and half dead with cold.

This fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the bowels of morality; the sense of it being this, that men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by ostentation of their own worth to insinuate themselves into estimation and favour with men. The success of such intentions being for the most part measured by the nature and disposition of those to whom men sue for grace: who, if of themselves they be endowed with no gifts and ornaments of nature, but are only of haughty and malignant spirits, intimated by the person of Juno, then are suitors to know that it is good policy to omit all kind of appearance that may any way show their own least praise or worth; and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other course. Neither is it enough to show deformity in obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very persons.

CUPID, OR AN ATOM.

That which the poets say of Cupid or Love, cannot properly be attributed to one and the selfsame person, and yet the difference is such that by rejecting the confusion of persons, the similitude may be received.

They say that Love is the ancientest of all the gods, and of all things else except chaos, which they hold to be a contemporary with it. Now, as touching chaos, that by the ancients was never dignified with divine honour, or with the title of the god. And as for Love, they absolutely bring him in without a father; only some are of opinion that he came of an egg that was laid by Nox, and that on chaos he begat the god and all things else. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual infancy, blindness, nakedness, and an archery. There was also another Love, which was the youngest of the gods, and he, they say, was the son of Venus. On this also they bestow the attributes of the elder Love, as in some sort will apply unto him.

This fable tends and looks to the cradle of nature, Love seeming to be the appetite or desire of the first matter, or, to speak more plain, the natural motion of the atom, which is that ancient and only power that forms and fashions all things out of matter, of which there is no parent, that is to say, no cause, seeing every cause is a parent to its effect. Of this power or virtue there can be no cause in nature, as for God we always except him, for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to nature, and therefore neither genus nor form. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any cause, seeing that, next unto God, it is the cause of causes, itself only without any cause. And perchance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of human search. Not without reason therefore it is feigned to come of an egg that was laid by Nox. Certainly the divine philosopher grants so much Eccl. iii. 11: "Cuncta fecit tempesta-

tibus suis pulchra, et mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus, principio ad finem." That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their seasons, also he hath set the world in their meditations, yet man cannot find the work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end. For the principal law of nature, or power of this desire, created by God, in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, from whose repetitions and multiplications all variety of creatures proceeded and were composed, may dazzle the eyes of men's understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The Greek philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material principles of things: but in the beginnings of motion, wherein consists all the efficacy of operation, they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind and stammering: for the opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the appetite of matter caused by privation, is in a manner nothing else but words, which rather sound than signify any reality. And those that refer it unto God do very well, but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees: for doubtless there is one chief law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the forecited scripture is demonstrated in these words, "Opus, quod operatus est Deus à principio usque ad finem," the work that God hath wrought from the beginning even to the end. But Democritus, which entered more deeply into the consideration of this point after he had conceived an atom with some small dimension and form, he attributed unto it one only desire, or first motion simply or absolutely, and another comparatively or in respect: for he thought that all things did properly tend to the centre of the world, whereof those bodies which were more material descend with swifter motion, and those that had less matter did on the contrary tend upward. But this meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient: for neither the turning of the celestial bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things may seem to be reduced or applied to this beginning. And as for that opinion of Epicurus concerning the casual declination and agitation of the atom, it is but a mere toy, and a plain evidence that he was ignorant of that point. It is therefore more apparent than we could wish, that this Cupid, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of night. Now as concerning his attributes: he is elegantly described with perpetual infancy or childhood, because compound bodies they seem greater and more stricken in years; whereas the first seeds of things or atoms, they are little and diminute, and always in their infancy.

He is also well feigned to be naked, because all compound bodies to a man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and clothed, and nothing properly naked but the first particles of things.

Concerning his blindness, the allegory is full of wisdom: for this love, or desire, whatsoever it be, seems to have but little providence, as directing his pace and motion by that which it perceives nearest, not unlike blind men, that go by feeling: more admirable then must that chief divine providence be, which, from things empty and destitute of providence, and as it were blind, by a constant and fatal law produceth so excellent an order and beauty of things.

The last thing which is attributed unto Love is archery, by which is meant, that his virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant object: because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the being both of atoms and vacuity, must needs infer, that the virtue of the atom reacheth to a distant object; for if it were not so, there could be no motion at all, by reason of the interposition of vacuity, but all things would stand stone still, and remain immovable.

Now as touching that other Cupid, or Love, he may well be termed the youngest of the gods, because he could have no being, before the constitution of species. And in his description the allegory may be applied and traduced to manners: nevertheless he holds some kind of conformity with the elder; for Venus doth generally stir up a desire of conjunction and procreation, and Cupid, her son, doth apply this desire to some individual nature; so that the general disposition comes from Venus, the more exact sympathy from Cupid: the one derived from causes more near, the other from beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder Cupid, of whom every exquisite sympathy doth depend.

DIOMEDES, OR ZEAL.

Diomedes flourishing with great fame and glory in the Trojan wars, and in high favour with Pallas, was by her instigated, being indeed forwarder than he should have been, not to forbear Venus a jot, if he encountered with her in fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right arm. This presumptuous fact he carried clear for a while, and being honoured and renowned for his many heroic deeds, at last returned into his own country, where finding himself hard bestead with domestic troubles, fled into Italy, betaking himself to the protection of foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate, and royally entertained by King Daunus with sumptuous gifts, raising many statues in honour of him throughout his dominions. But upon the very first calamity that happened unto this nation, whereunto he was fled for succour, King Daunus enters into a conceit with himself

that he had entertained a wicked guest into his family, and a man odious to the goddess, and an impunger of their divinity, that had dared, with his sword, to assault and wound that goddess, who, in their religion, they held it sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his country's guilt, nothing respecting the duties of hospitality, when the bonds of religion tied him with a more reverend regard, suddenly slew Diomedes, commanding withal that his trophies and statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable destiny; but even his companions in arms, whilst they mourned at the funeral of their captain, and filled all the places with plaints and lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into birds like unto swans, who when their death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful hymns.

This fable hath a most rare and singular subject: for in any of the poetical records, wherein the heroes are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides Diomedes, did ever with his sword offer violence to any of the deities. And indeed, the fable seems in him to represent the nature and fortune of man, who of himself doth propound and make this as the end of all his actions, to worship some divine power, or to follow some sect of religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with force and arms to defend the same: for although those bloody quarrels for religion were unknown to the ancients, the heathen gods not having so much as a touch of that jealousy, which is an attribute of the true God, yet the wisdom of the ancient times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by experience, was yet comprehended by meditations and fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any sect of religion, though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the person of Venus, not by the force of argument and doctrine, and holiness of life, and by the weight of examples and authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by fire and sword, and tortures, are encouraged, it may be, thereunto by Pallas, that is by the acrity of prudence, and severity of judgment, by whose vigour and efficacy, they see into the falsity and vanity of these errors. And by this their hatred of pravity, and good zeal to religion, they purchase to themselves great glory, and by the vulgar, to whom nothing moderate can be grateful, are esteemed and honoured as the only supporters of truth and religion, when others seem to be lukewarm and full of fear. Yet this glory and happiness doth seldom endure to the end, seeing every violent prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely death, grows to be unprosperous at last: for if it happen that by a change of government this banished and depressed sect get strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very names are hateful, and all their glory ends in obloquy.

In that Diomedes is said to be murdered by his host, it gives us to understand that the difference of religion breeds deceit and treachery, even among nearest acquaintance.

Now in that lamentation and mourning was not tolerated but punished; it puts us in mind, that let there be never so nefarious an act done, yet there is some place left for commiseration and pity, that even those that hate offences should yet in humanity commiserate offenders and pity their distress, it being the extremity of evil when mercy is not suffered to have commerce with misery. Yea, even in the cause as well of religion as impiety, many men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the complaints and moans of Diomedes' followers, that is, of men of the same sect and opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like swans, or the birds of Diomedes. In whom also that part of the allegory is excellent, to signify, that the last words of those that suffer death for religion, like the songs of dying swans, do wonderfully work upon the minds of men, and strike and remain a long time in their senses and memories.

DÆDALUS, OR MECHANIC.

Mechanical wisdom and industry, and in it unlawful science perverted to wrong ends, is shadowed by the ancients under the person of Dædalus, a man ingenious, but execrable. This Dædalus, for murdering his fellow servant that emulated him, being banished, was kindly entertained, during his exile, in many cities and princes' courts: for indeed he was the raiser and builder of many goodly structures, as well in honour of the gods, as the beauty and magnificence of cities, and other public places, but for his works of mischief he is most notorious. It is he that framed the engine which Pasiphaë used to satisfy her lust in company with a bull, so that by his wretched industry and pernicious device, that monster Minotaur, the destruction of so many hopeful youths, took his accursed and infamous beginning; and studying to cover and increase one mischief with another, for the security and preservation of this monster he invented and built a labyrinth. a work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for skill and workmanship, famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for works of mischief, but be sought after as well for remedies, as for instruments of destruction, he was the author of that ingenious device concerning the clue of thread, by which the labyrinth was made passable without any let. This Dædalus was persecuted by Minos with great severity, diligence, and inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and

escape his tyranny. Lastly, he taught his son Icarus to fly, but the novice, in ostentation of this art, soaring too high, fell into the sea, and was drowned.

The parable seems to be thus: in the beginning of it may be noted that kind of envy or emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent artificers, there being no kind of people more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly hatred than they.

The banishment also of Dædalus, a punishment inflicted on him against the rules of policy and providence, is worth the noting: for artificers have this prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all countries, so that exile to an excellent workman can hardly be termed a punishment, whereas other conditions, and states of life can scarce live out of their own country. The admiration of artificers is propagated and increased in foreign and strange nations, seeing it is a natural and inbred disposition of men to value their own countrymen, in respect of mechanical works, less than strangers.

Concerning the use of mechanical arts, that which follows is plain. The life of man is much beholden to them, seeing many things, conducing to the ornament of religion, to the grace of civil discipline, and to the beautifying of all human kind, extracted out of their treasuries: and yet notwithstanding, from the same magazine or storehouse are produced instruments both of lust and death; for to omit the wiles of bands, we well know how far exquisite poisons, warlike engines, and such like mischiefs, the effects of mechanical inventions, do exceed the Minotaur himself in malignity and savage cruelty.

Moreover that of the labyrinth is an excellent allegory, whereby is shadowed the nature of mechanical sciences, for all such handicraft works as are more ingenious and accurate may be compared to a labyrinth, in respect of subtilty and divers intricate passages, and in other plain resemblances, which by the eye of judgment can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the line of experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate nooks of the labyrinth, did also show the commodity of the clue: for mechanical arts are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for remedy, and they have in a manner power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful trades, and so by consequence arts themselves, are often persecuted by Minos, that is by laws, which do condemn them, and prohibit men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained everywhere, finding lurking holes and places of receipt, which was wellobserved by Tacitus of the mathematicians and figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike; "Genus hominum quod in civitate nostra semper et retinebitur et vetabitur." There is a kind of men that will always abide in our city, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good opinion that was held of them, no otherwise than Icarus fell down from the skies, they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much ostentation. And to say the truth, they are not so happily restrained by the reins of law as bewrayed by their own vanity.

ERICTHONIUS, OR IMPOSTURE.

The poets fable that Vulcan solicited Minerva for her virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed desire, offered her violence, but in struggling his seed fell upon the ground, whereof came Erichthonius, whose body from the middle upward was of a comely and apt proportion, but his thighs and legs like the tail of an eel, small and deformed. To which monstrosity, he being conscious, became the first inventor of the use of chariots, whereby that part of his body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious fiction may seem to show that art, which, for the great use it hath of fire, is shadowed by Vulcan, although it labour by much striving with corporeal substances to force nature, and to make her subject to it, she being for her industrious works rightly represented by Minerva, yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great pains, wrestling as it were with her, comes short of its purpose, and produceth certain imperfect births, and lame works, fair to the eye but weak and defective in use, which many impostors, with much subtilty and deceit, set to view, and carry about, as it were in triumph, as may for the most part be noted in chemical productions, and other mechanical subtilties and novelties, especially when, rather prosecuting their intent than reclining their errors, they rather strive to overcome nature by force; than sue for her embracements by due obsequiousness and observance.

DEUCALION, OR RESTITUTION.

The poets say that the people of the old world being destroyed by a general deluge, Deucalion and Pyrrha were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous devotion, that they might know by what means to repair mankind, had answer from an oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the bones of their mother they cast them behind their backs; which at first struck them with great amazement and despair, seeing, all things being defaced by the flood, it would be an endless work to find their mother's sepulchre, but at length they understood that by

bones, the stones of the earth, seeing the earth was the mother of all things, were signified by the oracle.

This fable seems to reveal a secret of nature, and to correct an error familiar to men's conceits; for through want of knowledge men think that things may take renovation and restoration from their putrefaction and dregs, no otherwise than the phœnix from the ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of materials, when they have fulfilled their periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: we must therefore look back to more common principles.

NEMESIS, OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Nemesis is said to be a goddess venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but potentates and Fortune's favourites. She is thought to be the daughter of Oceanus and Nox. She is portrayed with wings on her shoulders, and on her head a coronet, bearing in her right hand a javelin of ash, and in her left a pitcher, with the similitudes of Æthiopians engraven on it: and lastly, she is described sitting on a hart.

The parable may be thus unfolded. Her name Nemesis, doth plainly signify revenge or retribution, her office and administration being, like a tribune of the people, to hinder the constant and perpetual felicity of happy men, and to interpose her word, "veto," I forbid the continuance of it; that is not only to chastise insolency, but to intermix prosperity, though harmless, and in a mean, with the vicissitudes of adversity, as if it were a custom, that no mortal man should be admitted to the table of the gods but for sport. Truly when I read that chapter, wherein Caius Plinius hath collected his misfortunes and miseries of Augustus Cæsar, whom of all men I thought the most happy, who had also a kind of art to use and enjoy his fortune, and in whose mind might be noted neither pride, nor lightness, nor niceness, nor disorder, nor melancholy, as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord, I then deemed this goddess to be great and powerful, to whose altar so worthy a sacrifice as this was drawn.

The parents of this goddess were Oceanus and Nox, that is, the vicissitude of things, and divine judgment obscure and secret: for the alteration of things are aptly represented by the sea, in respect of the continual ebbing and flowing of it, and hidden providence is well set forth by the night: for even the nocturnal Nemesis, seeing human judgment differs much from divine, was seriously observed by the heathen.

Virgil, Æneid, lib. 2.

"——Cadit et Ripheus justissimus unus,
Qui fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
Diis aliter visum——"

That day, by Greekish force, was Ripheus slain,
So just and strict observer of the law,
As Troy, within her walls, did not contain
A better man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with wings, because the changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen, before foreseen; for in the records of all ages, we find it for the most part true, that great potentates and wise men have perished by those misfortunes which they most contemned; as may be observed in Marcus Cicero, who being admonished by Decius Brutus of Octavius Cæsar's hypocritical friendship and hollow-heartedness towards him, returns this answer, "Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debeo, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti." I must ever acknowledge myself, dear Brutus, beholden to thee, in love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem as a needless trifle to be doubted.

Nemesis is also adorned with a coronet, to show the envious and malignant disposition of the vulgar, for when fortune's favourites and great potentates come to ruin, then do the common people rejoice, setting, as it were, a crown upon the head of revenge.

The javelin in her right hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth thorough.

And before those whom she destroys not in their calamity and misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismal spectacle in her left hand; for questionless to men sitting as it were upon the pinnacle of prosperity, the thoughts of death, and painfulness of sickness and misfortunes, perfidiousness of friends, treachery of foes, change of estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the eye of their meditations as those Ethiopians pictured in Nemesis's pitcher. Virgil, in describing the battle of Actium, speaks thus elegantly of Cleopatra.

"Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro
Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues."

The queen amidst this hurly-burly stands,
And with her country timbrel calls her bands;
Not spying yet, where crawled behind her back,
Two deadly snakes with venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way soever she turned, troops of Ethiopians were still before her eyes.

Lastly, it is wisely added that Nemesis rides upon a hart, because a hart is a most lively creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by death in their youth prevent and shun the power of Nemesis; yet doubtless such, whose prosperity and power continue long, are made subject unto her, and lie, as it were, trodden under her feet.

ACHELOUS, OR BATTLE.

It is a fable of antiquity, that when Hercules and Achelous as rivals contended for the marriage

of Dejanira, the matter drew them to combat, wherein Achelous took upon him many divers shapes, for so was it in his power to do, and amongst others, transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wild bull, assaults Hercules and provokes him to fight. But Hercules, for all this, sticking to his old human form, courageously encounters him, and so the combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, that Hercules tore away one of the bull's horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransom his horn again was contented to give Hercules, in exchange thereof, the Amalthean horn, or cornucopia.

This fable hath relation unto the expeditions of war, for the preparations thereof on the defensive part, which, expressed in the person of Achelous, are very diverse and uncertain. But the invading party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an army by land, or perhaps of a navy by sea. But for a king that in his own territory expects an enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies towns, he assembles men out of the countries and villages, he raiseth citadels, he builds and breaks down bridges, he disposeth garrisons, and placeth troops of soldiers on passage of rivers; on ports, on mountains, and ambushes in woods, and is busied with a multitude of other directions, insomuch that every day he prescribeth new forms and orders; and then at last having accommodated all things complete for defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting bull. On the other side, the invader's greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for victuals in an enemy's country; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on battle: for if it should happen, that after a field fight, he prove the victor, and as it were break the horn of the enemy, then certainly this follows, that his enemy being stricken with terror, and abased in his reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some stronghold, abandoning to the conqueror the spoil and sack of his country and cities; which may well be termed a type of the Amalthean horn.

DIONYSUS, OR PASSIONS.

They say that Semele, Jupiter's sweetheart, having bound her paramour by an irrevocable oath to grant her one request which she would require, desired that he would accompany her in the same form wherein he accompanied Juno: which he granting, as not able to deny, it came to pass that the miserable wench was burnt with lightning. But the infant which she bare in her womb, Jupiter the father took out, and kept it in a gash which he cut in his thigh till the months were complete that it should be born. This burden made Jupiter somewhat to limp, whereupon the child, because it was heavy and troublesome to its father while it lay in his thigh, was called Dionysus. Being born, was committed to Proserpina for some years to be nursed, and being grown up, it had such a maiden-face as that a man could hardly judge whether it were a boy or girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterwards revived: being but a youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of vines, the making also and use of wine; for which, becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the world even to the uttermost bounds of India. He rode in a chariot drawn by tigers. There danced about him certain deformed hobgoblins called Cobali, Acratus, and others, yea, even the muses also were some of his followers. He took to wife Ariadne, forsaken and left by Theseus. The tree sacred unto him was the ivy. He was held the inventor and institutor of sacrifices and ceremonies, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had power to strike men with fury or madness; for it is reported, that at the celebration of his orgies, two famous worthies, Pentheus and Orpheus, were torn in pieces by certain frantic women, the one because he got upon a tree to behold their ceremonies in these sacrifices, the other for making melody with his harp; and for his gods, they are in a manner the same with Jupiter's.

There is such excellent morality couched in this fable, as that moral philosophy affords not better; for under the person of Bacchus is described the nature of affection, passion, or perturbation, the mother of which, though never so hurtful, is nothing else but the object of apparent good in the eyes of appetite: and it is always conceived in an unlawful desire, rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth: nevertheless, whilst yet it is an imperfect embryo, it is nourished and preserved in the human soul, which is as it were a father unto it, and represented by Jupiter; but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindered and lamed thereby: and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with Proserpina, as with a nurse; that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, caves under ground, until the reins of shame and fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness, it either takes the pretext of some virtue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement passion is of a doubtful sex, as being masculine in the first motion, but feminine in prosecution.

It is an excellent fiction that of Bacchus's reviving; for passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were, utterly extinct; but

we should not think them to be so indeed; no, though they lay as it were in their grave: for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings nourishment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to men, wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common nurse to them all.

Again, his conquering of nations and undertaking infinite expeditions is an elegant device; for desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His chariot also is well said to be drawn by tigers; for as soon as any affection shall, from going afoot, be advanced to ride in a chariot, and shall captivate reason, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his chariot; for every passion doth cause, in the eyes, face, and gesture, certain indecent and ill-seeming, apish and deformed motions; so that they who in any kind of passion, as in anger, arrogancy, or love seem glorious and brave in their own eyes, do yet appear to others misshapen and ridiculous.

In that the muses are said to be of his company, it shows that there is no affection almost, which is not soothed by some art wherein the indulgence of wits doth derogate from the glory of the muses, who, when they ought to be the mistresses of life, are made the waiting-maids of affections.

Again, when Bacchus is said to have loved Ariadne that was rejected by Theseus; it is an allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that passions always covet and desire that which experience forsakes; and they all know, who have paid dear for serving and obeying their lusts, that whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers men in all ages, after experience had, utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a mystery, that the ivy was sacred to Bacchus; for the application holds first, in that the ivy remains green in winter; secondly, in that it sticks to, embraceth, and overtoppeth so many divers bodies, as trees, walls, and edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistance and reluctation, and as it were by an antiperistasis, like the ivy of the cold winter, grow fresh and lusty: and as for the other, every predominate affection doth again, like the ivy, embrace and limit all human actions and determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them. Neither is it a wonder that superstitious rites and ceremonies were attributed unto Bacchus, seeing every giddy-headed humour keeps in a manner revel-rout in false religions; or that the cause of madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by nature a short fury, which, if it grow vehement and become habitual, concludes madness.

Concerning the rending and dismembering of Pentheus and Orpheus, the parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry and wholesome and free admonition.

Lastly, that confusion of Jupiter and Bacchus's persons may be well transferred to a parable, seeing noble and famous acts, and remarkable and glorious merits do sometimes proceed from virtue and well ordered reason and magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret affection and hidden passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of fame and glory, that a man can hardly distinguish between the acts of Bacchus and the gests of Jupiter.

ATALANTA; OR GAIN.

Atalanta, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge Hippomenes at a match in running. The conditions of the prize were these: that if Hippomenes won the race, he should espouse Atalanta; if he were outrun, that then he should forfeit his life. And in the opinion of all, the victory was thought assured of Atalanta's side, being famous as she was for her matchless and inconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. Hippomenes therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a trick, and in that regard provides three golden apples or balls, which he purposely carried about him. The race is begun, and Atalanta gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his golden balls before her, and yet not outright, but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger and also to draw her out of the right course: she out of a womanish desire, being thus enticed with the beauty of the golden apple, leaving her direct race, runs aside and stoops to catch the ball. Hippomenes the while holds on his course, getting thereby a great start, and leaves her behind him: but she, by her own natural swiftness, recovers her lost time and gets before him again. But Hippomenes still continues his sleight, and both the second and third times casts out his balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft, and not by his activity, wins the race and victory.

This fable seems allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict betwen art and nature; for art, signified by Atalanta, in its work if it be not letted and hindered, is far more swift than nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect; as you may see in fruit trees, whereof those that grow of a kernel are long ere they bear, but such

as are grafted on a stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in clay, which in the generation of stones, is long ere it become hard, but in the burning of bricks is very quickly effected. Also in moral passages you may observe that it is a long time ere, by the benefit of nature, sorrow can be assuaged, and comfort attained; whereas philosophy, which is, as it were, art of living, tarries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly and out of hand; and yet this prerogative and singular agility of art is hindered by certain golden apples, to the infinite prejudice of human proceedings: for there is not any one art or science which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course, till it come to the proposed end or mark, but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings, leaves the race, and turns aside to profit and commodity, like Atalanta.

"Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."

Who doth her course forsake,
The rolling gold doth take.

And therefore [illegible] wonder that art hath not the power to conq[illegible]e; and by pact or law of conquest to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary, it falls out that art becomes subject to nature, and yields the obedience as of a wife to her husband.

PROMETHEUS, OR THE STATE OF MAN.

The ancients deliver that Prometheus made a man of clay, mixed with certain parcels taken from divers animals, who, studying to maintain this his work by art, that he might not be accounted a founder only but a propagator of human kind, stole up to heaven with a bundle of twigs, which he kindled at the chariot of the sun, came down again, and communicated it with men; and yet they say that notwithstanding this excellent work of his, he was requited with ingratitude in a treacherous conspiracy; for they accused both him and his invention to Jupiter, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the information was pleasing to Jupiter and all the gods: and therefore in a merry mood granted unto men, not only the use of fire but perpetual youth also, a boon most acceptable and desirable. They, being as it were overjoyed, did foolishly lay this gift of the gods upon the back of an ass, who, being wonderfully oppressed with thirst and near a fountain, was told by a serpent which had the custody thereof, that he should not drink unless he would promise to give him the burden that was on his back. The silly ass accepted the condition, and so the restoration of youth, sold for a draught of water, passed from men to serpents. But Prometheus, full of malice, being reconciled unto men, after they were frustrated of their gift, but in a chafe yet with Jupiter, feared not to use deceit in sacrifice; for having killed two bulls, and in one of their hides wrapt up the flesh and fat of them both, and in the other only the bones, with a great show of religious devotion gave Jupiter his choice, who, detesting his fraud and hypocrisy, but taking an occasion of revenge, chose that which was stopped with bones, and so turning to revenge, when he saw that the insolency of Prometheus would not be repressed but by laying some grievous affliction upon mankind, in the forming of which he so much bragged and boasted, commanded Vulcan to frame a goodly beautiful woman, which being done, every one of the gods bestowed a gift on her; whereupon she was called Pandora. To this woman they gave in her hand a goodly box full of all miseries and calamities, only in the bottom of it they put Hope; with this box she comes first to Prometheus, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it; which he, nevertheless, with good providence and foresight refused: whereupon she goes to Epimetheus, who, though brother to Prometheus, yet was of a much differing disposition, and offers this box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of miseries came fluttering about his ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapped on the cover, and so with much ado retained Hope sitting alone in the bottom; at last Jupiter laying many and grievous crimes to Prometheus's charge, as that he had stolen fire from heaven, that in contempt of his majesty he sacrificed a bull's hide stuffed with bones, that he scornfully rejected his gift, and besides all this, that he offered violence to Pallas, cast him into chains, and doomed him to perpetual torment; and by Jupiter's command was brought to the mountain Caucasus, and there bound fast to a pillar that he could not stir; there came an eagle also, that every day sat tiring upon his liver and wasted it; but as much as was eaten in the day grew again in the night, that matter for torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they say there was an end of this punishment; for Hercules crossing the ocean in a cup, which the sun gave him, came to Caucasus, and set Prometheus at liberty by shooting the eagle with an arrow. Moreover, in some nations there were instituted in the honour of Prometheus, certain games of lamp-bearers, in which they that strived for the prize were wont to carry torches lighted, which whoso suffered to go out, yielded the place and victory to those that followed, and so cast back themselves, so that whosoever came first to the mark with his torch burning got the prize.

This fable demonstrates and presseth many true and grave speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touched.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signify Providence: for in the universality of nature, the

fabric and constitution of man only was by the ancients picked out and chosen, and attributed unto Providence as a peculiar work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the nature of man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the seat of providence, and therefore it would seem strange and incredible, that the reason and mind should so proceed and flow from dumb and deaf principals as that it should necessarily be concluded, the soul of man to be endued with providence, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were the centre of the world in respect of final causes; so that if man were not in nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered branches, as they say, without inclination to their end; for all things attend on man; and he makes use of, and gathers fruit from all creatures; for the revolutions and periods of stars make both for the distinctions of times and the distribution of the world's light. Meteors also are referred to presages of tempests; and winds are ordained as well for navigation as for turning of mills and other engines; and plants, and animals of what kind soever, are useful either for men's houses and places of shelter, or for raiment, or for food, or medicine, or for ease of labour, or in a word for delight and solace; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves but for man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain particles were taken from divers living creatures, and mixed and tempered with that clayic mass, because it is most true, that of all things comprehended within the compass of the universe, man is a thing most mixed and compounded, insomuch, that he was well termed by the ancients a little world; for although the chymists do, with too much curiosity, take and wrest the elegancy of this word Microcosm to the letter, contending to find in man all minerals, all vegetables, and the rest, or any thing that holds proportion with them; yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the body of man, of all material beings, is found to be most compounded and most organical, whereby it is endued and furnished with most admirable virtues and faculties: and as for simple bodies, their powers are not many, though certain and violent, as existing without being weakened, diminished, or stinted, by mixture; for the multiplicity and excellency of operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet, nevertheless, man in his originals seems to be a thing unarmed and naked, and unable to help itself, as needing the aid of many things; therefore Prometheus made haste to find out fire, which suppeditates and yields comfort and help in a manner to all human wants and necessities; so that if the soul be the form of forms, and if the hand be the instrument of instruments, fire deserves well to be called the succour of succours, or the help of helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all labours and mechanical arts, and to the sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described even from the nature of things: it was, they say, by a bundle of twigs held to touch the chariot of the sun; for twigs are used in giving blows or stripes, to signify clearly that fire is engendered by the violent percussion and mutual collision of bodies, by which their material substances are attenuated and set in motion, and prepared to receive the heat of influence of the heavenly bodies; and so in a clandestine manner, and as it were by stealth, may be said to take and snatch fire from the chariot of the sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the parable, that men, instead of gratulation and thanksgiving, were angry, and expostulated the matter with Prometheus, insomuch that they accused both him and his invention unto Jupiter, which was so acceptable unto him, that he augmented their former commodities with a new bounty. Seems it not strange that ingratitude towards the author of a benefit, a vice that in [illegible]ner contains all other vices, should find such approbation and reward? No, it seems to be otherwise; for the meaning of the allegory is this, that men's outcries upon the defects of nature and art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the mind, and turn to their good; whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the gods, and redounds not so much to their profit; for they that infinitely extol human nature, or the knowledge they possess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all show little reverence to the divine nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own defects with God's perfection. Again; they are wonderful injurious to men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, resting themselves contented, seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring nature and art to the bar with accusations and bills of complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate judgments; for they are ever in action, seeking always to find out new inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate dispositions of some men, who, making themselves bondslaves to the arrogancy of a few, have the philosophy of the Peripatetics, containing only a portion of Grecian wisdom, and that but a small one neither, in so great esteem, that they hold it not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of imperfection upon it. I approve rather of Empedocles's opinion, who, like a madman, and of Democritus's judgment, who with great moderation, complained how that all things were involved in a mist, that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that truth was drowned in the

depths of obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermixed with true, as for the new academy, that exceeded all measure, than of the confident and pronunciative school of Aristotle. Let men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the imperfection of nature and art, they are grateful to the gods, and shall thereby obtain new benefits and greater favours at their bountiful hands; and the accusation of Prometheus, their author and master, though bitter and vehement, will conduce more to their profit, than to be effuse in the congratulation of his invention; for, in a word, the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest causes of having too little.

Now, as touching the kind of gift which men are said to have received in reward of their accusation, to wit, an ever-fading flower of youth, it is to show, that the ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the skill, by means and medicines, to put off old age, and to prolong life, but this to be numbered rather among such things, having been once happily attained unto, are now, through men's negligence and carelessness, utterly perished and [redacted]han among such as have been always denied and never granted; for they signify and show, that by affording the true use of fire, and by a good and stern accusation and conviction of the errors of art, the divine bounty is not wanting unto men in the obtaining of such gifts; but men are wanting to themselves in laying this gift of the gods upon the back of a silly slow-paced ass, which may seem to be experience, a stupid thing, and full of delay; from whose leisurely and snail-like pace proceeds that complaint of life's brevity, and art's length; and to say the truth, I am of this opinion, that those two faculties, dogmatical and empirical, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new gifts of the gods imposed either upon philosophical abstractions, as upon a flying bird, or upon slow and dull experience, as upon an ass. And yet methinks I would not entertain an ill conceit of this ass, if it meet not for the accidents of travel and thirst: for I am persuaded, that whoso constantly goes on, by the conduct of experience, as by a certain rule and method, and not covets to meet with such experiments by the way, as conduce either to gain or ostentation, to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down and sell this burden, may prove no unfit porter to bear this new addition of divine munificence.

Now, in that this gift is said to pass from men to serpents, it may seem to be added to the fable for ornament sake, in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame men, that having the use of that celestial fire and of so many arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as nature itself bestows upon many other creatures.

But that sudden reconciliation of men to Prometheus, after they were frustrated of their hopes, contains a profitable and wise note, showing the levity and temerity of men in new experiments: for if they have not present success answerable to their expectation, with too sudden haste desist from that they began, and with precipitancy returning to their former experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The state of man, in respect of arts, and such things as concern the intellect, being now described, the parable passeth to religion: for, after the planting of arts, follows the setting of divine principles, which hypocrisy hath overspread and polluted. By that twofold sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed out the persons of a true religious man and a hypocrite. In the one is contained fatness, which by reason of the inflammation and fumes thereof, is called the portion of God, by which his affection and zeal, tending to God's glory, and ascending, towards heaven, is signified. In him also are contained the bowels of charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome flesh; whereas in the other there is nothing but dry and naked bones, which nevertheless do stuff up the hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly sacrifice: by this may be well meant those external and vain rites, and empty ceremonies, by which men do oppress and fill up the sincere worship of God; things composed rather for ostentation than any way conducing to true piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock-sacrifices unto God; except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the prophet, in the person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this choice: Esa. lviii. 5, "Num tandem hoc est illud jejunium, quod ELEGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, et caput instar junceti demittat?" Is it such a fast that I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and to bow down his head like a bulrush?

Having now touched the state of religion, the parable converts itself to the manners and conditions of human life: and it is a common but apt interpretation by Pandora, to be meant pleasure and voluptuousness, which, when the civil life is pampered with too much art, and culture, and superfluity, is engendered, as it were, by the efficacy of fire, and therefore the work of voluptuousness is attributed unto Vulcan, who also himself doth represent fire. From this do infinite miseries, together with too late repentance, proceed and overflow the minds, and bodies, and fortunes of men; and that not only in respect of particular estates, but even over kingdoms and commonwealths: for from this fountain have wars, tumults, and tyrannies derived their original.

But it would be worth the labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this fable doth delineate two conditions, or, as I may say, two tables or examples of human life, under the person of Prometheus or Epimetheus: for they that are of Epimetheus's sect are improvident, not fore-

seeing what may come to pass hereafter, esteeming that best which seems most sweet for the present; whence it happens that they are overtaken with many miseries, difficulties, and calamities, and so lead their lives almost in perpetual affliction; but yet, notwithstanding, they please their fancy, and out of ignorance of the passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their mind, whereby they sometimes, as with sweet dreams, solace themselves, and sweeten the miseries of their life. But they that are Prometheus's scholars, are men endued with prudence, foreseeing things to come, warily shunning and avoiding many evils and misfortunes. But to these their good properties they have this also annexed, that they deprive themselves and defraud their genius of many lawful pleasures, and divers recreations; and, which is worse, they vex and torment themselves with cares and troubles, and intestine fears; for being chained to the pillar of necessity, they are afflicted with innumerable cogitations, which, because they are very swift, may be fitly compared to an eagle; and those griping, and, as it were gnawing and devouring the liver, unless sometimes as it were by night, it may be they get a little recreation and ease of mind, but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh anxieties and fears.

Therefore this benefit happens to but a very few of either condition, that they should retain the commodities of providence, and free themselves from the miseries of care and perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it but by the assistance of Hercules, that is, fortitude and constancy of mind, which is prepared for every event, and armed in all fortunes; foreseeing without fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this virtue was not natural to Prometheus, but adventitial, and from the indulgence of another, for no inbred and natural fortitude is able to encounter with these miseries. Moreover this virtue was received and brought unto him from the remotest part of the ocean, and from the sun, that is, from wisdom as from the sun; and from the meditation of inconstancy, or of the waters of human life, as from the sailing upon the ocean; which two, Virgil hath well conjoined in these verses:

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:
> Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."
>
> Happy is he that knows the cause of things,
> And that with dauntless courage treads upon
> All fear and fates, relentless threatenings,
> And greedy throat of roaring Acheron.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the consolation and confirmation of men's minds, that this noble hero crossed the ocean in a cup or pan, lest, peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their nature will not be capable of this fortitude and constancy. Of which very thing Seneca well conceived, when he said, "Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, et securitatem Dei." It is a great matter for human frailty and divine security to be one and the selfsame time, in one and the selfsame subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by premeditation we past over, lest a breach should be made in those things which were so linked together: that therefore which I could touch here is that last crime imputed to Prometheus, about seeking to bereave Minerva of her virginity: for, questionless, it was this heinous offence that brought that punishment of devouring his liver upon him; which is nothing else but to show, that when we are puffed up with too much learning and science, they go about oftentimes to make even divine oracles subject to sense and reason, whence most certainly follows a continual distraction, and restless griping of the mind; we must therefore, with a sober and humble judgment, distinguish between humanity and divinity, and between the [illegible] of sense and the mysteries of faith, unless a [illegible]tical religion and a commentitious philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, it remains that we say something of the games of Prometheus, performed with burning torches, which again hath reference to arts and sciences, as that fire, in whose memory and celebration these games were instituted; and it contains in it a most wise admonition, that the perfection of sciences is to be expected from succession, not from the nimbleness and promptness of one only author: for they that are nimblest in course, and strongest in contention, yet happily have not the luck to keep fire still in their torch, seeing it may be as well extinguished by running too fast as by going too slow. And this running and contending with lamps seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first authors, Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, and Ptolemy; succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great matter; it were therefore to be wished that these games, in honour of Prometheus, or human nature, were again restored; and that matters should receive success by combat and emulation, and not hang upon any one man's sparkling and shaking torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to rouse up their spirits, and try their strengths and turns, and not refer all to the opinions and brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known and common fable; and yet I will not deny but that there may be some things in it which have an admirable consent with the mysteries of Christian religion; and especially that sailing of Hercules in a cup to set Prometheus at liberty, seems to represent an image of the divine word, coming in flesh, as in a frail vessel, to redeem man from the

slavery of hell. But I have interdicted my pen all liberty in this kind lest I should use strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

SCYLLA AND ICARUS, OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

Mediocrity, or the middle-way, is most commended in moral actions; in contemplative sciences not so celebrated, though no less profitable and commodious; but in political employments to be used with great heed and judgment. The ancients by the way prescribed to Icarus, noted the mediocrity of manners; and by the way between Scylla and Charybdis, so famous for difficulty and danger, the mediocrity of intellectual operations.

Icarus being to cross the sea by flight, was commanded by his father that he should fly neither too high nor too low, for his wings being joined with wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be feared lest the wax would melt by the heat of the sun, and if too low, lest misty vapours of the sea would make it less tenacious: but he in a youthful jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong and perished in the water.

The parable is easy and vulgar: for the way of virtue lies in a direct path between excess and defect. Neither is it a wonder that Icarus perished by excess, seeing that excess for the most part is the peculiar fault of youth, as defect is of age; and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, youth commonly make choice of the better, defect being always accounted worst: for whereas excess contains some sparks of magnanimity, and, like a bird, claims kindred of the heavens, defect only like a base worm crawls upon the earth. Excellently therefore said Heraclitus, "Lumen siccum, optima anima;" a dry light is the best soul; for if the soul contract moisture from the earth it becomes degenerate altogether. Again, on the other side, there must be moderation used, that this light be subtilized by this laudable siccity, and not destroyed by too much fervency: and thus much every man for the most part knows.

Now they that would sail between Scylla and Charybdis must be furnished as well with the skill as prosperous success in navigation: for if their ships fall into Scylla they are split on the rocks; if into Charybdis they are swallowed up of a gulf.

The moral of this parable, which we will but briefly touch, although it contain matter of infinite contemplation, seems to be this, that in every art and science, and so in their rules and axioms, there be a mean observed between the rocks of distinctions and the gulfs of universalities, which two are famous for the wrecks both of wits and arts.

SPHYNX, OR SCIENCE.

They say that Sphynx was a monster of divers forms, as having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a griffin. His abode was in a mountain near the city of Thebes; he kept also the highways, and used to lie in ambush for travellers, and so to surprise them: to whom, being in his power, he propounded certain dark and intricate riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muses. Now if these miserable captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them, in the midst of their difficulties and doubts, she would rend and tear them in pieces. The country groaning a long time under this calamity, the Thebans at last propounded the kingdom as a reward unto him that could interpret the riddles of Sphynx, there being no other way to destroy her. Whereupon Œdipus, a man of piercing and deep judgment, but maimed and lame by reason of holes bored in his feet, moved with the hope of so great a reward, accepted the condition, and determined to put it to the hazard, and so with an undaunted and bold spirit, presented himself before the monster, who asked him what creature that was, which after his birth went first upon four feet, next upon two, then upon three, and lastly upon four feet again; answered forthwith that it was man, which in his infancy, immediately after birth, crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after stands upright upon two feet, then growing old he leans upon a staff, wherewith he supports himself; so that he may seem to have three feet, and at last, in decrepid years, his strength failing him, he falls grovelling again upon four, and lies bedrid. Having therefore by this true answer gotten the victory, he instantly slew this Sphynx, and, laying her body upon an ass, leads it as it were in triumph; and so, according to the condition, was created king of the Thebans.

This fable contains in it no less wisdom than elegancy, and it seems to point at science, especially that which is joined with practice, for science may not absurdly be termed a monster, as being by the ignorant and rude multitude always held in admiration. It is diverse in shape and figure, by reason of the infinite variety of subjects, wherein it is conversant. A maiden face and voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of tongue. Wings are added, because sciences and their inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the communication of science is as the kindling of one light at another. Elegantly also it is feigned to have sharp and hooked talons, because the axioms and arguments of science do so fasten upon the mind, and so strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it

stir not or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, Eccl. xii. 11: "Verba sapientum," saith he, "sunt tanquam aculei et veluti clavi in altum defixi." The words of the wise are like goads, and like nails driven far in.

Moreover, all science seems to be placed in steep and high mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon ignorance with a scornful eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of mountains.

Furthermore, science may well be feigned to beset the highways, because which way soever we turn in this progress and pilgrimage of human life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for contemplation.

Sphynx is said to have received from the muses divers difficult questions and riddles, and to propound them unto men, which remaining with the muses, are free, it may be from savage cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of study and meditation, than to know, the understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys freedom and liberty, and even in doubts and variety finds a kind of pleasure and delectation; but when once these enigmas are delivered by the muses to Sphynx, that is, to practice, so that it be solicited and urged by action, and election, and determination, then they begin to be troublesome and raging; and unless they be resolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the minds of men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold condition propounded with Sphynx's enigmas: to him that doth not expound them, distraction of mind; and to him that doth, a kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every artificer also commands over his work.

Of Sphynx's riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the nature of things, others touching the nature of man. So also there are two kinds of empires, as rewards to those that resolve them. The one over nature, the other over men; for the proper and chief end of true natural philosophy is to command and sway over natural beings; as bodies, medicines, mechanical works, and infinite other things; although the school, being content with such things as are offered, and priding itself with speeches, doth neglect realities and works, treading them as it were under foot. But that enigma propounded to Œdipus, by means of which he obtained the Theban empire, belonged to the nature of man: for whosoever doth thoroughly consider the nature of man, may be in a manner the contriver of his own fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the Roman arts:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento
Hæ tibi erunt artes——"

Roman remember, that with sceptre's awe
Thy realms thou rul'st. These arts let be thy rule.

It was, therefore, very apposite, that Augustus Cæsar, whether by premeditation, or by a chance, bare a sphynx in his signet; for he, if ever any, was famous not only in political government, but in all the course of his life; he happily discovered many new enigmas concerning the nature of man, which if he had not done with dexterity and promptness, he had oftentimes fallen into imminent danger and destruction.

Moreover, it is added in the fable, that the body of Sphynx, when she was overcome, was laid upon an ass; which indeed is an elegant fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but, being well understood and divulged, may be apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that Sphynx was overcome by a man lame in his feet; for when men are too swift of foot, and too speedy of pace in hasting to Sphynx's enigmas, it comes to pass, that, she getting the upper hand, their wits and minds are rather distracted by disputations, than that ever they come to command by works and effects.

PROSERPINA, OR SPIRIT.

Pluto, they say, being made king of the infernal dominions, by that memorable division, was in despair of ever attaining any one of the superior goddesses in marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with words, or with any amorous behaviour; so that of necessity he was to lay some plot to get one of them by rapine: taking, therefore, the benefit of opportunity, he caught up Proserpina, the daughter of Ceres, a beautiful virgin, as she was gathering Narcissus flowers in the meadows of Sicily, and carried her away with him in his coach to the subterranean dominions, where she was welcomed with such respect, as that she was styled the Lady of Dis. But Ceres, her mother, when in no place she should find this her only beloved daughter, in a sorrowful humour and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole earth with a burning torch in her hand, to seek and recover this her lost child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure that she was carried to hell, she importuned Jupiter with many tears and lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again: and at length prevailed thus far, that if she had tasted of nothing in hell, she should have leave to bring her from thence. Which condition was as good as a denial to her petition, Proserpina having already eaten three grains of a pomegranate. And yet for all this, Ceres gave not over her suit, but fell to prayers and moans

afresh; wherefore it was at last granted that, the year being divided, Proserpina should, by alternate courses, remain one six months with her husband, and other six months with her mother. Not long after this, Theseus and Perithous, in an overhardy adventure, attempted to fetch her from Pluto's bed, who, being weary with travel and sitting down upon a stone in hell to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again, but sat there forever. Proserpina therefore remained queen of hell, in whose honour there was this great privilege granted; that, although it were enacted that none that went down to hell should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this law, that if any presented Proserpina with a golden bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his pleasure. Now there was but one only such a bough in a spacious and shady grove, which was not a plant neither of itself, but budded from a tree of another kind, like a rope of gum, which being plucked off, another would instantly spring out.

This fable seems to pertain to nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of subalternal creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By Proserpina, the ancients meant that ethereal spirit, which being separated from the upper globe, is shut up and detained under the earth, represented by Pluto, which the poet well expresseth thus:

> "Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
> Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli."
>
> Whether the youngling Tellus (that of late
> Was from the high-rear'd æther separate)
> Did yet contain her teeming womb within
> The living seeds of heaven, her nearest kin.

This spirit is feigned to be rapted by the earth, because nothing can withhold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and stayed by a sudden contraction, no otherwise than if a man should go about to mix air with water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid agitation, as may be seen in froth, wherein the air is rapted by the water.

Neither is it inelegantly added that Proserpina was rapt as she was gathering Narcissus flowers in the valleys, because Narcissus hath his name from slowness or stupidity: for, indeed, then is this spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatched by terrestrial matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were slow.

Rightly is Proserpina honoured more than any of the other god's bed-fellows, in being styled the Lady of Dis, because this spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower regions, Pluto abiding stupid and ignorant.

This spirit, the power celestial, shadowed by Ceres, strives with infinite sedulity, to recover and get again: for that brand or burning torch of æther which Ceres carried in her hand, doth doubtless signify the sun, which enlighteneth the whole circuit of the earth, and would be of the greatest moment to recover Proserpina, if possibly it might be.

But Proserpina abides still, the reason of which is accurately and excellently propounded in the condition between Jupiter and Ceres: for first it is most certain there are two ways to keep spirit in solid and terrestrial matter: the one by constipation and obstruction, which is mere imprisonment and constraint; the other by administration or proportionable nutriment, which it receives willingly and of its own accord; for after that the included spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it makes no haste to be gone, but is, as it were, linked to its earth: and this is pointed at by Proserpina her eating of pomegranate; which, if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by Ceres with her torch, compassing the earth. Now, as concerning that spirit which is in metals and minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by solidity of mass: but that which is in plants and animals inhabits a porous body, and hath open passage to be gone in a manner as it lists, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the relish it finds in its entertainment. The second condition concerning the six months' custom, it is no other than an elegant description of the division of the year, seeing this spirit mixed with the earth appears above ground in vegetable bodies during the summer months, and in the winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning Theseus and Perithous, and their attempt to bring Proserpina quite away; the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass that some more subtle spirits descending with divers bodies to the earth, never come to suck of any subalteran spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But, on the contrary, are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that Proserpina should be by that means augmented with inhabitants and dominion.

All that we can say concerning that sprig of gold is hardly able to defend us from the violence of the chymists, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their elixir to effect golden mountains, and the restoring of natural bodies, as it were from the portal of hell. But, concerning chymistry, and those perpetual suitors for that philosophical elixir, we know certainly that their theory is without grounds, and we suspect that their practice also is without certain reward. And therefore, omiting these, of this last part of the parable, this is my opinion, I am induced to believe by many figures of the ancients, that the conservation and restoration of natural bodies, in some sort, was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing abstruse and full of difficulties, and so they seem

to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only sprig was found among infinite other trees in a huge and thick wood, which they feigned to be of gold, because gold is the badge of perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this effect is to be rather hoped for from art, than from any medicine, or simple or natural means.

METIS, OR COUNSEL.

The ancient poets report that Jupiter took Metis to wife, whose name doth plainly signify counsel, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withal, by which means Jupiter himself became with child, and was delivered of a wondrous birth; for out of his head or brain came forth Pallas armed.

The sense of this fable, which at first apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd, contains in it a secret of state, to wit, with what policy kings are wont to carry themselves towards their counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their authority and majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the people: for kings being as it were tied and coupled in a nuptial bond to their counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the affairs of greatest importance, do yet detract nothing from their own majesty. But when any matter comes to be censured or decreed, which is a birth, there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their counsellors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatched by their wisdom and judgment. So as at last kings, except it be in such matters as are distasteful and maligned, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves, do assume the honour and praise of all matters that are ruminated in council, and as it were, formed in the womb, whereby the resolution and execution, which, because it proceeds from power and implies necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the figure of Pallas armed, shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the authority of the king, by his mere will and free applause, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own head or brain, intimating, that out of his own judgment, wisdom, and ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

THE SIRENS, OR PLEASURES.

The fable of the Sirens seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious allurements of pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And, therefore, to me it appears, that the wisdom of the ancients have, with a farther reach or insight, strained deeper matter out of them, not unlike the grapes ill pressed; from which, though some liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These Sirens are said to be the daughters of Achelous and Terpsichore one of the muses, who in their first being were winged, but after rashly entering into contention with the muses, were by them vanquished and deprived of their wings: of whose plucked out feathers the muses made themselves coronets, so as ever since that time all the muses have attired themselves with plumed heads, except Terpsichore only, that was mother to the Sirens. The habitation of the Sirens was in certain pleasant islands, from whence as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any ships approaching, with their sweet tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their power would destroy them. Neither was their song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious tunes, so fitting and delighting the ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all passengers: and so great were the mischiefs they did, that these isles of the Sirens, even as far off as man can ken them, appeared all over white with the bones of unburied carcasses. For the remedying of this misery a double means was at last found out, the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses, to make experiment of his device, caused all the ears of his company to be stopped with wax, and made himself to be bound to the mainmast, with special commandment to his mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But Orpheus neglected and disdained to be so bound, with a shrill and sweet voice singing praises of the gods to his harp, suppressed the songs of the Sirens, and so freed himself from their danger.

This fable hath relation to men's manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent parable: for pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the delights and jovial contentments of the mind: the which are went suddenly, as it were with winged enticements to ravish and rap mortal men. But learning and education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles man's mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of things, as that it clips the wings of pleasure. And this was greatly to the honour and renown of the muses; for after that, by some example, it was made manifest that by the power of philosophy vain pleasures might grow contemptible; it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise and elevate the mind aloft, that seemed to be base and fixed to the earth, make the cogitations of the men, which do ever reside in the head, to be æthereal, and as it were winged. But that the mother of the Sirens was left to her feet, and without wings, that no doubt is no otherwise meant than of light and superficial learning, appropriated and defined only to pleasures, as

were those which Petronius devoted himself unto after he had received his fatal sentence; and, having his foot as it were upon the threshold of death, sought to give himself all delightful contentments; insomuch, as when he had caused consolatory letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, as Tacitus reports, that should give him courage and constancy, but only read fantastical verses such as these are.

"Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque senum severiorum,
Omnes unius æstimemus assis."

My Lesbia, let us live and love:
Though wayward dotards us reprove,
Weigh their words light for our behove.

And this also:

"Jura senes norint, et quid sit fasque nefasque,
Inquirant tristes, legumque examina servent.

Let doting grandsires know the law,
And right and wrong observe with awe:
Let them in that strict circle draw.

This kind of doctrine would easily persuade to take these plumed coronets from the muses, and to restore the wings again to the Sirens. These Sirens are said to dwell in remote isles, for that pleasures love privacy and retired places, shunning always too much company of people. The Sirens' songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the deceits and danger of them, as that they need no exposition. But that of the bones appearing like white cliffs, and decried afar off, hath more acuteness in it: for thereby is signified, that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasures.

As for the remainder of this parable, though it be not over-mystical, yet it is very grave and excellent: for in it are set out three remedies for this violent enticing mischief; to wit, two from philosophy, and one from religion. The first means to shun these inordinate pleasures is, to withstand and resist them in their beginnings, and seriously to shun all occasions that are offered to debauch and entice the mind, which is signified in that stopping of the ears; and that remedy is properly used by the meaner and baser sort of people, as it were Ulysses's followers or mariners, whereas more heroic and noble spirits may boldly converse even in the midst of these seducing pleasures, if with a resolved constancy they stand upon their guard and fortify their minds, and so take greater contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved virtue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the follies and vanities of those pleasures by contemplation than by submission. Which Solomon avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those solaces and pleasures wherein he swam, doth conclude with this sentence:

"Sapientia quoque perseverabat mecum."
Wisdom also continued with me.

Therefore these heroes and spirits of this excellent temper, even in the midst of these enticing pleasures, can show themselves constant and invincible, and are able to support their own virtuous inclination against all heady and forcible persuasions whatsoever; as by the example of Ulysses, that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent counsels and flatteries of his companions, as the most dangerous and pernicious poisons to captivate the mind. But of all other remedies in this case that of Orpheus is most predominant; for they that chaunt and resound the praises of the gods confound and dissipate the voices and incantation of the Sirens; for divine meditations do not only in power subdue all sensual pleasures, but also far exceed them in sweetness and delight.

CIVIL HISTORY.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VII.

To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c.

It may please your highness,

In part of my acknowledgment to your highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last King of England that was ancestor to the king your father and yourself: and was that king to whom both unions may in a sort refer, that of the roses being in him consummate, and that of the kingdoms by him begun: besides, his times deserve it. For he was a wise man and an excellent king: and yet the times were rough, and full of mutations, and rare accidents. And it is with times as it is with ways; some are more up-hill and down-hill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true your highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the king your father: but it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your highness.

Your highness's most humble and devoted servant,

Francis St. Alban.

After that Richard, the third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the divine revenge favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworthfield; there succeeded in the kingdom the Earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. The king, immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused "Te Deum laudamus" to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself, with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted king. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, the "diriges" and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants, was obscurely buried. For though the king of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, being not free from the humours of the vulgar, neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any man's blame or censure: no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him that had been the executioner of King Henry the Sixth, that innocent prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the Duke of Clarence, his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful king in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him; and vehemently suspected to have been the impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people; yet his cruelties and parricide, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits; and, in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding, who seeing his after-acts looked back upon his former proceedings, that even in the time of King Edward his brother, he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's govern-

ment; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the king, by reason of his many disorders, should not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew well how easy a step it was, from the place of a protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprang, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France, concluded by interview of both kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself; as if the king, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a king. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brocage of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title, both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two and twenty years reign of King Edward the Fourth had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the white rose, or house of York; and by the mild and plausible reign of the same king towards his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a king at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power: the right remaining in his queen, upon whose decease, either with issue, or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a king that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles, that the two young sons of King Edward the Fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the House of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubitate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the Lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle, and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titulary pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the king, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him in all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign, or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute: not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown; and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the king presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the style of king in his own name, without mention of the Lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation

thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted: which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The king, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to George, Duke of Clarence. This Edward was, by the king's warrant, delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby: and by him, with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's cross for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, for that fable was ever exploded, but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the king out of strength of will, or weakness of judgment, did use to show a little more of the party than of the king.

For the Lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the queen-dowager, her mother; which, accordingly, she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season, the king set forwards, by easy journeys, to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which, indeed, were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a prince, as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which, although they had had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and a part of Henry the Sixth, on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom, not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people, to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order, that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance.

He entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people, than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made offertory of his standards, and had orisons and "Te Deum" again sung; and went to his lodging prepared in the Bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom, he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of Britain given artificially, for serving of his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the Duchy of Britain, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes, yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new: which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body, and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased; it began about the one and twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October, insomuch as it was no hinderance to the king's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven

days after. It was a pestilent fever, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the veins or humours, for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart and seized the vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for clothes, fire, and drink, moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work was neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's even the king dined with Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal: and, from Lambeth, went by land, over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after, he made twelve knights bannerets. But for creations he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas, the Lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon; though the king had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of parliament; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1485; at which time, Innocent the Eighth was Pope of Rome; Frederick the Third, Emperor of Almain; and Maximilian, his son, newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the Eighth, King of France; Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain; and James the Third, King of Scotland: with all which kings and states the king was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day, also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession forever after.

The seventh of November, the king held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three: first to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next, to have the attainders of all of his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attaint by parliament the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon; not being ignorant in how great danger a king stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgment, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their king, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure: for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose, rather, a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words: "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king," &c., which words might equally be applied, that the crown shall continue to him; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs, but leaving that to the law to decide; so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York; and in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the pope's bull the year following, with mention, nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest: so as now the wreath of three was made a wreath of five; for to the three first titles of the two houses, or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The king likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to di-

vers persons in the House of Commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree, and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the king's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament, whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the Third attainted by outlawries or otherwise. The king was somewhat troubled with this; for though it had a grave and specious show, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not showing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon; who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer Chamber, which is the council chamber of the judges, and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood: and that from the time the king did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged." But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the king's attainder, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the king's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainders, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisoes, well showing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the king's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest that had stood against the king, the king, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better, being matter of grace, to impropriate the thanks to himself, using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore, during the parliament, he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him, so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him. Whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the king thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation-pardon passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself, whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject, especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament almost for form's sake; amongst which there was one to reduce aliens being made denizens, to pay strangers custom; and another to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians' goods, for not employment, being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful; and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others; the Lord Chandos of Britain was made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeney was made Lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook.

The king did also with great nobleness and bounty, which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature, restore Edward Stafford, eldest son to Henry, Duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the king a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament brake up.

The parliament being dissolved, the king sent forthwith money to redeem the Marquis Dorset and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left as his pledges at Paris, for money which he had borrowed when he made his expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the Lord Treasurer and Master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks; but after many parleys he could obtain but two thousand pounds; which, nevertheless the king took in good part, as men use to do that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About

this time, the king called unto his privy council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter; vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, he made Archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him lord keeper of his privy seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the king loved to employ and advance bishops, because, having rich bishopricks, they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage between the king and Lady Elizabeth; which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation, which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he showed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring, the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he had desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom: yet, as a wise and watchful king, he would not neglect any thing for his safety, thinking, nevertheless, to perform all things now rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes, which proved for many years together, full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell: which advertisement the king despised and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth-field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in; which the duke, upon his approach to the Lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret; and his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords, likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the king's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king, having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the queen was delivered of her first son, whom the king, in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy king of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge.

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out often, but for the man-

ner and circumstances of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and as we can dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the house of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad, whether by error, or the cunning of malcontents, that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living: which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark: the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at first contemptible.

There was a subtile priest called Richard Simon,* that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishoprick, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward, for he changed his intention in the manage, the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow to enterprise so great a matter; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the minds and imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance: that this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth, that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of Clarence's death, would not, indeed, restore his son, of whom we speak, to be Duke of Clarence, but yet created him Earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side; and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen-dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen-dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by a close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far-fetched pretences that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater

* The priest's name was William Simonds; and the youth was the son of ———, an organ-maker, in Oxford, as the priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy, at Lambeth, Feb. 17, 1486.—Vide Reg. Morton f. 34. MS. Sandcroft.—Note from a former but not the original edition.

ter matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the house of York, was slain in Stockfield, the king opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, Duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such time as it was voiced that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely, upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should show it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage plays and masks, to show it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard, Earl of Kildare, and deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles, and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly, out of their great devotion to the house of York; partly, out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party, in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George, Duke of Clarence; having newly learned, by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed king, in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth; there being not a sword drawn in King Henry's quarrel.

The king was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through a universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his acheivements in person. The king therefore first called his council together at the Charter-house at Shine; which council was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the queen-dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands, should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondesy, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, showed unto the people: in part to discharge the king of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ire-

land, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

The third was, that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high treason, no not against the king's own person, should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the king and his council were immediately put in execution. And first, the queen-dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estates seized into the king's hands: whereat there was much wondering; that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had showed no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled.

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor, and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair issue; and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures, to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood joined also the king's favourite, the Lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while, nevertheless, she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes: but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex: yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the king's commandment buried with the king her husband, at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College, in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great obloquy, which, nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's Church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the king most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king; and gave out, that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people; not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the king therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving strait order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malecontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For England, they won to their party John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time; for Richard the Third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the Duke of Clarence, and their lines, having had his hand in both their bloods, to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretexts; the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation: and to design the gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the king, having tasted of the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a co-rival unto the other. The Earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there

which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprise there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true; because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure of by the king, it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before arrived the Lord Lovel, leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies in Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland; imploring succours in an enterprise, as they said, so pious and just, and that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof: and making offer that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign partroness and protectress of the enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy; by whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband; which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This princess, having the spirit of a man, and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless, and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the house in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent to the crown, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Lovel, and some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed, the two lords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almains, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new king; hoping, that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the Earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malcontents within the realm of England, to give them assistance when they should come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed, that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received; wherein, nevertheless, the Earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took courage, by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success; conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard: and that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new king in the cathedral church of Dublin; who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in council what should farther be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers; and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which, as in such cases of popular tumults is usual, did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England; it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The king, in the mean time, who at first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their king; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it; he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England by some impression from Flanders, and upon the northwest out of Ireland. And therefore having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper, Earl of Bedford, and John, Earl of Oxford, meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it, and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time, the winter being far on, he took his

journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-Bury, he understood that Thomas, Marquis Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hasting towards him, to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him. But the king, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair message, nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the king meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the king's service, or to himself: and that the king should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's-Bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas: and from thence he went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited our lady's church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance: and from thence he returned by Cambridge to London. Not long after the rebels, with their king, under the leading of the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovel, and Colonel Swart, landed at Fouldrey, in Lancashire; whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. The king, by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had levied forces in good number; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the king otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way toward York, without spoiling the country, or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people and to personate their king; who, no doubt, out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects: but their snow-ball did not gather as it went, for the people came not in to them; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them: which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York: considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concourse unto him, in which case he would have temporised, and seeing the business past retract, resolved to make on where the king was, and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the king was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the king himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions which few else knew, inclined to the accelerating a battle, but this was presently put out of doubt by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives and partly voluntaries, from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the king's aid were, the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Strange, of the nobility; and of knights and gentlemen, to the number of at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies; making in the whole, at the least, six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the king before. Whereupon the king, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemies' camp and Newark, being loath their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The king the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champain. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day than the manner of the fight. They say that the king divided his army into three battails; whereof the vanguard only, well strengthened with wings, came to fight: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made by that the king's vanguard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies, (the other two battails remaining out of action,) what the success was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side: neither did the Irish fail courage or fierceness; but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaugh-

ter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton: all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field, was of the enemies' part four thousand at the least; and of the king's part, one half his vanguard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of "mattacina" of human force, he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce, after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle, the king went to Lincoln, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be make for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows. And thus delivered of this so strange an engine, and new invention of fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind; thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, "It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began with a sickness of sweat." But howsoever the king thought himself now in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand. And therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration, as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come; and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were indeed rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels. Not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransom, which spared life and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised a bruit and rumour a little before the field fought, "that the rebels had the day; and that the king's army was overthrown, and the king fled." Whereby it was supposed that many succours, which otherwise would have come unto the king, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the king's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the king would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and cause of the like commotions in time to come, the king began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the house of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, at least in ceremony, he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion, for the first day he repaired to Paul's, and had the hymn of "Te Deum" sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the cross, the queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminister, the five-and-twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage; like an old christening, that had stayed long for godfathers. Which strange and unusual distance of time made it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to show that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas, Marquis Dorset, was rather upon suspicion of the time than of the man, he, the said marquis, was set at liberty without examination or other circumstance. At that time also the king sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now, like another Æneas, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travels, and was arrived unto a safe

haven: and thanking his holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom, upon all occasions, to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration to the pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the king and queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the pope: who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of sanctuary, wherewith the king had been extremely gulled in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary man did by night, or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary forever after. The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

The king also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malcontented subjects, whereof he saw the realm was full, who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key as the ports were; for that cause rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the Third, King of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of the king's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of Scotland, labouring of the same disease that King Henry did, though more mortal, as afterwards appeared, that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the king; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two king's lives.

Hitherto the king had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the Eighth, the French king, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the Seventh, his grandfather, and Lewis the Eleventh, his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate than it had been of many years before; being redintegrate in those principal members, which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were afterward dissevered, so as they remained only in homage and not in sovereignty, being governed by absolute princes of their own, Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Britain to be reunited, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy: which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy. For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own council, and had few able men about him. And that king, he knew well, had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Britain. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success: the Duke of Britain, old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not likely to continue; King Charles himself in the flower of age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers; men of service being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise, Maximilian King of the Romans, his rival in the same desires, (as well for the duchy, as the daughter,) feeble in means; and King Henry of England, as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Britain; for that the duke had received and succoured Lewis Duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their king. Wherefore, King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Britain for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the king at Leicester, and delivered their embassage to this effect: they first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian,

in recovery of certain towns from him; which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the king, as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the king, that their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the Duke of Britain, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood and the second person of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that could not be omitted or forborne, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, for that no wise prince would stay for, but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation; nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects, traitors, are received by the Duke of Britain his homager. That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour princes should patronise and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues. Nevertheless that their master was not ignorant, that the king had been beholden to the Duke of Britain in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their king, in aiding him when the Duke of Britain or his mercenary counsellors failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master, and the Duke of Britain: for that the duke's might have ends of utility and bargain; whereas their master's could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that, if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the king might owe to the Duke of Britain, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore, since this war, which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their king hoped the king would show the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had, when time was, showed to the king's acquisition of his kingdom. At the least, that, according to the inclination which the king had ever professed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the Duchy of Britain to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Britain, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with the king, the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose, to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Britain, otherwise than for quenching of the fire which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The king, after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors: and first returned their compliment, showing he was right glad of the French king's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Britain, the king answered in few words; that the French king, and Duke of Britain, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy, if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian king, and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course, he doubted not but their king's estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war; and that he would spare no costs or pains, no if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an ambassage, which he would speedily despatch unto the French king for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed: the king avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of Britain, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it: save that he gave a little touch of it in the word envy. And so it was, that the king was neither so shallow, nor so ill-advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French for

the investing himself of Britain. But first, he was utterly unwilling, howsoever he gave out, to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer; and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loath to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Britain carried by France, being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the king's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, especially in the court of a young king, and partly by the native power of Britain itself, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the Duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles, to divert the French king from the enterprise of Britain. And lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was co-rival to the French king in that pursuit, the enterprise would either bow to a peace, or break in itself. In all which the king measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French king Christopher Urswick, his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed: choosing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification: and giving him also a commission, that if the French king consented to treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of Britain, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French king, much to the purpose of the king's answer to the French ambassadors here, instilling also tenderly, some overture of receiving to grace the Duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French king, on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty; having for his end, to gain time, and so put off the English succours under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Britain by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the king's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented, that the ambassador should straightways pass into Britain, to signify this his consent, and to know the duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing that the Duke of Orleans, by whom the Duke of Britain was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the affections of the King of England, as one that had committed all to his will; nay, and which was yet more fine, make faith in him, that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with the sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the king should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot to the very last instant, till he were master of the field.

Which grounds being by the French king wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English ambassador came to the court of Britain, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of Orleans, who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered, made answer in somewhat high terms: that the Duke of Britain having been a host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry, the renowned King of England, rather brave troops for his succours, than a vain treaty of peace. And if the king could forget the good offices of the duke done unto him aforetime; yet, he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts, and with his own people, not to suffer Britain, the old confederates of England, to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour king, and so ancient an enemy: and therefore humbly desired the king to think of this business as his own: and therewith brake off and denied any further conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French king, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said; that the ambassador might perceive now that, which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the Duke of Britain was, there would be no peace, but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion: and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the king not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the king's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the king by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Britain more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually packets and despatches between the two kings, from the one out of desire, and from the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French king mean while invaded Britain with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantz with a strait siege; and, as one, who though he had no great judgment, yet had that,

that he could dissemble at home, the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did, at the same time, urge the solicitation of the peace. Insomuch as during the siege of Nantz, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the treaty, he sent Barnard D'Aubigney, a person of good quality, to the king, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

The king was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen, a valiant gentleman, and desirous of honour, sued to the king that he might raise some power of voluntaries underhand, and without license or passport (wherein the king might any ways appear) go to the aid of the Duke of Britain. The king denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him that he should not stir, for that the king thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of conceit that the king would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow, sailed directly over to the Isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joined himself with the duke's forces. The news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French king, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the king, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodville's going over; using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Britain affairs. To which message, although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of Britain, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the king of the state of the affairs, and how far the French king was from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course; neither was the king himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed; but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the king had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted, in his own judgment, that the war of Britain, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived, that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French king, then childless, against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow; and, besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, King of the Romans, was a prince, warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Britains roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Britain, would give treasure largely; which treasure, as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived and lulled asleep by the French than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy that the French king met with by occasion of this war of Britain, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as, namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The king was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the council of France would be wary to put the king into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men, who would make it their masterpiece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before, though he would not seem to know it till then, he presently summoned his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Britain to both houses, by his chancellor, Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

'My lords and masters, the king's grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his parliament; which I shall do in few words, craving pardon of his grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

"His grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty shown to him by you, at your last meeting, in establishment of his royalty; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his traitors and rebels; more than which could not come from subjects to their sovereign in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a resolution to himself to communicate with so loving and well-approved subjects, in all affairs that are of public nature at home or abroad.

"Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one a foreign business, the other matter of government at home.

"The French king, as no doubt ye have heard, maketh at this present hot war upon the Duke of Britain. His army is now before Nantz, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principal city, if not in ceremony and pre-eminence, yet in strength and wealth of that duchy. Ye may guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He allegeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the king taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both parts have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed the king's aids: the French king aids or neutrality; the Britains aids simply; for so their case requireth. The king, as a Christian prince, and blessed son of the holy church, hath offered himself as a mediator to treat of a peace between them. The French king yieldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Britains that desire peace most hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much pains and care to effect a peace as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the one side nor the distrust on the other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this narrative you now understand the state of the question, whereupon the king prayeth your advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Britains against France?

"And the better to open your understandings in this affair, the king hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the persons that do intervene in this business; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this kingdom, and somewhat of the example of it in general; making nevertheless no conclusion or judgment of any point, until his grace hath received your faithful and politic advices.

"First, for the king our sovereign himself, who is the principal person you are to eye in this business; his grace doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace. But his grace saith he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change, if it please God to change the inward troubles and conditions wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised into an honourable foreign war. And for the other two persons in this action, the French king and the Duke of Britain, his grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is of all other friends and allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of protection from the tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help for the recovery of his kingdom. So that his affection toward them in his natural person is upon equal terms. And whereas you may have heard that his grace was enforced to fly out of Britain into France for doubts of being betrayed, his grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Britain in defacement of his former benefits; for that he is thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sickness, altogether without his consent or privity.

"But howsoever these things do interest his grace in this particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of these obligations of gratitude otherwise than thus; that if his grace be forced to make a war, he do it without passion or ambition.

"For the consequence of this action towards this kingdom, it is much as the French king's intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French king's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French king shall make a province of Britain, and join it to the crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates as the Britains have

always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this island shall remain confined in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

"For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same question, upon the French king's intent. For if Britain be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad, apt to impute and construe the actions of princes to ambition, conceive it will; then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour state should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal towards Spain; of the smaller estates of Italy towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons might not live and dwell safely besides some of these great lords. And the bringing in of this example will be chiefly laid to the king's charge, as to him that was most interested and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so fair a pretext on the French king's part, and yet pretext is never wanting to power, in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example. For that the example of that which is done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous; because it is another's power to avoid it. But in all this business the king remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely."

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellor's speech touching the cause of Britain; for the king had commanded him to carry it so as to affect the parliament towards the business: but without engaging the king in any express declaration.

The chancellor went on:

"For that which may concern the government at home, the king hath commanded me to say unto you, that he thinketh there was never any king, for the small time that he hath reigned, had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow than his grace hath. Joy in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty God, in girding the imperial sword upon his side, and assisting the same his sword against all his enemies; and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving servants and subjects which have never failed to give him faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword, as he greatly desired, otherwise than for administration of justice, but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous and disloyal subjects, whom, it seems, God hath left, a few amongst many good, as the Canaanites amongst the people of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always, God's name be blessed therefore, that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

"Wherefore his grace saith; That he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city; nor the marshal's sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence; that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force, both in court, country, and private houses, be suppressed. The care hereof, which so much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his grace commends to your wisdoms.

"And because it is the king's desire, that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves, for you to sit under the shade of them in safety: but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty; therefore his grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges; that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading. And likewise that our people be set on work in arts and handicrafts; that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that whatsoever merchandise shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any over-trading of the foreigner.

"And lastly, because the king is well assured, that you would not have him poor that wishes you rich; he doubteth not but that you will have care as well to maintain his revenues of customs and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the king is a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and that what comes from you is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud,

and falls back upon the earth again. And you know well how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring, and therefore not fit to find the king with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish that what hath been said had been better expressed: but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings."

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parliament in this business, as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy; as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also moved with the point of oppression; for although the French seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise the king roundly to embrace the Britons' quarrel, and to send them speedy aids; and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the king a great rate of subsidy in contemplation of these aids. But the king, both to keep a decency towards the French king, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to show war than to make it, sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if, at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours; with protestation nevertheless, that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces, to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in nowise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of Britain. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For near the town of St. Alban in Britain, a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britains' part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodville, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader James Galeot, a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the king, who now had no subterfuge to continue further treaty, and saw before his eyes that Britain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes: knowing also that with his people, and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays, to despatch with all possible speed his succours into Britain; which he did under the conduct of Robert, Lord Brooke, to the number of eight thousand choice men and well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Britain, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile, to harass and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements Francis, Duke of Britain, deceased; an accident that the king might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for, but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, that somewhat must be done, did overbear the reason of war.

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Britain, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were after some time, the causes of the loss of that duchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the king's judgment, but most but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Britain, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For, according to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, the authority of the star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, besides the high court of parliament, in which distribution the king's bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the common-place pleas civil, the exchequer pleas concerning the king's revenue, and the chancery the pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council in causes that might in exam-

ple or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; which, if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the star chamber; if civil, in the white chamber or white hall. And as the chancery had the pretorian power for equity, so the star-chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of star chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons, counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes, forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country the king's care went on to the peace of the king's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the king's servants under the degree of a lord, do conspire the death of any of the king's council or lord of the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety; drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it further than to the king's servants in checkroll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen and other commons of the kingdom, who might have thought their ancient liberty, and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the will in any case of felony should be made the deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth, that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the king himself, is indifferent to all subjects, as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the lord chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the king's house, the king's care extended to the peace of private houses and families. For there was an excellent moral law moulded thus; the taking and carrying away of women forcibly and against their will, except female wards and bond-women, was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving that the obtaining of women by force unto possession, howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and repressing of murders and manslaughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm, being this: That whereas by the common law the king's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal; and that it was found by experience that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the king's suit by indictment, which is ever best, "flagrante crimine," neglected; it was ordained, that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day as after; not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The king began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake the king himself was after branded, by Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money; and against unlawful chievances and exchanges, which is bastard usury; and also for the security of the king's customs; and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Duresme; the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, That they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This no doubt proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up. And, no doubt, it was

partly also by the instigation of some factious malcontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the Earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the king plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the king's direction. The king wrote back peremptorily, that he would not have one penny abated of that which had been granted to him by parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release or mitigation; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this despatch from court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in that imperious language, wherein the king had written to him, which needed not, save that a harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man, did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the king's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel; whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremont, a factious person, and one that had of a long time born an ill talent towards the king: and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very "boutefeu," who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entered into open rebellion; and gave out in flat terms that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year, after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas, Earl of Surrey, whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour, with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremont, he fled into Flanders to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief complices were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the king himself omit his custom, to be first or second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that he desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries; and that done, returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time that the king lost so good a servant as the Earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the Third, King of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms, and surprised the person of Prince James, his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the King of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms. Whereupon the king, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the Pope, and the King of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner; not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation and menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign, and that they would accordingly resent it and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect. And fury prevailing above fear, made answer: That there was no talking of peace except the king would resign his crown. Whereupon, treaty of accord taking no place, it came to a battle at Bannocksbourn by Strivelin: in which battle the king, transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the prince, his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in a field, where the battle was fought

As for the Pope's embassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello, an Italian legate, and perhaps as those times were, might have prevailed more, it came too late for the embassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through England, and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, who ever applied himself with much respect to the See of Rome, he fell into great grace with the king, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the Chancellor; insomuch

as the king taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the Bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of cardinal, paid the king large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless, in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy which Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was, "That one should succeed Pope Leo whose name should be Adrian, an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wisdom." By which character and figure he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son of a Dutch brewer, Cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his Christian name, was afterwards called Adrian the Sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this king. But in the end of the fourth year the king had called again his parliament, not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state: but the former parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for Britain, the king thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet further contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation, after King Edward the First; for his laws, whoso marks them well, are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First, therefore, he made a law suitable to his own acts and times: for as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord in the great suit and title for the crown, so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects: ordaining, "That fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all strangers' rights;" and that upon fines levied and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued: which if he forepassed, his right should be bound forever after; with some exception nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute, commonly called the statute of "non-claim," made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of the good peace, which since his time hath, for the most part, continued in this kingdom until this day: for statutes of "non-claim" are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made, of singular policy, for the population, apparently, and, if it be thoroughly considered, for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

Enclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenances for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The king likewise knew full well, and in nowise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Enclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom: nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility: but they took a course to take away depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance was, "That all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up forever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them;" and in nowise to be severed from them, as by another statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared: this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the king and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a

dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in the servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry, (I speak of people out of towns,) and no middle people, and therefore no good forces of foot; insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet would have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.

The king also, having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land, for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained; "That wines and woods from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc, should not be brought but in English bottoms;" bowing the ancient policy of this estate, from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers, to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The king also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the king or chancellor, that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor, should be read in open sessions four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand, he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion, to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure; and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant-stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm, for that gold was the metal that lay in least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities; and because of the wise model of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this king's reign. Whereof I have these reasons; both because it was the pre-eminent virtue and merit of this king, to whose memory I do honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my person; but chiefly because, in my judgment, it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves; yet that informeth not the judgment of kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered in the table and portrait of the times.

About the same time the king had a loan from the city, of four thousand pounds; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been; the king ever choosing rather to borrow too soon than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the king yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Britain, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate; and to bereave the French king of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit, for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Britain, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt, whereof the town of Bruges, at such time as Maximilian was there in person, had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp wars upon Flanders to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the Lord Ravenstein, a principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and, as it was thought, instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself a head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipres and Sluice, with both the castles: and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French king, to desire aid; and to move him, that he, on the behalf of the French king, would be protector of the United Towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmude, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loath that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the states of Britain about this marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, unto the Lord D'Aubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmude. The Lord D'Aubigny, giving it out that all was for the strengthening of the English marches, drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes, and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almains, put themselves into Dixmude, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town with some reinforcement, from the forces that were in the town, assailed the enemies' camp negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts, amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport; whence the Lord D'Aubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipres with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmude, came presently on, and sat down before Newport, and besieged it; and after some days' siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault. Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers, arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two kings of England and France, for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, "That he could be content to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English."

The king having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Britain to a conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed, both with the young lady and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated, as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg stript naked to the knee between the espousal sheets; to the end, that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. This done Maximilian, whose property was to leave things then when they were almost come to perfection

and to end them by imagination; like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head; and who might as easily have bedded the lady himself, as to have made a play and disguise of it, thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his wars. Meanwhile the French king consulting with his divines, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court, than any ways valid by the laws of the church, went more really to work, and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and honour out of the mind of the lady herself, wherein there was double labour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles. So as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under years of consent, and so not bound by law, but a power of disagreement left to either part. But for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven; having nothing to allege, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in place of a father; and therefore it was void and of no force for want of such consent. Which defect, they said, though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was enough to make void a contract. For as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it and said, "That was an argument that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question." So that the young lady wrought upon by these reasons finely instilled by such as the French king, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young king and a bachelor, and loath to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the King of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis Lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the "Bons Hommes" of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the king, accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French king, might, with the king's good will, according unto his right of igniory and tutelage, dispose of the marriage of the young Duchess of Britain as he should think good; offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the Duchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the king, who remitted them to his council; where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the Prior of the Trinity, who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them, to this effect.

"My lords, the king our master, the greatest and mightiest king that reigned in France since Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace, yea, and to pray a peace with the King of England. For which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample powers to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love-tokens between great kings, to communicate one with another the true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection. This I do assure your lordships; it is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the king our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him as we are. He useth his name with so great respect; he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment; nay, he never speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse on the miseries of great kings in that they cannot converse with their equals but with servants. This affection to your king's persons and virtues God hath put into the heart of our master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all. For other root it cannot have, since it was the same to the Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the first motive that makes our king to desire peace and league with your sovereign: good affection, and somewhat that he finds in his own heart. This affection is also armed with reason of estate. For our king doth in all candour and frankness of dealing open himself unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a holy purpose, to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be known abroad

that he is in good peace with all his neighbour princes, and especially with the King of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

"But now my lords, give me leave to use a few words to remove all scruples and misunderstandings between your sovereign and ours, concerning some late actions; which, if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this peace. To the end that for matters past neither king may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two; that of Britain and that of Flanders. In both which it is true that the subjects' swords of both kings have encountered and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of the two kings, in respect of their confederates and allies, have severed.

"For that of Britain, the king your sovereign knoweth best what hath passed. It was a war of necessity on our master's part. And though the motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an olive-branch, than a laurel-branch in his hand, more desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time to time he sent, as it were, blank papers to your king to write the conditions of peace. For though both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious to put into the King of England's hands. Neither doth our king on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation of your king's sending of succours to the Duke of Britain; for the king knoweth well that many things must be done of kings for satisfaction of their people; and it is not hard to discern what is a king's own. But this matter of Britain is now, by the act of God, ended and passed; and, as the king hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in either of the kings' minds; as he as sure for his part it hath not done in his.

"For the action of Flanders: as the former of Britain was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice; which with a good king is of equal necessity with danger of estate, for else he should leave to be a king. The subjects of Burgundy are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and their duke the homager and vassal of France. They had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late distempered them. They fled to the king for justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny: purchase he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutinied, to arrest fury, and prevent despair. My lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the king our master is tender in any thing that may glance upon the friendship of England. The amity between the two kings, no doubt, stands entire and inviolate; and that their subjects' swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns: it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw blood in the field. Nay many times there be aids of the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, for all that, a kingdom divided in itself.

"It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a matter that I know your lordships all will much rejoice to hear; as that which importeth the Christian common weal more than any action that hath happened of long time. The king our master hath a purpose and determination to make war upon the kingdom of Naples; being now in the possession of a bastard slip of Arragon, but appertaining unto his majesty by clear and undoubted right; which if he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But his noble and Christian thoughts rest not here: for his resolution and hope is, to make the reconquest of Naples but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia; and not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to the impawning of his crown and dispeopling of France, till either he hath overthrown the empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise. The king knoweth well, that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king that did not steadfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed. But yet it is agreeable to the person that he beareth, though unworthy of the thrice Christian king and the eldest son of the church. Whereunto he is also invited by the example, in more ancient time, of King Henry the Fourth of England, the first renowned king of the house of Lancaster; ancestor, though not progenitor to your king; who had a purpose towards the end of his time, as you know better, to make an expedition into the Holy Land; and by the example also, present before his eyes, of that honourable and religious war which the King of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recovery of the realm of Granada from the Moors. And although this enterprise may seem vast and unmeasured, for the king to attempt that by his own forces, wherein heretofore a conjunction of most of the Christian princes hath found work enough; yet his majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller forces being united under one command, are more effectual in proof, though not so promising in opinion and fame, than much greater forces, variously compounded by association and leagues, which commonly in a short time after their beginnings turn to dissociations and divisions. But, my lords, that which is a voice from heaven, that calleth the king to this enterprise, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say but there hath been brother against brother in that house before, but never any that had refuge to the arms of the Christian as now hath Gemes, brother unto Bajazet that reigneth, the far braver man of the two, the other

being a monk and a philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes than able to wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This therefore is the king our master's memorable and heroical resolution for a holy war. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian soldier, as well as of a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility, and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of other Christian kings. There remaineth only rather a civil request than any essential part of our negotiation, which the king maketh to the king your sovereign. The king, as all the world knoweth, is lord in chief of the duchy of Britain. The marriage of the heir belongeth to him as guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and no business of estate: yet nevertheless, to run a fair course with your king, whom he desires to make another himself, and to be one and the same thing with him, his request is, that with the king's favour and consent he may dispose of her marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, according to justice. This my lords is all that I have to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors with great show of their king's affection, and many sugared words, seek to addulce all matters between the two king's, having two things for their ends; the one to keep the king quiet till the marriage with Britain was past; and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the council were silent and said only, "That they knew the ambassadors would look for no answer, till they had reported to the king:" and so they rose from council. The king could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Britain. He saw plainly the ambition of the French king was to impatronise himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another he gave Britain for lost; but resolved to make his profit of this business of Britain, as a quarrel for war; and that of Naples as a wrench and mean for peace; being well advertised, how strongly the king was bent upon that action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the chancellor, for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council. And after calling the chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat, that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord chancellor spake to them in this sort:

"My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer, by the king's commandment, unto the eloquent declaration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain manner. The king forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the king your master; but of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

"For the business of Britain, the king findeth it a little strange that the French king maketh mention of it as matter well deserving at his hand: for that deserving was no more but to make him his instrument to surprise one of his best confederates. And for the marriage, the king would not meddle in it, if your master would marry by the book, and not by the sword.

"For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your king as their chief lord, at first by way of supplication, it might have had a show of justice: but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, and to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The king saith, That sure he is, when the French king and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland, that had taken arms against their king, they both spake in another style, and did in princely manner signify their detestation of popular attentates upon the person and authority of princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the king leaveth these two actions thus: that on the one side he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the war of Naples, and the design against the Turk: the king hath commanded me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the French king, that his fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall hear that he is prepared for Grecia, as your master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the king, so the king will then beg of him a part in that war.

"But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the king's part: the king your master hath taught our king what to say and demand. You say, my lord prior, that your king is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my lords, that the king our master saith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words: If therefore the French king shall

consent that the king our master's title to France, at least tribute for the same, be handled in the treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to treat."

The ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat: That they doubted not, but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre: and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France either in territory or regality: but, howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the king looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French king. There was a question also asked at the table; whether the French king would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Britain, with an exception and exclusion that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered: That it was so far out of their king's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas, Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston, Prior of Christ Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space Lionel, Bishop of Concordia, was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth, to both kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French king's voyage into Italy, despatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two king's if he could: who first repaired to the French king, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way towards the French king. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the king. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed: for in the mean time, the purpose of the French king to marry the duchess could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of England. Who when he turned his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the king; unto which the king, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own person, but in a style of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the king's second son Henry, who afterward reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles, and Anne, Duchess of Britain, with whom he received the duchy of Britain as her dowry, the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French king did very handsomely second it, and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow, with such a double scorn, be defeated both of the marriage of his daughter, and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great kings, even when their blood is hottest, and most risen, fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French king. And, by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more, spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles, saying: That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advowtry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgment of God; to the end that, the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world, the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the King of England, as to the King of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon, the King of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner.

"My lords, and you the commons, when I purposed to make a war in Britain by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my chancellor. But now that I mean to make war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man's right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

"The French king troubles the Christian world: that which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain: he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect; and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates; he denieth our tribute: in a word, he seeks war: so did not his father, but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

"Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage; and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgment, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French king prisoner in England, and a King of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and never more provoked. Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New acquests are more burden than strength. The malcontents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but of a higher nature. The King of Spain, doubt ye not, will join with us, not knowing where the French king's ambition will stay. Our holy father, the pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second.

"At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers. They have no stable bands of foot. Some good horse they have; but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the assailant's choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and, by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. I have, in this time that I have reigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I know one another, which breeds confidence: and if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great business let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it: but for matter of treasure, let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness; and I, that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war, after the beginnings to pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time; for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause."

Thus spake the king; but for all this, though he showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise, except the two bishops and a few more, yet nevertheless in his secret intentions he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well, that France was now entire and at unity with itself, and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the taste that he had of his forces sent into Britain, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearing them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified encampings. James the Third of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James the Fourth, that had succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them. For the one had power, and not will; and the other had will, and not power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors; and merchanded at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Russignon and Perpignan, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loath they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniences and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported, and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war; so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

For, as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate, of old, to the war of France; and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour they thought the king sustained by the loss of Britain. Therefore they advised the king, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France. And although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility, together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons, and finding by the lord chancellor's speech the king's inclination that way, they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called a benevolence, was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people and it was now revived by the king, but with consent of parliament, for so it was not in the

time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the city of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a dilemma, that Bishop Morton the chancellor used, to raise up the benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crutch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence; "That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, that they must needs have, because they laid up: and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So neither kind came amiss.

This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto: as, the severe punishing of mort-pays, and keeping back of soldiers' wages in captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without license; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the king's service; and the setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England; thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the king went on with his preparations for the war of France; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of Maximilian for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the Lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt, had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice, as we said before: and having, by the commodity of the haven, gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade; robbing, and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed along that coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friezeland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice, and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still underhand; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides, thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam; which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice.

This town the King of the Romans had attempted often, not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea, and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects; but being, indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty he repaired to Bruges, desiring of the States of Bruges to enter peaceably into their own town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate; being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him, to provide his lodging. So that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam; and they of Bruges only gazed upon them and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges; and discovering forces afar off supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of slight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The Duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the king to let him know, that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein, that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life: and that if it pleased the king to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars.

The king, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein; sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man, and of good service, with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days' space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the English part also were slain

a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the Duke of Saxony, and the other by the English; and a bridge of boats, which the Lord Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English, he despairing to hold the town, yielded, at the last, the castles to the English, and the town to the Duke of Saxony, by composition. Which done, the Duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord; which after some time they did, paying, in some good part, the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed; so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but, as his manner was to handle matters, never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some good while till all things were settled, returned unto the king, being then before Boloign.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; signifying the final conquest of Grenada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the showing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies, that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom: showing, amongst other things, that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous Apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God, by alms and relief extended to them all for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain, as far as one king can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpeise to France; upon the receipt of these letters sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul; there to hear a declaration from the lord chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal standing upon the uppermost step or half-pace, before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled in that consecrate place to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the bounds of the Christian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain; who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Grenada, and the populous and mighty city of the same name, from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more: for which this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the King of Spain; who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith. And the rather, for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and "Te Deum" was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the king kept his May-day at his palace of Sheen, now Richmond. Where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of justing and tourney during all that month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir James Parker, and Hugh Vaughan, one of the king's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king-at-arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another. And by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which, because of the controversy precedent, and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The king towards the end of this summer, having put his forces, wherewith he meant to invade France, in readiness, but so as they were not yet met or mustered together, sent Urswick

now made his almoner, and Sir John Risley, to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms, for any such enterprise. For Maximilian, having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living, and on the other side, his matrimonial territories of Flanders were partly in dowry to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late rebellions; was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the king thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the king's further pleasure were known: the rather, for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory answers: so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The king hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard further from him: and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London; in which were Thomas, Marquis Dorset; Thomas, Earl of Arundell; Thomas, Earl of Derby; George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Edmund, Earl of Suffolk; Edward, Earl of Devonshire; George, Earl of Kent; the Earl of Essex; Thomas, Earl of Ormond; with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales. The army rising, in the whole, to the number of five-and-twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; over which the king, constant in his accustomed trust and employment, made Jasper, Duke of Bedford, and John, Earl of Oxford, generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea; all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war; and some thereupon gathering, it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the king gave out the contrary, thus: "That he, intending not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it, especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter, if the reason of the war so required." The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich; and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous, where all the forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the sea-side, wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer, he had received letters from the Lord Cordes, who the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace; and besides, was held a man open and of good faith. In which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French king, with such conditions as were somewhat to the king's taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The king was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the king, that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers upon bad news to speak the more bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this, as the king had laid it, came the news that Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles; and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Russignon and Perpignan, which formerly were mortgaged by John, King of Arragon, Ferdinando's father, unto France for three hundred thousand crowns: which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace; both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought: so as the king should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace, the king was content that the Bishop of Exeter, and the Lord D'Aubigny, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace. But himself, nevertheless, and his army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days march sat him down before Boloign.

During this siege of Boloign, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable action, nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town, to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault. Which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood: but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for

both the kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aids of the Britons. For which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely when it should determine or expire; which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the king and to his son, King Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings. To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Britain, and freed the enterprise of Naples. To Henry, for that it filled his coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, "That the king cared not to plume his nobility and people, to feather himself." And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament; "That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself;" saying, he had kept promise.

Having risen from Boloign, he went to Calais, where he stayed some time. From whence also he wrote letters, which was a courtesy that he sometimes used, to the Mayor of London, and the aldermen his brethren; half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing well that full coffers of the king is ever good news to London. And better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of December following, he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after the king's return, he sent the order of the garter to Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando, King of Naples. An honour sought by that prince to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians; who, expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised, as things used to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick; upon whom the king bestowed this ambassage to help him after many dry employments.

At this time the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret; who raised up the ghost of Richard, Duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth, to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel; better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of France, and a King of Scotland, not of a Duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnel, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known; and could make his own part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation, that ever was in elder or later times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full. Although the king's manner of showing things by pieces, and by dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the king's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion, that Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those that were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance: for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets, and Dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard, Duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine

favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, such a land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance, which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time, that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter: which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think, that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For tutor he had none, for aught that appears, as Lambert Simnel had, until he came to the Lady Margaret, who instructed him.

Thus, therefore, it came to pass: there was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward the Fourth's days. During which time he had a son by her, and being known in court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret into her presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour, thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of the Duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but with great secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard Duke of York, which he was to act; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen his pretended parents; and of his brother, and sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape; she knew they were things that a very few could control. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if things went well, and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had been the like meteor strong influence before. The time of the apparation to be when the king should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about, and to put all suspicion afar off, and loath to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time; with some privado of her own to have an eye upon him, and

there he was to remain, and to expect her further directions. In the mean time she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time the King of England called his parliament, as hath been said, and had declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the Duke of Clarence that had been there before. And after, that he was Richard the Third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth. But that he for his part renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy evangelists that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the Duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained under her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue: an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the persons and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassador to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, a usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven, now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner. And imparting unto his friends in Ireland, for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was come to the court of France, the king received him with great homage; saluted, and styled him by the name of the Duke of York; lodged him in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French king's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boloign, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was laboured to do, for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin, on his part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up underhand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the Duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour: noways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answer, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life: and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it not as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver; but contrariwise, that it did show manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter: for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, wanting to himself, either in gracious and princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great

persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. The duchess therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the white rose of England; and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court, likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain and the peace with France were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore, they said, that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth in things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers. They being like running weeds that have no certain root; or like footings up and down impossible to be traced; but after a while these ill humours drew to a head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons; which were, Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly but two: Sir Robert Clifford, and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of monies from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret. Who after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard Duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but show fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected: but for the rest, he choose to work by countermine. His purposes were two; the one to lay open the abuse, the other to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways; the first, to make it manifest to the world that the Duke of York was indeed murdered; the other, to prove that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the Duke of York; Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest his servants, the two butchers or tormentors, and the priest of the Tower that buried them. Of which four, Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out to this effect: That King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused. Whereupon the king directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the king's special service. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were king's children. Whereupon, another night, by the king's warrant

renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after, could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations; but the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies, some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down; and in brief, to have a journal, as it were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money, to draw on and reward intelligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main countermine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board. And as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom, as they could, the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators, their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust spies had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the king, with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the rest, to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him, if they could, being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away, would most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition; that the king being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's by name, amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service. The king therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars, first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation, because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less, but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto Archduke Philip into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham, doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience; and Dr. Warham spake in this manner:

"My lords, the king our master is very sorry, that England and your country here of Flanders, having been counted as man and wife for so long time; now this country of all others should be the stage, where a base counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not only to his grace's disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin is an high offence by all laws, but to counterfeit the living image of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an Antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. The king hath too great an opinion of this sage council, to think that any of you is caught with this fable, though way may be given by you to the passion of some, the thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke Richard, which the king hath upon record, plain and infallible, because they may be thought to be in the king's own power, let the thing testify for itself. Sense and reason no power can command. Is it possible, trow you, that King Richard should damn his soul, and foul his name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you think that men of blood, that were his instruments, did turn to pity in the midst of their execution? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also, that the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know that the bloody

executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with a halter about their neck; so that if they perform not they are sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard their own lives for sparing another's? Admit they should have saved him, what should they have done with him? Turn him into London streets, that the watchmen, or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of care, charge, and continual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is a great prince, if you have any good poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life; and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the king's falconer. And therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret, excuse us if we name her, whose malice to the king is both causeless and endless, should now when she is old, at the time when other women give over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters; being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We would to God that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The king's request unto the archduke, and your lordships, might be that according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the king may justly expect more from an ancient confederate, than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh his request unto you to deliver him up into his hands: pirates and impostors of this sort, being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and noways to be protected by the law of nations."

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer:

"That the archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke, but in all things conserve the amity he had with the king: but for the duchess-dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own."

The king, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer. For well he knew, that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke's council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke underhand gave aid and furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the king forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants adventurers, which had a resiance in Antwerp, to return; translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais; and embarred also all further trade for the future. This the king did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: for that he knew well, that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin; and that the tumults of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the prince to displease the people. Nevertheless, for form's sake, by way of requital, the archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders, which in effect was done to his hand.

The king being well advertised, that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay; and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm; thereby to purge the ill humours in England, and to cool the hopes in Flanders. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubigny, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the Lord Fitzwater conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until soon after, either impatient or betrayed, he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William D'Aubigny were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laics, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worseley, Dean of Paul's, which latter sort passed examination, but came not to public trial.

The lord chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were that the king would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last; or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own

coming over; signifying only to the king in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the king further account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day-even, being now the tenth year of the king's reign, the king's second son Henry was created Duke of York; and as well the duke, as divers others, noblemen, knights bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made knights of the Bath according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after twelfth-day, the king removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secret were laid up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached; the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two, the king drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the king's pardon; which the king then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others, of himself not interrogated, appeach Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The king seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his life, and set the crown upon his head; a man, that enjoyed, by his favour and advancement, so great a fortune both in honour and riches; a man, that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the king's mother; and lastly, a man, to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain; that this man, noways disgraced, noways discontent, noways put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation; being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the king's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the king finding that he did sadly and constantly, without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber where he lay before, in the square tower: and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault: so that, not very wisely, thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the king. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the king's nature and mind. First, an over-merit: for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with kings. Next the sense of his power; for the king thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom; there being found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate, exceeding great. And for his revenue in land and fee, it was three thousand pounds a year of old rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the nature of the time; for if the king had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head, made him work sure. Wherefore after some six weeks' distance of time, which the king did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to show to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of high treason, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was, for which he suffered; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the king. His case was said to be this: That in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, "That if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him." This case seems somewhat a hard case, both in respect of the conditional, and in respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit ifs and ands, to qualify words of treason; whereby every man might express his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case, in the following times, of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent; who had said, "That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he should be deprived of his crown, and die the death of a dog." And infinite cases may be put of like nature; which, it seemeth, the grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons upon condition. And as for the positive words, "That he would not bear arms against King Edward's son;" though the words

seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct overruling of the king's title, either by the line of Lancaster, or by act of parliament; which, no doubt, pierced the king more than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold that opinion, that a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the king, it was to teach all England to say as much. And therefore, as those times were, that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt; for they say, that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now for the motive of his falling off from the king; it is true, that at Bosworth-field the king was beset, and in a manner enclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this Stanley was sent by his brother, with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit than the king received by the hands of Stanley; being, like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown. For which service the king gave him great gifts, made him his counsellor and chamberlain: and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth-field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet, nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the king, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the king for the earldom of Chester; which ever being a kind of appanage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the king's son, his suit did not only end in a denial but in a distaste: the king perceiving thereby, that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the king began not to brook him well. And as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to suggest unto his passion, that Stanley, at Bosworth-field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet, having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made lord chamberlain, Giles, Lord D'Aubigny, a man of great sufficiency and valour; the more because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the king's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he had with the king before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the lord chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the lord chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust. So that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the king, what with his baits, and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the thread, sometimes one and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with the king; and the manner of carriage of the business, as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster; which was the case almost of every man, at the least in opinion, was matter of great terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects: insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence everywhere: which nevertheless made the king rather more absolute than more safe. For "bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, strangle soonest, and oppress most."

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and vollies of libels, which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition, containing bitter invectives and slanders against the king and some of the council: for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence of inquiry, five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Meanwhile the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence, for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes, the Prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men, and a martial commission, together with a civil power of his

lieutenant, with a clause, that the Earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale, fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the Earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagerness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament; where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poynings' law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland; for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time; which was the tenth year of the king.

About this time began to be discovered in the king that disposition, which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times: which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the king's nature, and not out of his necessity, he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the lord chamberlain and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London; who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the king for sixteen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him if the king had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the king, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make open demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which was imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother and the earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck, finding that time and temporising, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force, resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England; hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the house of York. Which body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The king by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the king, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their nature and fortunes to be feared, as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal, in Kent, about July.

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people and freebooters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom; resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the king, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the king's service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed some forces in good number to show themselves upon the coast; and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the prince, or else taught by secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and after to march in order; and rebels contrariwise run upon a head together in confusion, considering the delay of time, and

observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the king's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish, besides those that were fled and were slain, there were taken about a hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the king thought, that to punish a few for example was gentlemen's pay; but for rascal people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise: and likewise for that he saw that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people, he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed, some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The king being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress: but being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend from the king their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November, this being the eleventh year of the king, was holden the sergeants' feast at Ely-place, there being nine sergeants of that call. The king, to honour the feast, was present with his queen at the dinner; being a prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the king entered into league with the Italian potentates for the defence of Italy against France. For King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of a felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, "That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight." He likewise entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the Barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa; which made all men suspect that his purposes looked farther than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at difference with Ludovico Sfortia, who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relics of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italians; whereby he left the realm of Naples at his departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said pope; Maximilian, King of the Romans; Henry, King of England; Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout; Augustino Barbadico, Duke of Venice; and Ludovico Sfortia, Duke of Milan; for the common defence of their estates: wherein though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet, no doubt, the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included as a fee of the church.

There died also this year, Cecile, Duchess of York, mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her castle of Berkhamstead, being of extreme years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also the king called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature than ought to detain the reader of a history. And it may be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the king did excel in good commonwealth laws, so, nevertheless, he had in secret a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure as for correcting of manners; and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament was a law of a strange nature; rather just than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain, That no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conscience, that, what-

soever the fortune of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague; who said, "If I have sinned, strike me: but what have these sheep done?" Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight; for it did the better take away occasions for the people to busy themselves to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet, nevertheless, it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will it should be void. And for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time; who doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, That no statute made during the minority of a king, should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the king under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time was an act of repeal of that former act; at which time nevertheless the king was minor. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping act for the benevolence: to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law. Which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This parliament also was made that good law, which gave the attaint upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the king's suit, as because, in them, if they be followed in course of indictment, there passeth a double jury, the indictors and the triers: and so not twelve men, but four-and-twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death; if they should be subject to suit and penalty, where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit, where the demand is under the value of forty pounds; for that in such cases of petty value it would not quit the charge, to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands, or their husbands' ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law, for the admission of poor suitors in forma pauperis, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk, whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue. There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before; but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those that are not of a vulgar nature.

The king, this while, though he sat in parliament, as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, who was now returned into Flanders, but as a May-game; yet having the composition of a wise king, stout without, and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France, than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the king's diligence and Poynings's commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin, but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his council to seek aid of the King of Scotland, a prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the king: the one being displeased with the king's prohibition of commerce with Flanders; the other holding the king for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the Duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which did further his fortunes: insomuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the King of Scotland.

Perkin, therefore, coming into Scotland upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the King of Scots, being formerly well prepared, honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence, in a solemn

manner: for the king received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin well attended, as well with those that the king had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the king was, and coming near to the king, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner:

"High and mighty king, your grace, and these your nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom; but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place. You see here before you the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the nursery to the sanctuary; from the sanctuary to the direful prison; from the prison to the hand of the cruel tormentor; and from that hand to the wide wilderness, as I may truly call it, for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth by your princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late King of England, as your grace cannot but have heard, left two sons, Edward, and Richard, Duke of York, both very young. Edward, the eldest, succeeded their father in the crown, by the name of King Edward the Fifth: but Richard, Duke of Gloucester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the kingdom through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their blood, out of desire to secure himself, employed an instrument of his, confident to him, as he thought, to murder them both. But this man that was employed to execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest of the two, was moved, partly by remorse, and partly by some other mean, to save Richard his brother; making a report nevertheless to the tyrant, that he had performed his commandment for both brethren. This report was accordingly believed, and published generally; so that the world hath been possessed of an opinion, that they both were barbarously made away; though ever truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved little Joash from the tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the king's children; and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him; preserved the second brother. For I myself, that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard, Duke of York, brother of that unfortunate prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving heir male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of that name the fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or at least in a more secret relation; for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a mother living, a queen, and one that expected daily such a commandment from the tyrant, for the murdering of her children. Thus in my tender age escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over sea; where after a time the party that had me in charge, upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God knoweth, suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon me; the other of grief and disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with myself to expect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the crown. But in this season it happened one Henry Tudor, son to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the realm, and by subtile and foul means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained: so that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtile ways and means he could to procure my final destruction; for my mortal enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving me nicknames, so abusing the world; but also, to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes and their ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune labours to certain servants about my person, to murder or poison me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel, and to depart from my service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every man of reason may well perceive, that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant labour and industry, to compass my death and ruin, if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above, for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord and amity, by so great an obligation, hath reserved the placing of me on the imperial throne of England for the arms and succours of your grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them that were bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of Eng-

land, as of late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore, for that your grace hath given clear signs, that you are in no noble quality inferior to your royal ancestors, I, so distressed a prince, was hereby moved to come and put myself into your royal hands, desiring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear myself towards your grace no otherwise than if I were your own natural brother; and will, upon the recovery of mine inheritance, gratefully do you all the pleasure that is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely; "That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands." And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things as became the person of Richard, Duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent that this duke should take to wife the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the king himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army, though it consisted chiefly of borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly, into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation* of this tenor following, in the name of Richard, Duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length to show ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourselves and them from tyranny and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry Tudor, a false usurper of the crown of England, which to us by natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, we being the very Richard, Duke of York, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and victorious Edward the Fourth, late King of England, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise, by all foul and wicked means, sought to betray us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But this Tudor, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath, ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice but tyranny and the feats thereof.

"For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions, like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy, agreeable to the meanness of his birth, hath trodden under foot the honour of this nation: selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandise of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovernment and evil deportments at home. First, he hath, to fortify his false quarrel, caused divers nobles of this our realm, whom he held suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain; Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William D'Aubigny, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms: some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin, Edward, son and heir to our uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power, to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their legiances. He also married by compulsion, certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Risely, Turbervile, Tiler, Chomley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other caitiffs and villains of birth, which by subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England.

"We remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold trea

* The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities: from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work.

sons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm; shall, by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with counsel of other sad persons, see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of merchandise betwixt realm and realm to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the common weal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of the old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects, and true liege-men.

"And further, we do, out of our grace and clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects remission and free pardon of all bypast offences whatsoever, against our person or estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom, we know well, they have been misled, if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs, both during their life and after their death: as also we shall, by all means which God shall put into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estate of our people, maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, and pre-eminences of our nobles from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns, in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonair government of our noble father King Edward, in his last times, is in us revived.

"And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a mean to stay much effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us, which we desire to avoid, though we be certainly informed that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown, the better to support him in foreign parts, we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said enemy, though the party be of never so mean a condition, he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand pound in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and a hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

"Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the King of Scotland, to aid us in person in this our righteous quarrel; it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects: but contrariwise, with promise on our said cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy, which we hope will be very suddenly, he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprise, and our true and faithful love and amity; which we shall ever, by the grace of Almighty God, so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms."

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland, seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred anywhere in his favour, turned his enterprise into a rode; and wasted and destroyed the country of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland, with great spoils, deferring further prosecution till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the king in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the king answered half in sport, that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore; which moved them by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate and a citizen of the world: and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king, on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state But that

that moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant-adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat: on the king's part, Bishop Fox, lord privy seal, Viscount Wells, Kendal, prior of Saint John's, Warham, master of the rolls, who began to gain much upon the king's opinion; Urswick, who was almost ever one; and Risely: on the archduke's part, the Lord Bevers, his admiral; the Lord Verunsel, president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the king and the archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day "intercursus magnus;" both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the king; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one-and-twentieth year of the king, which they call "intercursus malus." In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other; purporting, That if any such rebel should be required, by the prince whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess-dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the king called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice and the cruel predatory war lately made by the King of Scotland: That the king, being in amity with him, and noways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was everywhere else detected and discarded: and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the king any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace: concluding, that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens: for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure of a strange kind of ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant-adventurers of England, against the merchant-adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade; which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

But it was fatal to the king to fight for his money; and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home: for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tinners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments; and said it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier, of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were not to be granted, nor levied in this case; that is, for wars of Scotland: for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage for those journeys; much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt; but go and deliver the king a strong petition for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that

counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's screens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them further that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the king's service. The people upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them with great gladness and cries of joy accepted as their general; they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, lead their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had showed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England: And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, and both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid, which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them, so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham, threatening either to bid battle to the king, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the king. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men, occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once: knowing well, that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the parliament had broken up, the king had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the king's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of D'Aubigny, the lord chamberlain. But as soon as the king understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he despatched the Earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice: which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown; it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom: according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter his counsel. For neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people; neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them before they grew too strong

And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course: for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When therefore the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the king, knowing well that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to despatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing, but wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts; the first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some cornets of horse and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; thereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces, being likewise great and brave forces, he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or consummate the victory; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in St. George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult: as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which being for greatness and fortune queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition or condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went; yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side; giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate, the lord mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their parts, stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars, to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles, before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to impound the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather, for the confidence they reposed, which was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and D'Aubigny; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper, Duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two-and-twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought: though the king had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves, as at the receipt, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done, the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the Lord D'Aubigny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-bridge, where they fought manfully; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army at that time, hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain without resistance. The Lord D'Aubigny charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like, by accident, to have brandled the fortune of the day: for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting at the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons showed no want of courage; but being ill armed,

and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men; their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part, there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a tailor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornish men were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said creation, as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-Hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and at Tower-Hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn; the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after-times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror; but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the king's executions and pardons; and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than after so long a distance of time we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but a handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; but in this, so mighty a rebellion, but three. Whether it were that the king put to account the men that were slain in the field, or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause, or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornish men were defeated, there came from Calais to the king an honourable embassage from the French king, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed. The king, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over, which would soon be: slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This embassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of moneys, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a wooing embassage, with good respects to entertain the king in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the king's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornish men were in their march towards London, the King of Scotland, well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of a war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the king had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox, Bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the Earl of Surrey, who was not far off, in Yorkshire, to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish king both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils; and when he understood that the Earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl, finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity in Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish king, and to have given him battle; but, not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Ayton, one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between Berwick and Edinburgh, which in a small time he took. And soon after, the Scottish king retiring farther into

his country, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day; for his embassage set the truce between England and Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms; a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, unto the king, to treat a marriage between Catharine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conferences which he had with the king touching this business, the king, who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of ambassadors of foreign princes, if he liked the men; insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ them in his service, fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the king naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, those that would advise their king to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the king. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the king, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the king in his own affairs. And the king, on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the counsel of Ferdinando. Wherefore he was content that Hialas, as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself, should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish king, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto the king, that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the king directed Bishop Fox, who at that time was at his castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish king. The commissioners on both sides met. But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the king to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The King of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do, saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title: but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with arms, upon the belief that he was a prince; and therefore that he could not now with his honour so unrip, and, in a sort, put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop, likewise, who had certain proud instructions from the king, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms, after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions, which was, that the Scottish king would give the king an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish king, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also, according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered, that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the king's people were better able to bear the loss than their master to repair it. But in the end, as persons capable of reason, on both sides they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following. But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people whom he might no

hold in any long discontent; and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side; but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stagelike greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the king, a little before this time, Pope Alexander, who loved best those princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do, taking very thankfully the king's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy, did remunerate him with a hallowed sword and cap of maintenance, sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the king appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the pope's orator at London-bridge, and all the streets between the bridgefoot and the palace of Paul's, where the king then lay, were garnished with the citizens, standing in their liveries. And the morrow after, being All-hallows-day, the king, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the king himself remaining seated in the quire, the lord archbishop, upon the greece of the quire, made a long oration; setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the pope, in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the king; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed: and then recited the king's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his holiness of this great honour.

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity, by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a piece, were come down into their country, had rather emboldened them than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind; and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtilest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three: Herne, a mercer, that had fled for debt; Skelton, a tailor; and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminister before this time. For these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall; which accordingly he did, having in his company four small barks, with some sixscore or sevenscore fighting men. He arrived in September at Whitsand-Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard, Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town: as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbare to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk

to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them, that the king would make them another London, if they would be the first town that would acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men, to tempt them and to treat with them. The citizens, on their part, showed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they saw, that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the king's succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of evils, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords, from several parts of the walls, privily, several messengers, that if one came to mischance, another might pass on, which should advertise the king of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted, that succours would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town. And for that purpose having mounted scaling ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars and iron crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire, which he did. But the citizens, well perceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside, with fagots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; and in the mean time raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and gate. And for the scaladoes, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.

The king, when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that the king of rake-hells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the king, that he was indeed much joyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now that he should be cured of those privy stitches which he had had long about his heart, and at some times broken his sleeps, in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Brook, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces to speed to Exeter, to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The Earl of Devonshire, and his son, with the Carews, and the Fullfords, and other principal persons of Devonshire, uncalled from the court, but hearing that the king's heart was much bent upon this service, made haste with troops that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the king's succours. The Duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either the king's or the lord chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the king their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the proverb, in the coming down, every saint did help.

Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown, and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornish men where become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter, between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of his siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight he fled with threescore horse to Bewdley in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornish men to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the rebels, they, being destituted of their head, without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it,

and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to Saint Michael's mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Catharine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said, that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life, and many years after. The name of the white-rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The king went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornish men, in sacrifice to the citizens whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the king consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The council were divided in opinion: some advised the king to take him out of sanctuary perforce, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things: wherein they doubted not also but the king should find the pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the king to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the king ever, either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the king's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortunes; that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the king said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his friends; and that for himself, he always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin, who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint, or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The king did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the Lord Darcy, and others commissioners, for the fining of all such as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin, or the Cornish men, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought unto the king's court, but not to the king's presence; though the king, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in show at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a sycophant, or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along: that one might know afar off where the owl was by the flight of birds; some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of: so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill, to the Tower, and from thence back again to Westminster, with the churm of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been sergeant-farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad; wherein the king did himself no right; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother,

and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and sirnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the Duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at.

So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before; but the king chose rather not to satisfy than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new examination or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the king's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time, a great fire in the night time suddenly began at the king's palace of Sheen, near unto the king's own lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household-stuff; which gave the king occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident: there was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprise of Christopher Columbus in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being, in the shape and making of them, broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south; it is likely, that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west. And it may be that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed, (desirous rather to make his enterprise the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a former discovery,) did give him better assurance, that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and land-winds, and the like, which were the conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied: though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery, a little before, of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a card thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and an half, finding the seas still open. It is certain also, that the king's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the king's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquest: for Christopherus Columbus, refused by the King of Portugal, who would not embrace at once both east and west, employed his brother Bartholomeus Columbus unto King Henry, to negotiate for his discovery: and it so fortuned, that he was taken by pirates at sea, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king: so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother, the enterprise by him was achieved, and so the West Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castile. Yet this sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also, by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town; and having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrelled them for spies: whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows; so that many were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men, being strangers in the town, had the worst; insomuch as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken: the King of Scotland took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a herald to the king to make protestation, that if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war. The king, who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace, made answer, that what had been done, was utterly against his will, and

without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the Scottish king but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the king, that the Scottish king was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish king to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submissive and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, that though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The bishop, advising first with the king, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melross, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham castle; whereunto Bishop Fox made such humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil into the wound, whereby it began to heal: and this was done in the presence of the king and his council. After, the king spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made, and soon broken, but that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England; discovering his mind, that if the king would give him in marriage the Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble. That he knew well what place and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master: therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the bishop returning to the king, and giving account what had passed, and finding the king more than well disposed in it, gave the king advice; first to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign, to continue for both the king's lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scotchman into England, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

This year there was also born to the king a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died. And much about the same time came news of the death of Charles the French king, for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir. For, deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coast. But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Sheen (which had the privilege of sanctuary) and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought a holy man, and much reverenced in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the king were again more hot than ever, to have the king to take him forth and hang him. But the king, that had a high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised, bid, "Take him forth, and set the knave in the stocks;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the palace court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the king was, as was partly touched before, grown to be such a partner with fortune, as nobody could tell what actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed, generally, that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the king's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line; and that the king did this to pick a quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once: but this is not probable. For that the same instruments who observed him in his flight, might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number; Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape; but knowing well, that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, Earl of

Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought the servants would look upon, though not upon himself: and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant, secretly, in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford; a young man taught and set on by an Augustin friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true Earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate from the Earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was, indeed, but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people, which, if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were hereupon, Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and, by commissioners of oyer and determiner, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land, within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary-men when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained, or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There were executed with Perkin, the Mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were the lieutenant's men: but of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford, then for the time high steward of England, the poor prince, the Earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted, and besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape by law could not be treason, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the king: and the earl confessing the indictment, had judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end, not only of this noble and commiserable person, Edward, the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the Duke of Clarence; but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown, from the time of the famous King of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other names, as well of the imperial line, as of other noble houses But it was neither guilt of crime, nor reason of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution: so that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new alley, Ferdinando, King of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters showed out of Spain, whereby in the passage concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the Earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loath to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the marriage, as an ill prognostic: which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catharine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words, that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.

The fifteenth year of the king, there was a great plague both in London and in divers parts of the

kingdom. Wherefore the king, after often change of places, whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke, or both, sailed over with his queen to Calais. Upon his coming hither, the archduke sent an honourable embassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know, that if it pleased him, he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal, that the king might be pleased to appoint some place, that were out of any walled town or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French king: and though he said, he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he would be loath to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted less. The king accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's church without Calais. But withal he did visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord St. John, and the secretary; unto whom the archduke did the honour, as, going to mass at Saint Omer's, to set the Lord St. John on his right hand, and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the king went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's church, to receive the archduke: and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the king's stirrup at his alighting; which the king would not permit, but descending from horseback, they embraced with great affection; and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties, and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the Duke of York, the king's second son, and the archduke's daughter; and again between Charles, the archduke's son and heir, and Mary, the king's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but friendly wishes, and the airs of loving entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two princes conversed and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke; who, besides that he was a prince of an excellent good nature, being conscious to himself how dryly the king had been used by his council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the king's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against the French king, did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England; was glad upon this occasion to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the king patron, and father, and protector, (these very words the king repeats, when he certified of the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city,) and what else he could devise, to express his love and observance to the king. There came also to the king, the governor of Picardy, and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French king to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory, and winning of the Duchy of Milan. It seemeth the king was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calais, for he did himself certify all the news and occurrents of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which, no doubt, made no small talk in the city. For the king, though he could not entertain the good-will of the citizens, as Edward the Fourth did, yet by affability and other princely graces did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, and cardinal. He was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature, harsh and haughty; much accepted by the king, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the king's casting counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the king with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes: and also for that, in his affections, he was not without an inveterate malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the king, more than the king was willing to put upon him: for the king cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after show, that the bishop, in feeding the king's humour, did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed, as in custody, to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the king, and the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubilee at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journeys to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing they

could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England, Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo, afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom, and semblance of holiness: insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the king shared in the money; but it appeareth by a letter which Cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius, on the king's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Catharine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear, for the satisfaction of the common people, that this was consecrated money, the same nuncio brought unto the king a brief from the pope, wherein the king was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk: for that the pope, out of the care of a universal father, seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign princes, divers consultations about a holy war, and a general expedition of Christian princes against the Turk: wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and that the pope, willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause, in person, and in company of the King of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian princes, as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise.

To this the king, who understood well the court of Rome, made an answer rather solemn than serious: signifying,

"That no prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his person, and by all his possible forces and fortunes, to enter into this sacred war, than himself. But that the distance of place was such, as no forces that he should raise for the seas, could be levied or prepared but with double the charge, and double the time, at the least, that they might be from the other princes, that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships, having no galleys, nor the experience of his pilots and mariners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And therefore, that his holiness might do well to move one of those other kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both all things would be no sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Græcia, might be wisely avoided; and that for his part he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet, notwithstanding, if both these kings should refuse, rather than his holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready: always provided, that he might first see all differences of the Christian princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased, as for his own part, he was in none, and that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men."

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented: and yet this declaration of the king, as superficial as it was, gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of Rhodes the protector of their order: all things multiplying to honour in a prince, that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.

There were these last two years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this king's reign, and rather by penances, than by fire. The king had, though he were no good schoolman, the honour to convert one of them by dispute, at Canterbury.

This year also, though the king were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of blood, and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless, he had certain apparitions that troubled him, still showing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the Earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth, eldest sister to King Edward the Fourth, by John, Duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John, Earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stokefield, being of a hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the king gave him his pardon. But, either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders, unto his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. The king startled at it, but, being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, the Lady Margaret also growing, by often

falling in her alchymy, weary of her experiments; and partly being a little sweetened, for that the king had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin, that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the king.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the king, the Lady Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in England at Plymouth, the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur, in Paul's, the fourteenth of November following: the prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, show, and order. The chief man that took the care was Bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of court or state of a great king. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage-couple, especially of the prince: but the true reason was, that these two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well, that in the mean time the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes, that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the princess brought, which was turned over to the king by act of renunciation, was two hundred thousand ducats; whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the Principality of Wales, and of the Dukedom of Cornwall, and of the Earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severalty; and in case she came to be Queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus; that it should be as great as ever any former Queen of England had. In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy; the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus, and the old King Alphonsus, that was the greatest astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the lady, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical; but you may be sure, that King Arthur, the Briton, and the descent of the Lady Catharine from the house of Lancaster, was in nowise forgotten. But as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time, not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow castle, where he was sent to keep his residance and court, as Prince of Wales. Of this prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory: only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catharine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no, whereby that matter in fact, of carnal knowledge, might be made part of the case. And it is true, that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage, although the plenitude of the pope's power of dispensing was the main question. And this doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their succession was settled by act of parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed, that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Catharine. Not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power, to dispense even in that case: but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth. And the times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's legitimation, which were the longer and the latter, maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory, that it was half a year's time between the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's death, which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catharine were with child by Prince Arthur, or no. Again, the lady herself procured a bull, for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of "vel forsan cognitam," which was not in the first bull. There was given in evidence also, when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage, which was, that in a morning, Prince Arthur, upon his uprising from bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the gentlemen of his chamber that brought him the drink, to smile at it, and to

note it, he said merrily to him, that he had been in the midst of Spain, which was a hot region, and his journey had made him dry; and that if the other had been in so hot a clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides the prince was upon the point of sixteen years of age when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry, Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint: for the Dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The king also being fast-handed, and loath to part with a second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the prince, though not without some reluctation, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age, to be contracted with the Princess Catharine. The secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James, King of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the king's eldest daughter; which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's cross, the five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon showed, by ringing of bells and bonfires, and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected, in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations, especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war; and therefore might be truly attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring, which many-times runneth not only in the hearts of princes, but in the pulse and veins of people, touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following, consummate at Edinburgh: the king bringing his daughter as far as Colliweston on the way, and then consigning her to the attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who, with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland, to the king her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost three years, from the time that the king of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop Fox. The sum given in marriage by the king was ten thousand pounds: and the jointure and advancement assured by the King of Scotland was two thousand pounds a year, after King James's death, and one thousand pounds a year in present, for the lady's allowance or maintenance. This to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported, that the king remitted the matter to his council; and that some of the table, in the freedom of counsellors, the king being present, did put the case, that if God should take the king's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the king himself replied; that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less; and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensed with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur, of whom we have spoken, and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in child-bed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year, Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had with the king the greatest freedom of any counsellor: but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery. Yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the king's estate was very prosperous: secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like a thunder afar off, going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the king; carrying, as with a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour; he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For the first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law: but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransom, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses, in a court of

commission; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury; assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown, and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to enthral and charge the subjects' lands with tenures "in capite," by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law. Nay, the king's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods; nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct, and, if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance: but their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete: but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour, having ever a rable of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report, that the king was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford, that was his principal servant both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham: And at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight: my attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to show further the king's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance.

> "Item, Received of such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid: except the party be some other ways satisfied."

And over-against this "Memorandum," of the king's own hand,

> "Otherwise satisfied."

Which I do the rather mention, because it shows in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile, to keep the king awake, the Earl of Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts; and taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people against the king's government: and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom: for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles; and again, that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The king resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the king, to fly from his charge, and to feign himself a servant of the earl's. This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or hold, advertised the king thereof in great secrecy: but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. Upon whose advertisement the king attached William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law, married to the Lady Catharine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William de la Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended: but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered

The Earl of Devonshire being interested in the blood of York, that was rather feared than nocent; yet as one that might be the object of others plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the king's life. William de la Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tirrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother, did still "cry from under the altar," and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of Curson, who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity, there was published at Paul's cross, about the time of the said executions, the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name; and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed, that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after, Curson, when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people. Upon whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes, the Lady Margaret also, by tract of time and bad success, being now become cool in those attempts, after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella was at that time King of Castile, in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign, the king called his parliament; wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this parliament there were not made any statutes memorable touching public government; but those that were, had still the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the king in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the king's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe; providing, nevertheless, that they should have the king's wages from their house till they return home again. There had been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this king's time, that the king thought it safest to assist martial law by law of parliament.

Another statute was made prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixed with any other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece, for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time but of knit silk, or texture of silk; as ribands laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c., which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle; "That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited." For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of jails, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice, than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the king, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was, in effect, to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so, upon the matter, to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one, the dislike the parliament had of jailing them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example. The other that in the statutes of this king's time, for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind, there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them: the king ever having an eye to might and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporalty and the clergy. And yet, nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks, for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they

did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once; the last payments of the marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the benevolence; the recoinage; the redemption of the city's liberties; the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the king had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of a high mind; he needed not to make riches his glory; he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the sergeants' feast, which was the second call in this king's days.

About this time, Isabella, Queen of Castile, deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the king took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs, especially in two points: the one for example, the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Arragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own queen; and the case of Joan the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son Prince Henry. For if both of the kings had their kingdoms in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment, more than the other, that is to say, a conquest in the field, and an act of parliament, yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood did, in the imagination even of a wise man, breed a doubt that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right; or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn. For whereas, before time, himself, with the conjunction of Arragon and Castile, which then was one, and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear, that now the French king, (who had great interest in the affections of Philip, the young King of Castile, who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile; and thirdly, Maximilian, Philip's father, who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long as he had been last before, would, all three, being potent princes, enter into some strait league and confederation amongst themselves: whereby though he should not been dangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Arragon. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit conditions abroad; and amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven-and-twenty: by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, having been a goal for a time between the King of Arragon and the French king, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in embassage or message three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions rather than negotiations. The one touching the person and condition of the young Queen of Naples; the other touching all particulars of estate, that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts: giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catharine the princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young Queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace: which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the king had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the Queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous: but, being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors, that this young queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea, and during the time of Lewis, the French king, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and

garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the king at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the king, that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile, as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pretended. And that all mandates and grants were expediated in the name of Joan his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both nobles and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip, so he brought his wife with him, than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages: which was the king's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason, the secretary of Ferdinando, had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles, Prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter; assuring the king, that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said prince and the daughter of France, would break; and that she, the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madame de Fois, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The king, by the return of this embassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando, King of Arragon, and Philip, his son-in-law, King of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever they succeeded, by a moderate carriage, and bearing the person of a common friend, to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of Arragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview: for Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the King of Arragon, set forth with a great navy out of Flanders for Spain, in the month of January, the one-and-twentieth year of the king's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England. And the ship wherein the king and queen were, with two other small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used, as it seems, to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth; where, understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the king and queen to his house; and forthwith despatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Carew likewise, with a great troop of men well armed: using the like humbleness and respects towards the king, when he knew the case. King Philip doubting that they, being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again without the king's notice and leave, yielded to their entreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The king, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the Earl of Arundel to go to visit the King of Castile, and let him understand that as he was very sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the king made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the king's message, King Philip seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the king at Windsor, and his queen followed by easy journeys. The two kings at their meeting used all the caresses

and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the King of Castile said pleasantly to the king, "That he was now punished for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the king answered, "That walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the king saying, that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised: in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst princes. But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." The King of Castile asked him what he meant by that speech? "I mean it," saith the king, "by that same harebrain wild fellow, my subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it." The King of Castile answered, "I had thought, sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him." The king replied, "Those hornets were best in their nest, and worst when they did fly abroad; and that his desire was to have him delivered to him." The King of Castile, herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." The king presently said, "Then the matter is at end, for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me, but so will I to you. You shall have him, but, upon your honour, you shall not take his life." The king embracing him said, "Agreed." Saith the King of Castile, "Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come with his own good will." The king said, "It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl a message to that purpose." They both sent severally, and mean while they continued feasting and pastimes. The king being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced. The king also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the King of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile, who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law, answered, "That if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him."

There were immediately messengers sent from both kings to recall the Earl of Suffolk; who upon gentle words used to him, was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient guard delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meanwhile, King Henry, to draw out the time, continued his feastings and entertainments, and after he had received the King of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son, the prince, admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his queen to the city of London, where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless, during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term "intercursus malus," and bears date at Windsor; for that there be some things in it, more to the advantage of the English than of them; especially, for that the free-fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England granted in the treaty of "undecimo," was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed, that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Paul's church-yard, in the place where the schoolhouse now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down: which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house, which was, by interpretation also, fulfilled upon Philip, the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed. For Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, insomuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By this all Spain returned into the power of Ferdi-

mando in state as it was before: the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who, loving her husband, by whom she had many children, dearly well, and no less beloved of him, howsoever her father, to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well, was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits. Of which malady her father was thought noways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his regal power in Castile. So that as the felicity of Charles the Eighth was said to be a dream; so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time the king was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius, to canonize King Henry the Sixth for a saint, the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the king's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter, as the manner is, to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles: but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that the pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of Rome, and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year likewise there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the king and the Lady Margaret, Duchess-dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the King of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed for his first piece the king's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the king, but with promise de futuro only. It may be the king was the rather induced unto it, for that he had heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally Ferdinando of Arragon, and Madame de Fois, whereby that king began to piece with the French king, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of kings at one time or other, to have a little of the wheel; nay, there is a farther tradition in Spain, though not with us, that the King of Arragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles, Prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter, went roundly on, (which though it was first moved by the King of Arragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side,) entered into a jealousy that the king did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government; Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young prince. Certainly it is not unlike, but the king's government, carrying the young prince with him, would have been perhaps more welcome to the Spaniards than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the King of Arragon in favour of King Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that king. And as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the king's seemeth to me, considering the king's safe courses, never found to be enterprising or adventurous, not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the king, who now in the two-and-twentieth of his reign began to be troubled with the gout: but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labour of the phthisic: nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence as before in his health: yet so, as upon this warning he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed, than to be given to Pope Julius; for this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations; and in the year following, which was the three-and-twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppression of Dudley and Empson, and their complices: partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, the preachers doing their duty therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience; yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same three-and-twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time: and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty: the great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; and being a man

of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite; and belike used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel, if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money even for those times.

The last act of state that concluded this king's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles, Prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both being of tender years: which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the king's death. In which alliance, it seemeth, he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expressed himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom: when he had for his sons-in-law, a king of Scotland, and a prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great king's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold prince and liberal, and that gained upon the people, by his very aspect and presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare, and worthy to be taken into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon: as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

And thus this Solomon of England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions, having lived two-and-fifty years, and thereof reigned three-and-twenty years, and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sickness, passed to a better world, the two-and-twentieth of April, 1508, at his palace of Richmond, which he himself had built.

This king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a commonplace, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen: he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy: and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret; which showed, that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung; and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness: for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars; therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the duke's death. The insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate; the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will: for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also

let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party: save also, that the council-table intermeddled too much with "meum" and "tuum." For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning; but in that part both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice, he was also a merciful prince: as in whose time, there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the Earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Audley: though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions, expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality; but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And, as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his people: some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low: some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece: some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts: but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off: but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required: and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited: so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory, than upon the deserts of others.

He was of a high mind, and loved his own will, and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud. But in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power, or to his secrets, for he was governed by none. His queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth, he had none: except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him: but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vainglory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vainglory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them. Yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon foreign princes, which are frequent with many kings, he had never any: but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attending the court in great number: whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness: but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world: which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they

did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him. Such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad: wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioner, which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom; but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme, curious, and articulate: and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it: he had such moles perpetually working and casting, to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended: for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained: for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this further good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent: but companionable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his council he did refer much, and sat oft in person: knowing it to be the way to assist his power, and inform his judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as, I am persuaded, it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not cooperate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was; but contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, D'Aubigny, Brooke, Poynings: for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ: for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well; for it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles: yet in twenty-four years' reign, he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.

He was a prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons. As, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey, set on as it is thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth: whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at sometimes weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the Duke of York should be saved and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair-spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue, yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them; and yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile, touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by

pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself: insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys, and balls, and masks, which they then called disguises, he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in kings, his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes; rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion: and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the "tres magi" of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself: for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband, neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said; "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." But that, that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king, in living exercised, and dying repentant: so as he had a happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

After the decease of that wise and fortunate King, Henry the Seventh, who died in the height of his prosperity, there followed, as useth to do, when the sun setteth so exceeding clear, one of the fairest mornings of a kingdom that hath been known in this land or anywhere else. A young king, about eighteen years of age, for stature, strength, making, and beauty, one of the goodliest persons of his time. And though he were given to pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of glory; so that there was a passage open in his mind, by glory, for virtue. Neither was he unadorned with learning, though therein he came short of his brother Arthur. He had never any the least pique, difference, or jealousy with the king his father, which might give any occasion of altering court or council upon the change; but all things passed in a still. He was the first heir of the white and red rose; so that there was no discontented party now left in the kingdom, but all men's hearts turned towards him: and not only their hearts, but their eyes also; for he was the only son of the kingdom. He had no brother; which though it be a comfortable thing for kings to have, yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside. And yet being a married man in those young years, it promised hope of speedy issue to succeed in the crown. Neither was there any queen-mother, who might share any way in the government, or clash with his counsellors for authority, while the king intended his pleasure. No such thing as any great and mighty subject, who might anywise eclipse or overshade the imperial power. And for the people and state in general, they were in such lowness of obedience, as subjects were like to yield, who had lived almost four-and-twenty years under so politic a king as his father; being also one who came partly by the sword; and had so high courage in all points of regality; and was ever victorious in rebellions and seditions of the people. The crown extremely rich, and full of treasure, and the kingdom like to be so in a short time. For there was no war, no dearth, no stop of trade, or commerce: it was only the crown which had sucked too hard, and now being full, and upon the head of a young king, was like to draw less. Lastly, he was inheritor of his father's reputation, which was great throughout the world. He had strait alliance with the two neighbour states, an ancient enemy in former times, and an ancient friend, Scotland and Burgundy. He had peace and amity with France, under the assurance, not only of treaty and league, but of necessity and inability in the French to do him hurt, in respect that the French king's designs where wholly bent upon Italy: so that it may be truly said, there had scarcely been seen, or known, in many ages, such a rare concurrence of signs and promises, of a happy and flourishing reign to ensue, as were now met in this young king, called after his father's name, Henry the Eighth. . . . . .

THE BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the decease of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the issues of King Henry the Eighth failed, being spent in one generation and three successions. For that king, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left only by his six wives three children; who reigning successively, and dying childless, made place to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married to James the Fourth, King of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret both by father and mother: so that by a rare event in the pedigrees of kings, it seemed as if the divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all envy and note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the royal blood of England by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men, being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered: and the kingdom of Spain being, of more fresh memory, united and made entire, by the annexing of Portugal in the person of Philip the Second; there remained but this third and last union, for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies; and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. And this event did hold men's observations and discourses the more, because the island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one king, notwithstanding also that the uniting of them had been in former times industriously attempted both by war and treaty. Therefore it seemed a manifest work of providence, and a case of reservation for these times; insomuch that the vulgar conceived that now there was an end given, and a consummation to superstitious prophecies, the belief of fools, but the talk sometimes of wise men, and to an ancient tacit expectation, which had by tradition been infused and inveterated into men's minds. But as the best divinations and predictions are the politic and probable foresight and conjectures of wise men, so in this matter the providence of King Henry the Seventh was in all men's mouths; who being one of the deepest and most prudent princes of the world, upon the deliberation concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter into Scotland, had, by some speech uttered by him, showed himself sensible and almost prescient of this event.

Neither did there want a concurrence of divers rare external circumstances, besides the virtues and condition of the person, which gave great reputation to this succession. A king in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom, as might rather enable a king by variety of accidents, than corrupt him with affluence or vainglory; and one that besides his universal capacity and judgment, was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church: which in these times, by the confused use of both swords, are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign princes or republics depend upon them: but nothing did more fill foreign nations with admiration and expectation of his succession, than the wonderful, and, by them, unexpected consent of all estates and subjects of England, for the receiving of the king without the least scruple, pause, or question. For it had been generally dispersed by the fugitives beyond the seas, who, partly to apply themselves to the ambition of foreigners, and partly to give estimation and value to their own employments, used to represent the state of England in a false light, that after Queen Elizabeth's decease there must follow in England nothing but confusions, interreigns, and perturbations of estate, likely far to exceed the ancient calamities of the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, by how much more the dissensions were like to be more mortal and bloody, when foreign competition should be added to domestical, and divisions for religion to matter of title to the crown.

And in special, Parsons the Jesuit, under a disguised name, had not long before published an express treatise, wherein, whether his malice made him believe his own fancies, or whether he thought it the fittest way to move sedition, like evil spirits, which seem to foretell the tempest they mean to move, he laboured to display and give colour to all the vain pretences and dreams of succession which he could imagine; and thereby had possessed many abroad that knew not the affairs here with those his vanities. Neither wanted there here within this realm, divers persons both wise and well affected, who, though they doubted not of the undoubted right, yet setting before themselves the waves of people's hearts, guided no less by sudden and temporary winds, than by the natural course and motion of the waters, were not without fear what might be the event. For Queen Elizabeth being a princess of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety; and knowing the declaration of a successor might in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage; had, from the beginning, set it down for a maxim of estate, to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion, or maintain argument touching the same: so, though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing; yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to other's thought. And therefore it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions; as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream. But so it was, that not only the consent, but the applause and joy was infinite, and not to be expressed, throughout the realm of England upon this succession: whereof the consent, no doubt, may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the right; but the general joy, alacrity, and gratulation, were the effects of differing causes. For Queen Elizabeth, although she had the use of many both virtues and demonstrations, that might draw and knit unto her the hearts of her people: yet nevertheless carrying a hand restrained in gift, and strained in points of prerogative, could not answer the votes either of servants or subjects to a full contentment; especially in her latter days, when the continuance of her reign, which extended to five-and-forty years, might discover in people their natural desire and inclination towards change: so that a new court and a new reign were not to many unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially those of settled estate and fortune, that the fears and uncertainties were overblown, and that the die was cast. Others, that had made their way with the king, or offered their service in the time of the former queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared: and generally all such as had any dependence upon the late Earl of Essex, who had mingled the service of his own ends with the popular pretence of advancing the king's title, made account their cause was amended. Again, such as might misdoubt they had given the king any occasion of distaste, did contend by their forwardness and confidence, to show it was but their fastness to the former government, and that those affections ended with the time. The papists nourished their hopes, by collating the case of the papists in England, and under Queen Elizabeth, and the case of the papists in Scotland under the king: interpreting that the condition of them in Scotland was the less grievous, and divining of the king's government here accordingly: besides the comfort they ministered to themselves from the memory of the queen his mother. The ministers, and those which stood for the presbytery, thought their cause had more sympathy with the discipline of Scotland than the hierarchy of England, and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their desires. Thus had every condition of persons some contemplation of benefit, which they promised themselves; over-reaching, perhaps, according to the nature of hope, but yet not without some probable ground of conjecture. At which time also there came forth in print the king's book, intituled, Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: containing matter of instruction to the prince his son touching the office of a king; which book falling into every man's hand, filled the whole realm, as with a good perfume or incense, before the king's coming in; for being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the king's disposition, but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration, which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith the princes in the beginning of their reigns do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious in the eyes of their people. And this was for the general the state and constitution of men's minds upon this change; the actions themselves passed in this manner.

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The rest is wanting.

OF THE

STATE OF EUROPE.

[WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1580.]

In the consideration of the present state of Christendom, depending on the inclinations and qualities of the princes, governors of the same, first the person of the pope, acknowledged for supreme of the princes catholic, may be brought forth.

Gregory XIII., of the age of seventy years, by surname Boncompagno, born in Bolonia, of the meanest state of the people, his father a shoemaker by occupation; of no great learning nor understanding, busy rather in practice, than desirous of wars, and that rather to further the advancement of his son and his house, a respect highly regarded of all the popes, than of any inclination of nature, the which, yet in these years, abhorreth not his secret pleasures. Howbeit, two things especially have set so sharp edge to him, whereby he doth bend himself so vehemently against religion. The one is a mere necessity, the other the solicitation of the King of Spain. For if we consider duly the estate of the present time, we shall find that he is not so much carried with the desire to suppress our religion, as driven with the fear of the downfall of his own, if in time it be not upheld and restored.

The reasons be these: He seeth the King of Spain already in years, and worn with labour and troubles, that there is little hope in him of long life. And he failing, there were likely to ensue great alterations of state in all his dominions, the which should be joined with the like in religion, especially in this divided time, and in Spain, already so forward, as the fury of the Inquisition can scarce keep in.

In France, the state of that church seemeth to depend on the sole life of the king now reigning, being of a weak constitution, full of infirmities, not likely to have long life, and quite out of hope of any issue. Of the Duke of Anjou he doth not assure himself; besides the opinion conceived of the weakness of the complexion of all that race, giving neither hope of length of life nor of children. And the next to the succession make already profession of the reformed religion, besides the increase thereof daily in France; England and Scotland are already, God be thanked, quite reformed, with the better part of Germany. And because the queen's majesty hath that reputation to be the defender of the true religion and faith; against her majesty, as the head of the faithful, is the drift of all their mischiefs.

The King of Spain having erected, in his conceit, a monarchy, wherein seeking reputation in the protection of religion, this conjunction with the pope is as necessary to him for the furtherance of his purposes, as to the pope behoveful for the advancing of his house, and for his authority; the King of Spain having already bestowed on the pope's son, degree of title and of office, with great revenues. To encourage the pope herein, being head of the church, they set before him the analogy of the name Gregory, saying, that we were first under a Gregory brought to the faith, and by a Gregory are again to be reduced to the obedience of Rome.

A prophecy likewise is found out, that foretelleth, "the dragon sitting in the chair of Peter, great things should be brought to pass."

Thus is the King of France solicited against those of the religion in France; the emperor against those in his dominions; divisions set in Germany; the Low Countries miserably oppressed; and daily attempts against her majesty, both by force and practice; hereto serve the seminaries, where none are now admitted, but those who take the oath against her majesty.

The sect of the Jesuits are special instruments to alienate the people from her majesty, sow faction, and to absolve them of the oath of obedience, and prepare the way to rebellion and revolt.

Besides, for confirmation of their own religion, they have used some reformation of the clergy, and brought in catechizing.

To go forth with the Princes of Italy, next in situation.

The great Duke of Tuscany, Francisco de Medici, son to Cosmo, and the third duke of that family and province; of the age of forty years; of

disposition severe and sad, rather than manly and grave; no princely port or behaviour more than a great justicer; inclined to peace, and gathering money. All Tuscany is subject unto him, wherein were divers commonwealths; whereof the chief were Florence, Siena, and Pisa, Prato, and Pistoia, saving Lucca, and certain forts on the sea-coast, held by the King of Spain.

He retaineth in his service few, and they strangers, to whom he giveth pensions. In all his citadels he hath garrison of Spaniards, except at Siena: in housekeeping spendeth little, being as it were in pension, agreeing for so much the year with a citizen of Florence for his diet: he has a small guard of Swissers, and when he rideth abroad a guard of forty light-horsemen. The militia of his country amounteth to forty thousand soldiers, to the which he granteth leave to wear their weapons on the holydays, and other immunities. Besides, he entertaineth certain men of arms, to the which he giveth seven crowns the month. He also maintaineth seven galleys, the which serve under his knights, erected by his father in Pisa, of the order of St. Stephano: of these galleys three go every year in chase.

His common exercise is in distillations, and in trying of conclusions, the which he doth exercise in a house called Cassino in Florence, where he spendeth the most part of the day; giving ear in the mean season to matters of affairs and conferring with his chief officers. His revenues are esteemed to amount to a million and a half of crowns, of the which spending half a million, he layeth up yearly one million. But certainly he is the richest prince in all Europe of coin. The form of his government is absolute, depending only of his will and pleasure, though retaining in many things the ancient officers and show. But those magistrates resolve nothing without his express directions and pleasure. Privy council he useth none, but reposeth much his trust on sound secretaries, and conferreth chiefly with his wife, as his father did with one of his secretaries. For matter of examinations, one Corbolo hath the especial trust; he doth favour the people more than the nobility, because they do bear an old grudge to the gentlemen, and the people are the more in number, without whom the nobility can do nothing. One thing in him giveth great contentment to the subjects, that he vouchsafeth to receive and hear all their petitions himself. And in his absence from Florence, those that have suit do resort to the offices, and there exhibit their bill endorsed; whereof within three days absolute answers is returned them, unless the matter be of great importance, then have they directions how to proceed. He is a great justicer; and for the ease of the people, and to have the better eye over justice, hath built hard by his palace a fair row of houses for all offices together in one place.

Two years sithence he married la Signora Bianca, his concubine, a Venetian of Casa Capelli. whereby he entered straiter amity with the Venetians: with the pope he had good intelligence, and some affinity by the marriage of Signor Jacomo, the pope's son, in Casa Sforza.

To the emperor he is allied, his first wife being the Emperor Maximilian's sister.

With Spain he is in strait league, and his mother was of the house of Toledo; his brother likewise, D. Pietro, married in the same house. With France he standeth at this present in some misliking.

With Ferrara always at jar, as with all the Dukes of Italy, for the preseance in some controversy.

All his revenues arise of taxes and customs; his domains are very small.

He hath by his first wife one son, of the age of four or five years, and four daughters; he hath a base child by this woman, and a base brother, D. Joanni, sixteen years of age, of great expectation.

Two brothers, D. Pietro, and the cardinal.

The Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, the fifth duke, now about forty years of age; his first wife Lucretia, daughter to Cosmo de Medici, whom they say he poisoned; his second, daughter to Ferdinand the emperor; his third wife, now living, Anne daughter to the Duke of Mantua. He hath no child. The chief cities of his state are Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio: he is rich in money, growing as the most of Italy, of exactions; of all the princes of Italy alone inclineth to the French; with the pope hath some jar about the passage of a river. The Venetians and he fall in great hatred; with Florence hath enmity: with Lucca little skirmishes every year for a castle he buildeth on their confines, to raise a great toll in a strait passage, by reason of his mother, a Guise.

William, of the house of Gonsaga, the third Duke of Mantua; his wife Barbara, daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand, by whom he hath a son of twenty-two years of age, and a daughter. His son is called Vincentio, his daughter Anne, married of late to the Duke of Ferrara; his son likewise married a year sithence to the Prince of Parma's daughter. The duke his self very deformed and crook-backed, well in years, Montferrat likewise appertaineth to him. Divers of his house have pension always, and serve the King of Spain; his brother, the Duke of Nevers, remaineth in France. He only seeketh to maintain his estate and enrich himself; his greatest pleasure is in horses and building.

The Duke of Urbin, Francesco Maria, of the house of Roveré, the second of that name, a prince of good behaviour and witty. In his state are seven reasonable fair cities; Pesaro, Augubio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, Sanleo, Cagli, Urbino,

Pesaro and Sinigaglia are fortresses on the seaside, Urbino and Sanleo on the Appenine, well fortified. He holdeth three provinces, Montefeltro, Massa Trebaria, and Vicariato di Mondavio.

There hath been good princes and valiant of that house, not so great exactors as the rest of Italy, therefore better beloved of their subjects, which love restored their house, being displaced by Pope Leo X.

His wife Leonora, sister to the Duke of Ferrara, by whom he hath no children, and now is divorced. He hath two sisters, the one married to the Duke of Gravina, the other to the Prince Bisignano, and a third is to marry, whose name is Lavinia.

Ottaviano, first Duke of Castro, then of Camerino, and after of Parma and Piacenza, with great trouble restored to his estate; now is aged, and liveth quietly: his wife Marguerite, daughter to Charles the Fifth, first wife to Alexander de Medici, first Duke of Florence. He hath one son called Alexander, now general for the King of Spain in the Low Countries; his daughter Vittoria was mother to the duke of Urbin.

The Cardinal Farnese, his uncle, of great credit in that college, long time hath aspired to be pope, but withstood by the King of Spain; on whom though now that house depend, yet forgetteth not, as he thinketh, the death of Pier Lugi, and the loss of Parma and Piacenza restored to their house by the French.

The young princes of Mirandola, in the government of their mother Fulvia Correggio, and under the protection of the King of France, who maintaineth there a garrison.

The Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuel, a young prince of twenty-one years, very little of stature, but well brought up and disposed. His territory is the greatest of any Duke of Italy, having Piemont beyond the Alps, and Savoy on this side; divers fair towns and strongholds, richly left of his father, who was accounted a very wise prince. This duke, as is thought, is advised to remain always indifferent between Spain and France, being neighbour to them both, unless some accident do counsel him to declare himself in behalf of either. Therefore both those princes go about by marriage to have him nearer allied to them. His mother was sister to King Francis the Great: his father being expulsed his dominions by the French, was restored by the King of Spain, with whom while he lived he had strait intelligence. As yet his inclination doth not appear, he retaineth his father's alliances with Venice, especially in Italy, and with the emperor. With Florence he hath question for pre-eminence.

His revenues are judged to be a million of crowns yearly; now he is in arms against Geneva, and guarded against Bern.

Of free estates, Lucca, the least, is under the protection of the King of Spain: small in territory: the city itself well fortified and provided, because of the doubt they have of the Duke of Florence.

Genoa is recommended to the King of Spain, their galleys serve under him, and the chiefest of their city are at his devotion. Though there is a faction for the French, whereto he doth hearken so weakly, that the Spaniard is there all in all; by whom that state in few years hath made a marvellous gain. And the King of Spain hath great need of their friendship for their ports, where embark and land all men, and whatsoever is sent between Spain and Milan.

They hold Corsica, an island, and Savona a fair city, and the goodliest haven in Italy, until it was destroyed by the Genevois; the which now make no profession but of merchandise.

There is a dangerous faction amongst them, between the ancient houses and the new, which were admitted into the ancient families.

St. George is their treasure-house and receiver, as at Venice, St. Mark.

Venice, retaining still the ancient form of government, is always for itself in like estate and all one; at this time between the Turk and the King of Spain, in continual watch, seeming to make more account of France, so much in hope of any great affiance at this present to be had in him, but for the reputation of that nation, and the amity always they have had with the same, and behoving them so to do. They use it with good foresight and speedy preventing, sparing for no charge to meet as they may with every accident. Of late they have had some jar with the pope, as well about the Inquisition as title of land. With Ferrara and the Venetians is ancient enmity, specially because he receiveth all their banished and fugitives. They make most account of the Duke of Savoy amongst the Princes of Italy. They maintain divers ambassadors abroad, with the Turk, the emperor, France, Spain, and at Rome; with them is an ambassador of France and Savoy, always resident, and an agent of Spain, because they gave the preseance to France.

In this it seemeth all the potentates of Italy do agree to let all private grudges give place to foreign invasion, more for doubt of alteration in religion, than for any other civil cause.

There is none amongst them at this day in any likelihood to grow to any greatness. For Venice is bridled by the Turk and Spain. The Duke of Tuscany seeketh rather title than territory, otherwise than by purchasing.

Savoy is yet young; the rest of no great force of themselves. France hath greatly lost the reputation they had in Italy, by neglecting the occasions offered, and suffering the King of Spain to settle himself.

The Emperor Adolphe, of the house of Austriche, son to Maximilian, about thirty years of

age; no strong constitution of body, and greatly weakened by immoderate pleasure; no great quickness of spirit. In fashion and apparel all Spanish, where he had his education in his youth. He was most governed by his mother while she remained with him; and yet altogether by his steward Dyetristan, and his great chamberlain Romphe, both pensionaries of Spain, and there with him maintained.

Of the empire he hath, by the last imperial diet, one million of dollars towards the maintenance of the garrisons of Hungary; and, besides, his guards are paid of the empire.

To the Turk he payeth yearly tribute for Hungary forty thousand dollars, besides the charge of the presents and his ambassadors, amounting to more than the tribute; in all one hundred thousand dollars.

The ordinary garrisons in Hungary are to the number of but evil paid at this time.

The revenues and subsidies of Hungary do not pass one hundred thousand florins. The last emperor affirmed solemnly that the charge of Hungary amounted to one million and a half.

The revenues of Bohemia, ordinary and extraordinary, amount to fifty thousand dollars.

In the absence of the emperor, the Baron of Rosemberg is Governor of Bohemia, who possesseth almost a fourth part of that country, and is a Papist; neither he nor his brother have children: he beareth the emperor in hand to make him his heir.

Of Silesia and Moravia, the emperor yearly may have two hundred thousand florins.

Out of Austriche of subsidy and tribute, one hundred thousand florins, for his domains are all sold away and engaged.

Thus all his revenues make half a million of florins.

To his brothers Maximilian and Ernest he alloweth yearly, by agreement made between them, forty-five thousand florins apiece, as well for Austriche, as that might hereafter fall unto them by the decease of the Archduke Ferdinand in Tyrol, the which shall come to the emperor.

The emperor altogether dependeth on Spain, as well in respect of his house, as the education he received there, and the rule his mother hath over him with the chief of his council. He is utter enemy to religion, having well declared the same in banishing the ministers out of Vienna, and divers other towns, where he goeth about to plant Jesuits.

Of his subjects greatly misliked, as his house is hateful to all Germany.

The Archduke Charles holdeth Styria and Carinthia; his chief abode is at Gratz; his wife is sister to the Duke of Bavyre, by whom he hath children.

The Archduke Ferdinand hath Tyrol, and remaineth the most part at Ilsburg. For his eldest son he hath bought in Germany a pretty state, not far from Ulms; the second is a cardinal. Now he is a widower, and said that he shall marry a daughter of the Duke of Mantua.

These are uncles to the emperor; besides Maximilian and Ernest, he hath two brothers, the Archduke Matthias, that hath a pension of the estates of the Low Country, and a Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

In Germany there are divers princes diversely affected. The Elector Palatine Ludovic, a Lutheran; his chief abode is at Heidelberg.

His brother, John Casimir, Calvinist, at Keiserslautern, or Nienstadt.

Richard, their uncle, at Symyers.

During the life of the last elector, Ludovic dwelt at Amberg in the Higher Palatinate.

Philip Ludovic dwelt at Norbourg on the Danow, and is commonly called duke of.

John dwelleth at Rypont, or Sweybourgh, or in Bergesaber; the other three brethren have no certain dwelling-place. George John, son of Rupert, Count Palatine, dwelleth at Lysselsteyn.

Augustus, Duke and Elector of Saxony, remaineth the most part at Dresden on the Elbe; sometimes at Torge on Elbe, a goodly castle fortified by John Frederick. This elector is Lutheran, and a great enemy to our profession; of sixty years of age, half frantic, severe, governed much by his wife, greater exactor than the German princes are wont to be, and retaineth in his service divers Italians; his eldest son married of late the daughter of the Duke of Brandebourg.

The sons of John Frederick, captive, and yet in prison, remain at Coburge in East Franconia, near the forest of Turinge.

The sons of John William abide at Vinaria in Turingia.

Joachim Frederick, son of John George, Elector of Brandebourg, at Hala, in Saxony, on the river of Sala, as administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdebourg.

George Frederick, son of George, dwelleth at Orsbuche in East Franconia, or at Blassenbourge, the which was the mansion of his uncle Albert the warrior.

The Elector of Brandebourg, John George, remaineth at Berlin on the river of Sprea: his uncle John dwelleth at Castryne, beyond Odera, very strong both by the situation, and fortified.

William, Duke of Bavyre, a Papist, at Munich in Bavary, married the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain.

His second brother Ferdinand remaineth most at Landshutt.

The third, Ernest, is Bishop of Frishinghen and Hildesheim, and late of Liege.

Julius, Duke of Brunswick, at the strong castle of Wolfenbuttel on Oker.

Ericke of Brunswick, son to Magnus, uncle to Julius, remaineth at Mynda, or where the rivers

of Werra and Fulda do join, making the river of Visurgis navigable.

William, Duke of Luneburg hath his being at Cella, on the River Albera.

Henry his brother at Gryson, where, before, their uncle Francis was wont to dwell.

Otho, their cousin, Duke of Luneburg, inhabiteth Harbourg, on this side the Elbe, over-right against Hamburgh.

The Dukes of Pomerania, John Frederick dwelleth at Stetin.

Bugeslaus at Campena, some time an abbey in the county of Bardruse.

Ernest Ludovick at Wolgast, on the river of Panis that runneth into the Baltic sea.

Barmin at Ragenwald in Further Pomerania, on the borders of Poland and Prussia.

Casimire at Camyn, which bishopric he holdeth, either as administrator, or in his own possession and right.

Ulricke, Duke of Meckelbourg, remaineth most at Gustrow; his brother John Albert dwelleth at Swerin, whose two sons are in the court of the Duke of Saxon.

Adolph, Duke of Holst and Dytmarch; his chief seat is at Gottorp in the Duchy of Sleswick.

John, his elder brother, unmarried, hath his abode at Hadersburge: John, son to Christiern, King of Denmark, and brother to the Duke of Holst, and to Frederick now King of Denmark, Bishop of Oeselya and Courland in Livonia.

William, Duke of Juliers, Cleve, and Bergin, hath his court at Dusseldorp in the Dukedom of Bergense.

William, Landgrave of Hesse, dwelleth at Cassel on Fulda.

Ludovick at Marpurge.

Philip at Brubache on the Rhine.

George at Darmstadt.

Ludovick, Duke of Wirtenberge, his chief house at Stutgard.

Frederick at Montbelgard.

The Marquises of Bathe: the elder Ernest, the second Jacob, the third brother yet younger; their chief dwelling-place is at Forsheim, or at Durlach.

The sons of Philip at the Bath called Badan.

Earnest Joachim, prince of Anhalt, at Zerbest, in the midway between Magdebourg and Wittemberg; his other mansion is at Dessau on Mylda, where he was born, new built and fortified by his grandfather Ernest; he hath besides the castle of Cathenen, the which was the habitation of Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, his great uncle; Ernest favoureth religion.

George Ernest, Prince and Earl of Henneberg, at Schlewsing, by the forest called Turing.

George, Duke of Silesia and Brieke, of the family of the Kings of Poland, dwelleth at Brieke; his eldest son, Joachim Frederick, hath married the daughter of the Prince of Anhalt; his second son, John George.

Henry, Duke of Silesia and Lignitz, son to the brother of George, dwelleth at Lignitz; he hath no children alive.

Frederick, brother to Henry, unmarried.

Charles, Duke of Munsterburg and Olsse, his wife the Countess of Sternberg, in Bohemia, where he maketh his abode.

Henry, brother to Charles, remained at Olsse.

John Frederick, Duke of Teschen.

Charles, Duke of Lorrain, his chief court at Nancy.

His eldest son Henry of man's estate.

Charles, Cardinal Archbishop of Metes.

A daughter in the French court.

Besides, there are in Germany three electors bishops, and divers bishops of great livings.

The free towns of greatest importance are Noremberg, Auspurg, Ulmes, and Strasburg: then the cantons of the Swisses, the Grisons, and Valois.

The greatest trouble in Germany at this time is about the concordate, furthered by the Duke of Saxon, and the Count Palatine.

There is at this present no prince in Germany greatly toward or redoubted.

The Duke Casimir's credit is greatly impaired, and his ability small.

The diet imperial shortly should be held, where the concordate shall be urged, collection for Hungary made, and a King of Romans named.

The French king, Henry the Third, of thirty years of age, of a very weak constitution, and full of infirmities; yet extremely given over to his wanton pleasures, having only delight in dancing, feasting, and entertaining ladies, and chamber-pleasures: no great wit, yet a comely behaviour and goodly personage, very poor through exacting inordinately by all devices of his subjects greatly repining that revenge and hungry government, abhorring wars and all action, yet daily worketh the ruin of those he hateth, as all of the religion and the house of Bourbon; doting fondly on some he chooseth to favour extremely, without any virtue or cause of desert in them, to whom he giveth prodigally. His chief favourites now about him are the Duke Joyeuse, La Valette, and Monsieur D'Au. The queen-mother ruleth him rather by policy and fear he hath of her, than by his good will: yet he always doth show great reverence towards her. The Guise is in as great favour with him as ever he was; the house is now the greatest of all France, being allied to Ferrara, Savoy, Lorrain, Scotland, and favoured of all the Papists; the French king having his kinswoman to wife, and divers great personages in that realm of his house.

The chiefest at this present in credit in court, whose counsel he useth, are Villeroy, Villaquier, Bellievre, the chancellor and lord keeper, Birague and Chiverny.

He greatly entertaineth no amity with any prince, other than for form; neither is his friendship otherwise respected of others, save in respect of the reputation of so great a kingdom.

The pope beareth a great sway, and the king of Spain by means of his pensions; and of the queen-mother with the Guise; she for her two daughters, he for other regard, can do what he list there, or hinder what he would not have done.

The division in his country for matters of religion and state, through miscontentment of the nobility to see strangers advanced to the greatest charges of the realm, the offices of justice sold, the treasury wasted, the people polled, the country destroyed, hath bred great trouble, and like to see more. The faction between the house of Guise against that of Montmorancy hath gotten great advantage.

At this present the king is about to restore Don Antonio, King of Portugal, whereto are great levies and preparation.

Francis, Duke of Anjou and of Brabant, for his calling and quality greatly to be considered as any prince this day living, being second person to the king, his brother, and in likelihood to succeed him. There is noted in the disposition of this prince a quiet mildness, giving satisfaction to all men; facility of access and natural courtesy; understanding and speech great and eloquent; secrecy more than commonly is in the French; from his youth always desirous of action, the which thing hath made him always followed and respected. And though hitherto he hath brought to pass no great purpose, having suffered great wants and resistance both at home and abroad, yet by the intermeddling is grown to good experience, readiness, and judgment the better thereby able to guide and govern his affairs, both in practice, in treaty, and action. Moreover, the diseased estate of the world doth so concur with this his active forwardness, as it giveth him matter to work upon: and he is the only man to be seen of all them in distress, or desirous of alteration. A matter of special furtherance to all such as have achieved great things, when they have found matter disposed to receive form.

And there is to be found no other prince in this part of the world so towards and forward as the duke, towards whom they in distress may turn their eyes. We do plainly see in the most countries of Christendom so unsound and shaken an estate, as desireth the help of some great person, to set together and join again the pieces asunder and out of joint. Wherefore the presumption is great, that if this prince continue this his course, he is likely to become a mighty potentate: for, one enterprise failing, other will be offered, and still men evil at ease, and desirous of a head and captain, will run to him that is fittest to receive them. Besides, the French, desirous to shake off the civil wars, must needs attempt somewhat abroad. This duke first had intelligence with the Count Ludovic in King Charles's days, and an enterprise to escape from the court, and in this king's time joined with them of the religion and malcontents: after was carried against them; seeketh the marriage with her majesty, so mighty a princess, as it were to marry might with his activity.

He hath had practice in Germany to be created King of Romans, made a sudden voyage with great expedition into the Low Countries, now is there again with better success than so soon was looked for.

The King of Spain, Philip, son to Charles the Fifth, about sixty years of age, a prince of great understanding, subtle and aspiring, diligent and cruel. This king especially hath made his benefit of the time where his last attempt on Portugal deserveth exact consideration, thereby as by the workmanship to know the master.

The first success he had was at St. Quintin, where he got a notable hand of the French; he sought to reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection.

He hath kept France in a continual broil, where, by his pensions and the favour of the house of Guise, by means of the queen-mother in contemplation of her nieces, he beareth great sway. With the pope he is so linked as he may do what him list, and dispose of that authority to serve his purposes: as he has gotten great authority in pretending to protect the church and religion.

He possesseth the one half of Italy, comprehending Sicily and Sardinia, with Naples and Milan; the which estates do yield him little other profit, save the maintenance of so many Spaniards as he keepeth there always.

The Duke of Florence relieth greatly upon him, as well in respect of the state of Siena, as of the ports he holdeth, and of his greatness. Lucca is under his protection. Genoa, the one faction at his devotion, with their galleys: at his pension is most of the greatest there.

Besides the Low Countries, he holdeth the French Comte, the best used of all his subjects, and Luxembourg: the West Indies furnish him gold and silver, the which he consumeth in the wars of the Low Countries, and in pensions, and is greatly indebted; while he worketh on the foundation his father laid, to erect a monarchy, the which, if he succeed in the conquest of Portugal, he is likely to achieve, unless death do cut him off.

He hath one son of the years of five by his last wife, two daughters by the French king's sister, two base sons.

He hath greatly sought the marriage of the queen's daughter of France, sister to his last wife, and cousin-german removed.

His revenues are reckoned to amount to sixteen millions.

The chief in credit with him of martial men and for counsel are . . . .

He maketh account to have in continual pay fifty thousand soldiers.

He maintaineth galleys to the number of one hundred and forty, whereof there are sixty in Portugal, the rest are at Naples and other places. Now is on league with the Turk.

D. Antonio, elect King of Portugal, thrust out by the King of Spain, of forty-five years of age, a mild spirit, sober and discreet: he is now in France, where he he hath levied soldiers, whereof part are embarked, hoping by the favour of that king and the good will the Portugals do bear him, to be restored again. He holdeth the Torges, and the East Indians yet remain well affected to him, a cause of itself deserving the considering and relief of all other princes. Besides in his person, his election to be noted with the title he claimeth very singular, and seldom the like seen, being chosen of all the people; the great dangers he hath escaped likewise at sundry times.

The King of Poland, Stephen Batoaye, a Baron of Hungary, by the favour of the Turk chosen King of the Pollacks, after the escape made by the French king; a prince of the greatest value and courage of any at this day, of competent years, sufficient wisdom, the which he hath showed in the siege of Danske, and the wars with the Muscovite.

The Hungarians could be content to exchange the emperor for him. The Bohemians likewise wish him in the stead of the other. He were like to attain to the empire were there not that mortal enmity between those two nations as could not agree in one subjection.

Straight upon his election he married the Infant of Poland, somewhat in years and crooked, only to content the Pollacks, but never companied with her. He doth tolerate there all religions, himself heareth the mass, but is not thought to be a Papist: he had a great part of his education in Turkey, after served the last emperor.

Frederick the Second, of forty-eight years, King of Denmark and Norway; his wife Sophia, daughter to Ulricke, Duke of Mechelebourg, by whom he hath six children, four daughters and two sons, Christianus and Ulricus, the eldest of five years of age.

The chiefest about him, Nicolas Cose, his chancellor, in whose counsel he doth much repose.

He hath always eight hundred horse about his court, to whom he giveth ten dollars the month.

His father deceased in the year 1559, after which he had wars ten years space with the Swede, which gave him occasion to arm by sea. His navy is six great ships of one thousand five hundred ton, and fifteen smaller, ten galleys which sail to pass the Straits.

His revenues grow chiefly in customs, and such living as were in the hands of the abbeys, and bishops, whereby he is greatly enriched: his chief haven is Copenhagen, where always his navy lieth.

His brother John, Duke of Holst in Jutland, married to the daughter of the Duke of Inferior Saxony.

Magnus, his other brother, Bishop of Courland, married the daughter of the Muscovite's brother.

The chiefest wars that the King of Denmark hath is with Sweden, with whom now he hath peace. The Duke of Holst is uncle to the king now reigning; they make often alliances with Scotland.

John, King of Sweden, son of Gustavus.

This Gustavus had four sons, Erick, John, Magnus, Charles.

Erick married a soldier's daughter, by whom he had divers children, and died in prison.

John, now king, married the sister of Sigismond, late King of Poland.

Magnus bestraught of his wits.

Charles married a daughter of the Palsgrave.

Five daughters of Gustavus.

Katherine married to the Earl of East-Friseland.

Anne to one of the Palsgraves.

Cicilia to the Marquis of Baden.

Sophia to the Duke of Inferior Saxony.

Elizabeth to the Duke of Mecleburg.

This prince is of no great force nor wealth, but of late hath increased his navigation, by reason of the wars between him and the Dane, the which, the wars ceasing, they hardly maintain.

The Muscovite Emperor of Russia, John Basil, of threescore years of age, in league and amity with no prince; always at wars with the Tartarians, and now with the Pollake.

He is advised by no council, but governeth altogether like a tyrant. He hath one son of thirty years of age. Not long sithence this prince deposed himself, and set in his place a Tartar, whom he removed again. Of late sent an ambassador to Rome, giving some hope to submit himself to that see. Their religion is nearest the Greek church, full of superstition and idolatry.

BIOGRAPHY.

IN HAPPY MEMORY

OF

ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND;

OR,

A COLLECTION OF THE FELICITIES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN BY HIS LORDSHIP IN LATIN, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, both in her natural endowments, and her fortune, was admirable amongst women, and memorable amongst princes. But this is no subject for the pen of a mere scholar, or any such cloistered writer. For these men are eager in their expressions, but shallow in their judgments; and perform the scholar's part well, but transmit things but unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly it is a science belonging to statesmen, and to such as sit at the helms of great kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the weight and secrets of civil business, to handle this matter dexterously. Rare in all ages hath been the reign of a woman, more rare the felicity of a woman in her reign, but most rare a permanency and lasting joined with that felicity. As for this lady she reigned four-and-forty years complete, and yet she did not survive her felicity. Of this felicity I am purposed to say somewhat; yet without any excursion into praises; for praises are the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

First, I reckon it as a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the regal throne from a private fortune. For this is ingenerate in the nature and opinions of men, to ascribe that to the greatest felicity, which is not counted upon, and cometh unlooked for, but this is not that I intend, it is this, princes that are trained up in their father's courts, and to an immediate and apparent hope of succession, do get this by the tenderness and remissness of their education, that they become, commonly, less capable and less temperate in their affections. And therefore you shall find those to have been the ablest and most accomplished kings that were tutored by both fortunes. Such was with us, King Henry the Seventh; and with the French, Lewis the Twelfth: both which, in recent memory and almost about the same time, obtained their crowns, not only from a private, but also from an adverse and afflicted fortune; and did both excel in their several ways; the former in prudence, and the other in justice. Much like was the condition of this princess, whose blossoms and hopes were unequally aspected by fortune, that afterwards when she came to crown, fortune might prove towards her always mild and constant. For Queen Elizabeth, soon after she was born, was entitled to the succession in the crown, upon the next turn disinherited again, then laid aside and slighted: during the reign of her brother, her estate was most prosperous and flourishing; during the reign of her sister, very tempestuous and full of hazard. Neither yet did she pass immediately from the prison to the crown, which sudden change might have been enough to make her cast off all moderation: but first she regained her liberty, then there buded forth some probable hopes of succession; and lastly, in a great still and happiness she was advanced to the imperial crown without either noise or competitor. All which I allege that it may appear that the divine Providence, intending to produce a most exquisite princess, was pleased to prepare and mould her by these degrees of discipline. Neither ought the misfortune of her mother justly to stain the pure stream of her blood; especially seeing it is very evident that King Henry the Eighth did first burn with new loves, before he was inflamed with indignation against Queen Anne: neither is it unknown to the ages since that he was a king naturally prone to loves and jealousies; and not containing himself in those cases from the effusion of blood. Besides, the very person for whom she was suspected showeth the accusation to be less probable, and built upon weak and frivolous suppositions; which was both secretly whispered

in many men's ears at that time; and which Queen Anne herself testified by her undaunted courage, and that memorable speech of her's at the time of her death. For having gotten, as she supposed, a faithful and friendly messenger, in the very hour before her death, she delivered him these words to relate unto the king: "That she had ever found the king very constant and firm to his purpose of advancing her; for first, from the estate of a gentlewoman only, and no way pretending to noble titles, he raised her to the honour of a marchioness; next, he vouchsafed to make her his consort both of his kingdom and bed: and now that there remained no higher earthly honour, he meant to crown her innocency with the glory of martyrdom." But though the messenger durst not relate these words to the king, who was already inflamed with new loves, yet certain tradition, the conserver of truth, hath conveyed them to posterity.

Another principal thing, which I cast into Queen Elizabeth's felicity, was the time and period of her reign; not only for that it was long, but also because it fell into that season of her life, which was most active and fittest for the swaying of a sceptre, for she was fully five-and-twenty years old (at which age the civil law freeth from a curator) when she came to the crown, and reigned to the seventieth year of her life; so that she never suffered either the detriments of pupilage, and check of an over-awing power, or the inconveniences of an impotent and unwieldy old age; and old age is not without a competent portion of miseries, even to private men; but to kings, besides the common burden of years, it brings for the most part a declining in the estates they govern, and a conclusion of their lives without honour. For there hath scarce been known a king that hath lived to an extreme and impotent old age, but he hath suffered some detriment in his territories, and gone less in his reputation. Of which thing there is a most eminent example in Philip the Second, King of Spain, a most puissant prince, and an excellent governor, who, in the last years of his life, and impotent old age, was sensible of this whereof we speak; and therefore with great circumspection submitted himself to nature's law, voluntarily surrendered the territories he had gotten in France, established a firm peace in that kingdom, attempted the like in other places, that so he might transmit his kingdoms peaceable and entire to his next heir. Contrariwise, Queen Elizabeth's fortune was so constant and deeply rooted, that no disaster in any of her dominions accompanied her indeed declining, but still able years: nay, further, for an undeniable token of her felicity, she died not before the rebellion in Ireland was fortunately decided, and quashed by a battle there, lest otherwise it might have defalcated from the total sum of her glory. Now the condition also of the people over whom she reigned, I take to be a matter worthy our observation; for if her lot had fallen amongst the desolate Palmyrenes, or in Asia, a soft and effeminate race of men, a woman-prince might have been sufficient for a womanish people; but for the English, a nation stout and warlike, to be ruled by the check of a woman, and to yield so humble obedience to her, is a thing deserving the highest admiration.

Neither was this disposition of her people (hungry of war, and unwillingly bowing to peace) any impediment to her, but that she enjoyed and maintained peace all her days: and this desire in her of peace, together with her fortunate accomplishment thereof, I reckon to be one of her chiefest praises. For this was happy for her time, comely for her sex, and comfortable to her conscience. Indeed, about the tenth year of her reign, there was an offer of a commotion in the northern parts, but it was soon laid asleep and extinguished; but all her reign beside was free from the least breath or air of civil broils. Now I judge the peace maintained by her to be the more eminent for two causes, which indeed make nothing for the merit of that peace, but much for the honour: the one, that it was set off, and made more conspicuous by the broils and dissensions of neighbouring nations, as it were by so many lights and torches: the other, that amidst the benefits of peace she lost not the honour of arms; insomuch, that the reputation of the English arms was not only preserved, but also advanced by her upon many glorious occasions. For the succours sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland, the expeditions by sea into both the Indies, whereof some circled the whole globe of the earth; the fleets sent into Portugal, and to annoy the coasts of Spain: and lastly, the often suppressions and overthrows of the rebels in Ireland, did both show the warlike prowess of our nation to be no whit diminished, and did much increase the renown of the queen.

There was another thing that did greatly advance her glory; that both by her timely succours, her neighbour kings were settled in their rightful thrones, and the suppliant people, who by the ill advisedness of their kings were abandoned and given over to the cruelty of their ministers, and to the fury of the multitude, and to all manner of butchery and desolation, were relieved by her; by reason whereof they subsist unto this day. Neither was she a princess less benign and fortunate in the influence of her counsels than of her succours; as being one that had oftentimes interceded to the King of Spain, to mitigate his wrath against his subjects in the Netherlands, and to reduce them to his obedience upon some tolerable conditions; and further, as being one that did perpetually and upon all occasions represent to the French kings the observation of their own edicts, so often declaring and promising peace to their subjects. I cannot deny but that

these good counsels of hers wanted the effect: in the former I verily believe for the universal good of Europe, lest happily the ambition of Spain, being unloosed from its fetters, should have poured itself (as things then stood) upon the other kingdoms and states of Christendom: and for the latter, the blood of so many innocents with their wives and children slain within their own harbours and nests by the scum of the people, (who like so many mastiffs were let loose, and heartened, and even set upon them by the state,) would not suffer it; which did continually cry unto God for vengeance, that so blood-sucking a kingdom might have her fill thereof, in the intestine slaughters and consumption of a civil war. Howsoever she persisted to perform the part of a wise and loving confederate.

There is another cause also for which we may justly admire this peace so constantly pursued and maintained by the queen. And that is, that it did not proceed from any bent or inclination of those times; but from the prudency of her government and discreet carriage of things. For whereas she herself was not without manifest danger from an ill-affected party at home for the cause of religion, and that the strength and forces of this kingdom were in the place of a bulwark to all Europe against the then dreadful and overflowing ambition and power of the King of Spain, she might have apprehended just cause of a war; but as she was still ready with her counsel, so she was not behindhand with her forces. And this we are taught by an event the most memorable of any in our time, if we look upon the felicity thereof. For when as the Spanish navy (set forth with such wonderful preparation in all kinds, the terror and amazement of all Europe, carried on with almost assurance of victory) came braving upon our seas; it took not so much as one poor cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one village, nor landed one man upon English ground; but was utterly defeated, and after a shameful flight and many shipwrecks quite dispersed, so as the peace of this kingdom was never more firm and solid. Neither was her felicity less in escaping treacherous attempts at home, than in subduing and defeating foreign invasions. For not a few treasons plotted against her life were most fortunately discovered and disappointed. And this was no cause to make her lead a more fearful or diffident life than before. No new increase of her guard, no immuring herself within her own walls, or forbearing to be seen abroad; but as one assured and confident, and that was more mindful of her escape from danger, than of the danger itself, she was constant to her former customs and fashions.

Furthermore, it is worth our labour to consider the nature of the times in which she reigned. For there are some times so barbarous and ignorant that it is no greater matter to govern people than to govern a flock of sheep. But this queen fell upon times of a singular learning and sufficiency; in which it was not possible to be eminent, without admirable endowments of wit, and a rare temper of virtue. Again, the reigns of women are for the most part obscured by their husbands; upon whom all their praises and worthy acts do reflect: as for those that continue unmarried, it is they that impropriate the whole glory and merit to themselves. And this was the peculiar glory of this princess, that she had no props or supports of her government, but those that were of her own making. She had no brother, the son of her mother; no uncle, none other of the royal blood and lineage that might be partner in her cares, and an upholder of the regal dignity. And as for those whom she raised to honour, she carried such a discreet hand over them, and so interchanged her favours as they still strived in emulation and desire to please her best, and she herself remained in all things an absolute princess. Childless she was, and left no issue behind her; which was the case of many of the most fortunate princes, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others. And this is a case that hath been often controverted and argued on both sides, whilst some hold the want of children to be a diminution of our happiness, as if it should be an estate more than human to be happy both in our own persons, and in our descendants, but others do account the want of children as an addition to earthly happiness, inasmuch as that happiness may be said to complete, over which fortune hath no power, when we are gone: which if we leave children cannot be.

She had also many outward gifts of nature. A tall stature; a comely and straight making; an extraordinary majesty of aspect, joined with a sweetness; a most happy and constant healthfulness of body. Unto which I may add, that in the full possession both of her limbs and spirits until her last sickness, having received no blow from fortune, nor decay from old age; she obtained that which Augustus Cæsar so importunately prayed for; an easy and undistempered passage out of this world. Which also is reported of Antoninus Pius, that excellent emperor; whose death had the resemblance of some soft and pleasing slumber. So in Queen Elizabeth's disease, there was no ghastly or fearful accident; no idleness of brain; nothing unaccustomed to man in general: she was not transported either with desire of life, or tediousness of sickness, or extremity of pain; she had no grievous or uncomely symptoms, but all things were of that kind, as did rather show the frailty of nature, than a deordination or reproach of it. For some few days before her death, being much pined with the extreme drought of her body, and those cares that accompany a crown, and not wonted to refresh herself with wine, or any liberal diet, she was struck with a torpor and frigidity in her nerves; notwithstand

ing, which is rare in such diseases, she retained both her speech, and memory, and motion, though but slow and weak, even to the end. And in this case she continued but a few days; so as it cannot be called the last act of her life, but the first step to her death. For as it is a miserable condition to see the faculties of our body buried before us; and to survive long after them; so it is a fair and natural conclusion of our life, when the senses are by little and little laid asleep, that the dissolution of the whole should immediately follow.

I will add one thing more to make up the full measure of her felicity: which is, that she was not only most happy in her own person, but in the abilities and virtues of her servants and ministers, for she was served by such persons as I suppose this island never brought forth the like before her times. Now when God beareth a love to kings, no doubt he raiseth up the spirits of wise servants as a concurrent blessing.

There are two fair issues of her happiness, born to her since her death, I conceive not less glorious and eminent than those she enjoyed alive. The one of her successor, the other of her memory. For she had gotten such a successor, who although, for his masculine virtues, and blessing of posterity, and addition of territories, he may be said to exceed her greatness and somewhat to obscure it; notwithstanding, he is most zealous of her name and glory; and doth even give a perpetuity to her acts, considering both in the choice of the persons, and in the orders, and institutions of the kingdom, he hath departed so little from her, so as a son could hardly succeed a father with less noise of innovation. As for her memory, it hath gotten such life in the mouths and hearts of men, as that envy being put out by her death, and her fame lighted, I cannot say whether the felicity of her life, or the felicity of her memory be the greater. For if, perhaps, there fly abroad any factious fames of her, raised either by discontented persons, or such as are averse in religion; which notwithstanding, dare now scarce show their faces, and are everywhere cried down; the same are neither true, neither can they be long-lived. And for this cause, especially, have I made this collection, such as it is, touching her felicity, and the marks of God's favour towards her; that no malicious person should dare to interpose a curse, where God hath given a blessing. Now if any man shall allege that against me, was once said to Cæsar; "we see what we may admire, but we would fain see what we can commend;" certainly, for my part, I hold true admiration to be the highest degree of commendation. And besides such felicities as we have recounted could not befall any princess, but such a one as was extraordinarily supported and cherished by God's favour; and had much in her own person, and rare virtues, to create and work out unto herself such a fortune. Notwithstanding, I have thought good to insert something now concerning her moral part, yet only in those things which have ministered occasion to some malicious to traduce her.

This queen, as touching her religion, was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty. First, for her piety, though the same were most conspicuous in her acts and the form of her government; yet it was portrayed also in the common course of her life, and her daily comportment. Seldom would she be absent from hearing divine service, and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or in her privy closet. In the reading of the Scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, especially of Saint Augustine, she was very frequent; she composed certain prayers herself on emergent occasions. Whensoever she named God, though it were in common discourse, she would for the most part add the title of Maker, saying, God my Maker: and compose both her eyes and countenance to a submissness and reverence. This I have often, myself, observed, being in her presence; now whereas some have divulged her unmindfulness of mortality, in that she would never endure any mention either of her age, or death, is most false: for she would often, and that many years before her death, with a great deal of meekness profess that she found herself grown an old woman, and she would sometimes open herself what she liked best for an inscription upon her tomb, saying, that she loved no pompous or vainglorious titles, but would only have a line or two for her memory, wherein her name and her virginity, and the years of her reign, and her establishing of religion, and her maintaining of peace, should be in the fewest words comprehended. It is true, that whilst she was in her vigorous years, and able to bear children, if at any time she were moved to declare her successor, she would make answer, that she would never endure to see her winding-sheet before her eyes. And yet, notwithstanding, some few years before her death, one day when she was in a deep meditation, and, as it may be guessed, in that of her mortality, one that might be bold said unto her, "Madam, there are divers offices, and great places in the state, which you keep long void." She arose up in some displeasure, and said, "I am sure my office will not be long void."

As for her moderateness in religion, I shall seem to be at a stand, in regard of the severe laws made against her subjects of the Romish religion: notwithstanding, that which I shall say is no more than what I know for certain, and diligently observed. Most certain it is, that it was the firm resolution of this princess not to offer any violence to consciences; but then on the other side, not to suffer the state of her kingdom to be ruined under pretence of conscience

and religion. Out of this fountain she concluded; first, that to allow freedom and toleration of two religions by public authority, in a nation fierce and warlike, and that would easily fall from dissension of minds to siding and blows, would bring inevitable ruin to this kingdom. Again, in the newness of her reign, when there was a general distrust, she singled out some of the bishops of the most turbulent and factious spirits, and committed them to free custody; and this not without the warrant of former laws. As for the rest, either of the clergy or laity, she did not ransack their consciences by any severe inquisition, but rather secured them by a gracious connivancy: and this was the state of things at the first. Neither did she depart from this clemency, when the excommunication of Pius Quintus came thundering against her, which might both justly have provoked her, and have ministered occasion to new courses; but howsoever she followed her royal nature still: for as a wise lady, and of a high courage, she was not a whit terrified at the roaring of a bull, being well assured of her people's love and fidelity towards her, as also of the disability of the popish faction within the kingdom to do her hurt, if no foreign enemy joined with them. But then, about the three-and-twentieth year of her reign there followed a mighty change. And this distinction of the times is not any device of mine, but it is expressed in the public acts of that time, and as it were cut in brass; for before that year was there never any capital or severe punishment inflicted upon any of her subjects, as they had relation to the Romish religion, by the laws formerly made. But just then began that proud and vast intention of Spain to conquer this kingdom, by little and little to show itself. Of this the principal part was to stir up by all means a party within the kingdom, of such as were ill-affected to the state, and desirous of innovation, that might adhere to the foreigner at his landing. For this they had no other hopes than the difference in religion; wherefore they set it down to pursue this course with all their power: and the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into England to plant and disperse a love to the Romish religion; to teach and inculcate the power of the pope's excommunication in freeing subjects from their allegiance, and to awaken and prepare the minds of men to an expectation of a change. About the same time, Ireland also was attempted by an invasion, and the queen's name and government traduced by sundry and scandalous libels. To be short, there was an unusual swelling in the state, the forerunner of greater troubles: yet I will not affirm, that every priest which was sent over was made of the council, or privy to the enterprise, but that some of them became the wicked instruments only of other men's malice. Notwithstanding this is true, and witnessed by the confessions of many, that almost all the priests which were sent into this kingdom from that aforenamed year, unto the thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, at which time that design of the pope and Spain was put into execution, by those memorable preparations of the navy and land forces, had in their instructions, besides other parts of their function, to distil and insinuate into the people these particulars: "It was impossible things should continue at this stay: they should see ere long a great change in this state; that the pope and Catholic princes were careful for the English, if they would not be wanting to themselves." Again, sundry of the priests did manifestly interpose themselves into those consultations and plots which tended to the undermining and ruining of this kingdom: and, which especially moved her, letters were intercepted out of divers parts that discovered the true face of the plot; in which was written, that they doubted not to go beyond the vigilancy of the queen and state in the matter of Catholics; for the queen would only have an eye lest there should arise any fit head, in the person of some lord, or other eminent gentleman of quality, under whom the Catholics might unite; but they had thought upon another course, as namely, by private men, and those but of mean rank, that should not confer, nor scarce know of each other's employments, to prepare and mature the business by the secresy of confession. And these were their engines, the which, as hath appeared since in a case not much unlike, are usual and familiar to that order of men. In this great deluge of danger, there was a necessity imposed upon Queen Elizabeth to restrain, by some sharper bands of laws, that part of her subjects which were alienated from her, and had drunk too deep a draught of this poison ever to recover; and further, which by their retired living, and exemption from public offices, were grown very rich: and moreover, the mischief daily growing, when as the cause thereof was ascribed to none other than the seminary priests, who had been nourished in foreign parts, and received exhibition from the bounty and alms of foreign princes, professed enemies to this state; and who had conversed in such places where the name of Queen Elizabeth was never heard, but as of a heretic, and excommunicate, and accursed person; and who, though themselves, sometimes, had no hand in treason, yet they were known to be the intimate friends of them that had. And lastly, who by their arts and poisons had infected and soured the mass and lump of the Catholics, which before was more sweet and harmless, with a new kind of leaven, and desperate maliciousness: there could no other remedy be devised, but by forbidding such persons to enter into this kingdom upon pain of their lives; which at last, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was accordingly done. Nay, and when the event itself

had confirmed this to be true, I mean immediately after that the dreadful tempest arose from Spain, threatening no less than utter desolation, yet did it nothing mollify or turn the edge of these men's malice and fury, but rather whetted it, as if they had cast off all natural affection to their country. As for the times succeeding, I mean after the thirtieth year of her reign, though indeed our fear of Spain, which had been the spur to this rigour, had fairly breathed out, or was well abated; yet considering the memory of times past had made so deep impression in men's hearts and cogitations, and that it would have seemed either inconstancy to repeal those former laws, or sloth to neglect them, the very constitution of things did suggest to the queen, that it was not safe to reduce them unto that state wherein they had continued until the three-and-twentieth year of her reign. Hereunto may be added the industry of some persons in improving the revenues of the exchequer, and the zeal of some other ministers of justice, which did never think their country safe unless the laws were rigorously executed; all which did importune and press the execution of the laws. Notwithstanding, the queen, for a manifest token of her royal nature, did so dull the edge of the laws, that but a very few priests, in respect of their number, did suffer death. Now all this which I have said is not by way of defence, for the matter needs it not; for neither could this kingdom have been safe without it, neither were the proceedings any way comparable or of kin to those bloody and unchristianly massacres in the Catholic countries, which proceeded merely from rancour and pride, and not from any necessity of state: howsoever, I hope I have made my first assertion good, that she was moderate in the point of religion, and that the change which happened was not in her nature, but upon the necessity of the times.

Now for the constancy of Queen Elizabeth in religion, and the observance thereof, I know no better argument than this, That although she found the Romish religion confirmed in her sister's days by act of parliament, and established by all strong and potent means that could be devised, and to have taken deep root in this kingdom; and that all those which had any authority, or bore any office in the state, had subscribed to it: yet for that she saw that it was not agreeable to the word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conscience, she did, with a great deal of courage, and with the assistance of a very few persons, quite expel and abolish it. Neither did she this by precipitate and heady courses, but timing it wisely and soberly. And this may well be conjectured, as from the thing itself, so also by an answer of hers, which she made upon occasion. For within a very few days of her coming to the crown, when many prisoners were released out of prison, as the custom is at the inauguration of a prince, there came to her one day as she was going to chapel, a certain courtier that had the liberty of a buffoon, and either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition: and before a great number of courtiers, said to her with a loud voice, "That there were yet four or five prisoners unjustly detained in prison; he came to be a suitor to have them set at liberty; those were the four evangelists, and the apostle Saint Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison, so as they could not converse with the common people." The queen answered very gravely, "That it was best first to inquire of them, whether they would be set at liberty or no." Thus she silenced an unseasonable motion with a doubtful answer, as reserving the matter wholly in her own power. Neither did she bring in this alteration timorously, or by pieces, but in a grave and mature manner, after a conference betwixt both sides, and the calling and conclusion of a parliament. And thus within the compass of one year, she did so establish and settle all matters belonging to the church, as she departed not one hair's breadth from them to the end of her life: nay, and her usual custom was, in the beginning of every parliament, to forewarn the houses not to question or innovate any thing already established in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much of her religion.

Now if there be any severer nature that shall tax her for that she suffered herself, and was very willing to be courted, wooed, and to have sonnets made in her commendation; and that she continued this longer than was decent for her years: notwithstanding, if you will take this matter at the best it is not without singular admiration, being much like unto that which we find in fabulous narrations, of a certain queen in the Fortunate Islands, and of her court and fashions, where fair purpose and love making was allowed, but lasciviousness banished. But if you will take it at the worst, even so it amounteth to a more high admiration, considering that these courtships did not much eclipse her fame, and not at all her majesty; neither did they make her less apt for government, or choke with the affairs and businesses of the public, for such passages as these do often entertain the time even with the greatest princes. But to make an end of this discourse, certainly this princess was good and moral, and such she would be acknowledged; she detested vice, and desired to purchase fame only by honourable courses. And indeed whilst I mention her moral parts, there comes a certain passage into my mind which I will insert. Once giving order to write to her ambassador about certain instructions to be delivered apart to the queen-mother of the house of Valois, and that her secretary had inserted a certain clause that the ambassador should say, as it were to endear her to the queen-mother, "That they two were the only pair of female princes,

from whom, for experience and arts of government, there was no less expected than from the greatest kings." She utterly disliked the comparison, and commanded it to be put out, saying, "That she practised other principles and arts of government than the queen-mother did." Besides she was not a little pleased, if any one should fortune to tell her, that suppose she had lived in a private fortune, yet she could not have escaped without some note of excellency and singularity in her sex. So little did she desire to borrow or be beholding to her fortune for her praise. But if I should wade further into this queen's praises, moral or politic, either I must slide into certain commonplaces, and heads of virtue, which were not worthy of so great a princess; or if I should desire to give her virtues the true grace and lustre, I must fall into a history of her life, which requireth both better leisure and a better pen than mine is. Thus much in brief according to my ability: but to say the truth, the only commender of this lady's virtues is time; which for as many ages as it hath run, hath not yet showed us one of the female sex equal to her in the administration of a kingdom.

A

CIVIL CHARACTER OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN BY HIS LORDSHIP IN LATIN, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

JULIUS CÆSAR was partaker at first of an exercised fortune; which turned to his benefit; for it abated the haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his industry. He had a mind, turbulent in his desires and affections; but in his judgment and understanding very serene and placid: this appears by his easy deliverances of himself, both in his transactions and in his speech. For no man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously and plainly. There was nothing forced or difficult in his expressions. But in his will and appetite, he was of that condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted and pursued after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh actions. So that he would put a seasonable period to all his undertakings. And therefore, though he won many battles in Spain, and weakened their forces by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the relics of the civil war there, till he had seen all things composed: but then as soon as that was done, and the state settled, instantly he advanced in his expedition against the Parthians.

He was, no doubt, of a very noble mind; but yet such as aimed more at his particular advancement, than at any merits for the common good. For he referred all things to himself; and was the true and perfect centre of all his actions. By which means, being so fast tied to his ends, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his purposes: insomuch, that neither country, nor religion, nor good turns done him, nor kindred, nor friendship diverted his appetite, nor bridled him from pursuing his own ends. Neither was he much inclined to works of perpetuity; for he established nothing for the future; he founded no sumptuous buildings; he procured to be enacted no wholesome laws, but still minded himself: and so his thoughts were confined within the circle of his own life. He sought indeed after fame and reputation, because he thought they might be profitable to his designs: otherwise, in his inward thoughts, he prepounded to himself rather absoluteness of power, than honour and fame. For as for honour and fame, he pursued not after them for themselves: but because they were the instruments of power and greatness. And therefore he was carried on through a natural inclination, not by any rules that he had learned to affect the sole regiment; and rather to enjoy the same, than to seem worthy of it. And by this means he won much reputation amongst the people, who are no valuers of true worth; but amongst the nobility and great men, who were tender of their own honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the brand of an ambitious and daring man.

Neither did they much err from the truth who thought him so, for he was by nature exceeding bold; and never did put on any show of modesty, except it were for some purpose. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempered his boldness, that it neither impeached him of rashness, nor was burdensome to men; nor rendered his nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an innate sincerity and freeness of behaviour; and the nobility of his birth: and in all other things he passed, not for a crafty and deceitful person, but for an open-hearted and plain-dealing man. And whereas he was indeed an arch-politician, that could counterfeit and dissemble sufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of frauds and deceits; so that there was nothing sincere in him,

but all artificial; yet he covered, and disguised himself so, that no such vices appeared to the eyes of the world; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all men. Howbeit, he did not stoop to any petty and mean artifices, as they do, which are ignorant in state employments; and depend not so much upon the strength of their own wits, as upon the counsels and brains of others, to support their authority; for he was skilled in the turnings of all human affairs; and transacted all matters, especially those of high consequence, by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skilful to avoid envy; and found it not impertinent to his ends, to decline that, though it were with some diminution of his dignity. For aiming at a real power, he was content to pass by all vain pomp and outward shows of power throughout his whole life; till at the last, whether high-flown with the continual exercise of power, or corrupted with flatteries, he affected the ensigns of power, (the style and diadem of a king,) which was the bait that wrought his overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the thoughts of a kingdom from his very youth: and hereunto the example of Sylla, and the kindred of Marius, and his emulation of Pompey, and the corruption and ambition of the times, did prick him forward: but then he paved his way to a kingdom, after a wonderful and strange manner. As first, by a popular and seditious power; afterwards by a military power, and that of a general in war. For there was required to effect his ends; first, that he should break the power and authority of the senate; which, as long as it stood firm, was adverse, and a hinderance, that no man could climb to sovereignty and imperial command. Then the power of Crassus and Pompey was to be subdued and quelled, which could not be done otherwise than by arms. And therefore, as the most cunning contriver of his own fortune, he laid his first foundation by bribes; by corrupting the courts of justice; by renewing the memory of Caius Marius, and his party; for most of the senators and nobility were of Sylla's faction: by the laws of distributing the fields, amongst the common people: by the sedition of the tribunes, where he was the author: by the madness and fury of Catiline, and the conspirators, unto which action he secretly blew the coals! By the banishment of Cicero, which was the greatest blow to the authority of the senate, as might be; and several other the like arts; but most of all by the conjunction of Crassus and Pompey, both betwixt themselves, and with him; which was the thing that finished the work.

Having accomplished this part, he betook himself to the other; which was to make use of, and to enjoy his power. For being made proconsul of France for five years; and afterwards continuing it for five years more; he furnished himself with arms and legions, and the power of a warlike and opulent province; and was formidable to Italy.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened himself with arms, and a military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey could ever be able to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted to his great riches; the other to his fame and reputation; the one decayed through age, the other in power and authority: and neither of them were grounded upon true and lasting foundations. And the rather, for that he had obliged all the senators and magistrates: and in a word all those that had any power in the commonwealth, so firmly to himself, with private benefits, that he was fearless of any combination or opposition against his designs, till he had openly invaded the imperial power.

Which thing, though he always bare in his mind, and at the last acted it; yet he did not lay down his former person: but coloured things so, that what with the reasonableness of his demands; what with his pretences of peace; and what with the moderate use of his successes, he turned all the envy of the adverse party; and seemed to take up arms upon necessity for his own preservation and safety. But the falseness of this pretence manifestly appeared, inasmuch as soon after having obtained the regal power, all civil wars being appeased, and all his rivals and opposites, which might put him to any fear, being removed out of the way by the stroke of death; notwithstanding he never thought of resigning the republic; no, nor ever made any show or offer of resigning the same. Which showed plainly, that his ambition of being a king was settled in him, and remained with him unto his last breath. For he did not lay hold upon occasions, as they happened, but moulded and formed the occasions, as himself pleased.

His chief abilities consisted in martial knowledge; in which he so excelled, that he could not only lead an army, but mould an army to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing affairs, than in winning of hearts. Neither did he effect this by any ordinary discipline, as by inuring them to fulfil all his commands; or by striking a shame into them to disobey, or by carrying a severe hand over them: but by such a way as did wonderfully stir up an alacrity and cheerfulness in them; and did in a sort assure him of the victory aforehand, and which did oblige the soldier to him, more than was fit for a free estate. Now whereas he was versed in all kinds of martial knowledge, and joined civil arts, with the arts of war; nothing came so suddenly, or so unlooked for upon him, for which he had not a remedy at hand: and nothing was so adverse, but that he could pick something for his turn and benefit out of it.

He stood sufficiently upon his state and greatness. For in great battles he would sit at home in the head-quarter, and manage all things by messages, which wrought him a double benefit. First, that it secured his person more, and exposed him the less to danger. Secondly, that if at any time his army was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the addition of fresh forces, and turn the fortune of the day. In the conducting of his wars, he would not only follow former precedents, but he was able to devise and pursue new stratagems, according as the accidents and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kind, and indulgent in his friendships contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such friends, as a man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be instruments to his ends, than for any goodwill towards them. And whereas, by nature, and out of a firm resolution, he adhered to this principle; not to be eminent amongst great and deserving men, but to be chief amongst the inferiors and vassals; he chose only mean and active men, and such as to whom himself might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying, "So let Cæsar live, though I die;" and other speeches of that kind. As for the nobility, and those that were his peers, he contracted friendship with such of them as might be useful to him; and admitted none to his cabinet council, but those that had their fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furnished with good literature, and the arts; but in such sort as he applied his skill therein to civil policy. For he was well read in history; and was expert in rhetoric, and the art of speaking. And because he attributed much to his good stars, he would pretend more than an ordinary knowledge in astronomy. As for eloquence, and a prompt elocution, that was natural to him and pure.

He was dissolute, and propense to voluptuousness and pleasures; which served well at first for a cover to his ambition. For no man would imagine, that a man so loosely given could harbour any ambitious and vast thoughts in his heart. Notwithstanding, he so governed his pleasures, that they were no hinderance either to his profit or his business; and they did rather whet than dull the vigour of his mind. He was temperate at his meals; free from niceness and curiosity in his lusts; pleasant and magnificent at public interludes.

Thus being accomplished, the same thing was the means of his downfall at last, which in his beginnings was a step to his rise; I mean, his affection of popularity; for nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies; through which, either virtue or cunning, he lost his life.

A

CIVIL CHARACTER OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY HIS LORDSHIP, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

Augustus Cæsar, if ever any mortal man, was endued with a greatness of mind, undisturbed with passions, clear and well ordered; which is evidenced by the high achievements which he performed in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent nature or appetite, do commonly pass their youth in many errors; and about their middle, and then and not before, they show forth their perfections: but those that are of a sedate and calm nature may be ripe for great and glorious actions in their youth. And whereas the faculties of the mind, no less than the parts and members of the body, do consist and flourish in a good temper of health, and beauty, and strength; so he was in the strength of the mind inferior to his uncle Julius; but the health and beauty of the mind superior. For Julius being of an unquiet and uncomposed spirit, as those who are troubled with the falling sickness for the most part are. Notwithstanding, he carried on his own ends with much moderation and discretion; but he did not order his ends well, proposing to himself vast and high designs above the reach of a mortal man. But Augustus, as a man sober and mindful of his mortality, seemed to propound no other ends to himself than such as were orderly and well-weighed and governed by reason. For first he was desirous indeed to have the rule and principality in his hands: then he sought to appear worthy of that power which he should acquire: next, to enjoy a high place he accounted but a transitory thing: lastly, he endeavoured to do such actions as might continue his memory and leave an impression of his good government to after ages. And, therefore, in the beginning of his age, he affected power; in the middle of his age, honour and dignity; in the decline of his years, ease and pleasure; and in the end of his life, he was wholly bent to memory and posterity.

THE PRAISE OF

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES,

BY FRANCIS BACON.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY HIS LORDSHIP. AND TRANSLATED BY DR. BIRCH.*

Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of the King of Great Britain, happy in the hopes conceived of him, and now happy in his memory, died on the 6th of Nov. 1612, to the extreme concern and regret of the whole kingdom, being a youth who had neither offended nor satiated the minds of men. He had by the excellence of his disposition excited high expectations among great numbers of all ranks; nor had through the shortness of his life disappointed them. One capital circumstance added to these was, the esteem in which he was commonly held, of being firm to the cause of religion: and men of the best judgment were fully persuaded, that his life was a great support and security to his father from the danger of conspiracies; an evil, against which our age has scarce found a remedy; so that the people's love of religion and the king overflowed to the prince: and this consideration deservedly heightened the sense of the loss of him. His person was strong and erect; his stature of a middle size; his limbs well made; his gait and deportment majestic; his face long and inclining to leanness: his habit of body full; his look grave, and the motion of his eyes rather composed than spirited. In his countenance were some marks of severity, and in his air some appearance of haughtiness. But whoever looked beyond these outward circumstances, and addressed and softened him with a due respect and seasonable discourse, found the prince to be gracious and easy; so that he seemed wholly different in conversation from what he was in appearance, and in fact raised in others an opinion of himself very unlike what his manner would at first have suggested. He was unquestionably ambitious of commendation and glory, and was strongly affected by every appearance of what is good and honourable; which in a young man is to be considered as virtue. Arms and military men were highly valued by him; and he breathed himself something warlike. He was much devoted to the magnificence of buildings and works of all kinds, though in other respects rather frugal; and was a lover both of antiquity and arts. He showed his esteem of learning in general more by the countenance which he gave to it, than by the time which he spent in it. His conduct in respect of morals did him the utmost honour; for he was thought exact in the knowledge and practice of every duty. His obedience to the king his father was wonderfully strict and exemplary: towards the queen he behaved with the highest reverence: to his brother he was indulgent; and had an entire affection for his sister, whom he resembled in person as much as that of a young man could the beauty of a virgin. The instructors of his younger years (which rarely happens) continued high in his favour. In conversation he both expected a proper decorum, and practised it. In the daily business of life and the allotment of hours for the several offices of it, he was more constant and regular than is usual at his age. His affections and passions were not strong, but rather equal than warm. With regard to that of love, there was a wonderful silence, considering his age, so that he passed that dangerous time of his youth, in the highest fortune, and in a vigorous state of health, without any remarkable imputation of gallantry. In his court no person was observed to have any ascendant over him, or strong interest with him: and even the studies, with which he was most delighted, had rather proper times assigned them, than were indulged to excess, and were rather repeated in their turns, than that any one kind of them had the preference of and controlled the rest: whether this arose from the moderation of his temper, and that in a genius not very forward, but ripening by slow degrees, it did not yet appear what would be the prevailing object of his inclination. He had certainly strong parts, and was endued both with curiosity and capacity; but in speech he was slow, and in some measure hesi-

* He says, "The following translation is an attempt, for the sake of the English reader, to give the sense of the original, without pretending to reach the force and conciseness of expression peculiar to the great writer as well as to the Roman language."

tating. But whoever diligently observed what fell from him, either by way of question or remark, saw it to be full to the purpose, and expressive of no common genius. So that under that slowness and infrequency of discourse, his judgment had more the appearance of suspense and solicitude to determine rightly, than of weakness and want of apprehension. In the mean time he was wonderfully patient in hearing, even in business of the greatest length; and this with unwearied attention, so that his mind seldom wandered from the subject, or seemed fatigued, but he applied himself wholly to what was said or done: which (if his life had been lengthened) promised a very superior degree of prudence. There were indeed in the prince some things obscure, and not to be discovered by the sagacity of any person, but by time only, which was denied him; but what appeared were excellent, which is sufficient for his fame.

He died in the 19th year of his age of an obstinate fever, which during the summer, through the excessive heat and dryness of the season, unusual to islands, had been epidemical, though not fatal, but in autumn became more mortal. Fame which, as Tacitus says, is more tragical with respect to the deaths of princes, added a suspicion of poison: but as no signs of this appeared, especially in his stomach, which uses to be chiefly affected by poison, this report soon vanished.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN.]

THOUGHTS ON THE NATURE OF THINGS.*

Of the Division of Bodies, of Continuity, and a Vacuum.

THOUGHT I.

THE theory of Democritus relating to atoms is, if not true, at least applicable with excellent effect to the exposition of nature. For it is not easy, except on the hypothesis of atomic particles, either to grasp in thought, or express in words, the real exility of parts in nature, such as it is discoverable in objects themselves.

Now, the term atom is taken in two senses, not materially different from one another. It is taken either to signify the ultimate term, the minutest subdivision, in the section or breaking down of bodies; or a corpuscle containing in it no vacuum. As relates to the first, the two following principles may be safely and surely laid down. The first is, that there exists in objects an attenuation and minuteness of particles, far exceeding all that falls under ocular observation. The second is, that it is not carried to infinity, or endless divisibility. For if one heedfully attend, he will find that the corpuscles composing bodies which possess continuity, far transcend in subtility those which are found in broken and discontinuous ones. Thus we see a little saffron, intermixed and stirred in water, (a cask of water for instance,) impart to it such a tincture, that even by the eye it is easy distinguishable from pure water. The particles of the saffron thus disseminated through the water, certainly exceed in fineness the most impalpable powder. This will become still clearer, if you mingle with the water a small portion of Brazilian-wood ground to a powder, or of pomegranate flowers, or of any other very high coloured substance, yet which wants the susceptibility of saffron to diffuse itself in liquids, and incorporate with them.

It was therefore absurd to take atoms to be those minute particles which are visible by the aid of the sun's light. For these are of the nature of a powder, but an atom, as Democritus said himself, no one either has seen or can possibly see. But this dispersion of substance presents itself in a still more surprising light in odours. For if a little saffron can tinge and impregnate a whole cask of water, a little civet does so to a spacious chamber, and to a second, and a third successively. And let none imagine that odours can be propagated like light, or heat and cold, without a stream of effluvia from the substance, since we may observe that odours are tenacious of solids, of woods, of metallic substances, and for no inconsiderable time, and that they can be extracted and cleansed away from these, by the process of rubbing and washing. But that in these and similar cases, the subtilization is not carried to infinity, no man in his senses will dispute, since this sort of radiation or diffusion is confined to certain spaces, and local boundaries, and to certain quantities of substance, as is very conspicuous in the abovementioned instances.

As relates to atom in its second sense, which presupposes the existence of a vacuum, and builds its definition of atom on the absence of the vacuum; it was an excellent and valuable distinction which Hero so carefully drew, when he denied the existence of a vacuum coacervatum, (or fully formed,) and affirmed a vacuum commistum (or interstitial vacuum.) For when he saw that there was one unbroken chain of bodies, and that no point of space would be discovered or instanced, which was not replenished with body; and much more, when he perceived that bodies weighty and massive tended upwards, and as it were repudiated and violated their natures rather than suffer complete disruption from the contignous body; he came to the full determination that nature abhorred a vacuum of the larger description, or a vacuum coacervatum. On the other hand, when he observed the same quantity of matter composing a body in a state of contraction and coarctation, and again in one of expansion and dilatation, occupying and filling unequal spaces, sometimes

* This is the translation of my friend Wm. G. Glen.—[B. M.]

smaller, sometimes greater, he did not see in what manner this going out and in of corpuscles, in reference to their position in that body, could exist, except in consequence of an interspersed vacuum, contracting on the compression, and enlarging on the relaxation, of the body. For it was clear that this contraction of necessity was produced in one of three ways; either in that which we have specified, namely, the expulsion of a vacuum by means of pressure, or the extrusion of some other body previously incorporated, or the possession by bodies of some natural virtue (whatever it might be) of concentration and diffusion within themselves. As relates to the extrusion of the rarer body, it is a mode of reasoning that involves us in an endless series of such expulsions. For true it is, that sponges and the like porous substances, contract by the ejection of the air. But with respect to air itself, it is clear from manifold experiments that it can be condensed in a known space. Are we then to suppose that the finer part of air itself may be thus eliminated by compressure, and of the eliminated part another part, and so on to infinity? For it is a fact most decidedly adverse to such an opinion, that, the rarer bodies are, they are susceptible of the more contraction; when the contrary ought to be the fact, if contraction was performed by expressing the rarer portion of the substance. As to that other mode of solution, namely, that the same bodies without farther alteration undergo various degrees of rarity and density, it is not worthy of elaborate attention. It seems to be an arbitrary dictum, depending on no cognisable reason, or intelligible principle, like the generality of the dogmas of Aristotle. There remains then the third way, the hypothesis of a vacuum. Should any one object to this, that it appears a difficult and even impossible supposition, that there should exist an interspersed vacuity, where body is everywhere found; if he will only reflect calmly and maturely on the instances we have just adduced, of water imbued with saffron, or air with odours, he will readily discover that no portion of the water can be pointed out where there is not the saffron, and yet it is manifest, by comparing the saffron and the water previous to their intermixture, that the bulk of the water exceeds by many times the bulk of the saffron. Now, if so subtile an interspersion is found to take place in different bodies, much more is such interspersion possible in the case of a body and a vacuum.

Yet the theory of Hero, a mere experimentalist, fell short of that of the illustrious philosopher, Democritus, in this particular point, namely, that Hero, not finding in this our globe a vacuum coacervatum, denied it, therefore, absolutely. Now, there is nothing to hinder the existence of a complete vacuity in the tracts of air, where there are, undoubtedly, greater diffusions of substances.

And let me give this once the admonition, that, in these and similar investigations, none be overpowered or despair, because of the surpassing subtilty of nature. Let him reflect that things, in their units and their aggregates, are equally mastered by calculation. For, one expresses or conceives with the same facility a thousand years and a thousand moments, though years are composed of multitudes of moments. And, again, let no one think that such studies are matter of speculative curiosity, rather than connected with practical effects and uses. For, it is observable, that almost all the philosophers and others, who have most intensely busied themselves, who have probed nature to the quick, as it were, in the process of experiment and practical detail; have been led on to such investigations, though unfortunate in the mode of conducting them. Nor does there exist a more powerful and more certain cause of that utter barrenness of utility which distinguishes the philosophy of the day, than its ambitious affectation of subtilty about mere words or vulgar notions, while it has neither pursued nor planned a well supported investigation of the subtilty of nature.

Of the equality or inequality of Atoms, or seminal Particles.

II.

The theories and maxims of Pythagoras were, for the most part, better adapted to found a peculiar order of religionists, than to open a new school in philosophy, as was verified by the event. For, that system of training prevailed and flourished more under the sway of the Manichæan heresy and Mahomedan superstition, than among philosophic individuals. Notwithstanding this, his opinion that the world was composed of numbers, may be taken in a sense in which it goes deep into the elementary principles of nature. For, there are (as indeed there may be) two doctrines with respect to atoms or seminal particles; the one that of Democritus, which ascribes to atoms inequality one to another, figure, and, in virtue of figure, position; the other, that of Pythagoras, perhaps, which affirms them to be all precisely equal and alike. Now, he who ascribes to atoms equality, necessarily makes all things depend on numbers; while he who clothes them with other attributes, admits, in addition to mere numbers, or modes of assemblage, certain primitive properties inherent in single atoms. Now, the practical question collateral to the theoretical one, and which ought to determine its limits, is this, which Democritus proposes: whether all things can be made out of all? To me, however, this question appears not to have been maturely weighed, if it be understood as referring to an immediate transmutation of bodies. It is, whether all things do not pass through an appointed circuit and succession of

transformations, that is the legitimate subject of inquiry. For, there is not a doubt that the elementary particles, though they were originally equal, become, after having been cast into certain assemblages and knots, entirely impregnated with the nature of the dissimilar bodies they compose, till the several assemblages or knots of matter undergo solution; so that the properties and affections of things in concretion, offer no less resistance and impediment to immediate transmutation, than of things in their simplest elements. But Democritus, acute as he is in tracing the principles of quiescent body, is found unequal to himself, and deficient in knowledge of his subject, when he comes to examine the principles of motion; a common failing of all the philosophers. And, I know not but the investigations we are now handling, of the primary character of seminal and atomic particles, is of a utility greatly superior to all others whatsoever, as forming the sovereign rule of action and of power, and the true criterion of hope and operation. Another inquiry, also, proceeds from it, less comprehensively useful, indeed, in its scope, but more immediately connected with practice and useful works. It is respecting separation and alteration, that is, what operations are the effect of separation, and what of the other process. For, it is an error habitual to the human mind, and which has derived great force and depth from the philosophy of the alchymists, to ascribe those appearances to separation which look quite the other way. For instance, when water passes into the state of vapour, one would readily suppose that the more subtile part of the fluid was extricated, and the grosser remained, as is seen in wood, where part flies off in flame and smoke, part is left in the form of ashes. One might infer that something analogous to this takes place in the water also, though not so discernible to observation. For, though the whole mass of water is observed to bubble up and waste away, yet it might occur, that a sort of sediment of it, its ashes, as it were, still remained in the vessel. Yet, such an impression is delusive; for it is most certain, that the entire body of water may be converted into air, and if any portion still continues in the vessel, that does not happen in consequence of its separation and segregation as the grosser part, but because a certain quantity of the fluid, though of precisely the same substance with the part which evaporates, remains in contact with the internal surface of the vessel. The same thing is distinctly visible in the case of quicksilver, the whole of which is volatilized and then condensed again without the subtraction of the smallest particle. In the oil of lamps, too, and in the tallow of candles, the whole of the fat is sublimated, and there is no incineration, for the fuliginous matter is formed, not before, but after the ignition, and is, so to speak, the corpse of the flame, not a deposition of the oil or tallow.

And this lays open one way to overturn the theory of Democritus, with respect to the diversity of seminal particles or atoms; a way, I say, in the process of investigating nature herself: in opinion, indeed, there is another way to overturn it, much more smooth and easy, as the received philosophy assumes its phantasmal matter to be common to the forms of nature, and equally susceptible of them all.

Of the Remissness of the Ancients in investigating Motion and moving Principles.

III.

To place the investigation of nature chiefly in the consideration and examination of motion, is the characteristic of him who has an eye to practical effect as his object. And to indulge in meditation and revery, respecting the principles of nature viewed as quiescent, belongs to such as desire to spin out dissertations, or supply matter of argumentative subtlety. Now those principles I call quiescent, which inform us of what elements things are compounded, and consist; but not by what energy or in what way they effect these coalitions. For it is not enough, with a view to action and the enlargement of the power and operation of man, nor does it in fact bear materially on these ends at all, to know what are the constituent parts of things, if you are ignorant of the modes and processes of their transformations and metamorphoses. For to take an example from the mechanical adepts, (in whose heated imagination those famous speculations regarding the first principles of nature appear to have had their origin,) is the man who knows the simples that enter into the composition of an alexipharmic, (or antidote,) necessarily able in consequence, to prepare an alexipharmic? Or is he who has got a correct analysis of the ingredients of sugar, glass, or canvass, to be therefore supposed a master of the art of their preparation and manufacture? Yet it is in speculating and inquiring with respect to this description of dead principles, that the meditations of men have been hitherto principally absorbed: as if one were, of set purpose and resolution, to employ himself in poring over the dissection of the dead carcass of nature, rather than to set himself to ascertain the powers and properties of living nature. Indeed, the examination of the principles of motion is generally looked upon as a matter by the way, so that it passes admiration in what a perfunctory and remiss manner, a subject of all others the most momentous and most useful, has been investigated and treated. For, to turn our attention for a moment to the themes

which are actually discoursed of; will the impulse communicated to matter by privation, the formation of matter on mind, (or archetypal ideas,) the coalition of like particles, the fortuitous play of atoms in vacancy, the enmity and friendship supposed to exist in substances, the mutual action of heaven and earth on one another, the commerce of the elements by the intermediation of consenting properties, the influence of the celestial bodies, occult and specific medicinal powers and properties of drugs, fate, fortune, necessity; will, I say, such vague generalities as these, which are nothing but phantasms and spectral illusions, floating about and playing on the surface of things, as in water, really advance the blessings, or effectually augment the powers of man? They indeed occupy or rather inflate the imagination, but contribute absolutely nothing to establish new methods of working nature, to the power of altering her forms, or commanding her motions. And, again, all their attempts to reason and subtilize regarding motion, natural and violent, motion self-determined or impressed exteriorly, the limitations of motion, these too do not enter to any depth the trunk of nature, but show rather like figures inscribed in the bark. Wherefore dismissing such speculations, or condemning them to exile among the theatres of popular display, we must make it our business to trace those affections and tendencies of things, by which that surprising multiplicity of effects and of changes, visible alike in the works of art and of nature, grows up and emerges into view. We must thus endeavour to bind nature as a Proteus; for the various species of motions, duly discovered and methodically discriminated, may be regarded as the true bonds to tie this Proteus withal. For according as the just impulses and restraints of motion, that is, of matter stimulated to activity or restrained in it, are invented and applied, there follows the capacity of modifying and transmuting matter itself.

Of the common Division of Motion, that it is equally deficient in point of Utility and Discrimination.

IV.

The division of motion in the philosophy in vogue appears to be superficial and without foundation, as it forms its distribution of it only by its effects, and does not at all conduce to our knowledge of it by its causes. For generation, corruption, increase, diminution, alteration, removal to place, are only the operations and effects of motions, which having attained to the production of a visible transmutation of things, palpable to vulgar observation, are (in the inertness of common apprehension) distinguished by these appellations. We have no doubt that the meaning of the terms stands thus:—that when bodies, in the progression of their motion, (of whatever character the motion be) have reached that point at which they assume a new form, or lay aside the old, (forming a sort of full break, and the completion of a regular stage of that motion,) this is termed the motion of generation and corruption. Again, if, the configuration remaining the same, they acquire only a new quantity or measure of dimension, this is called the motion of increase and diminution; so also, if the mass and the outline of the object remain unaltered, yet its quality, operations, and properties, undergo change, this is said to be the motion of alteration; lastly, if the body continue unmodified in figure, matter, and quantity, but change its place, and that only, this is indicated by the words, motion of removal. But to him who looks into this matter with something more of penetration and accuracy, these phrases will appear to represent only points in the measurement of motion, pauses and breaks in it, or, as it were, the successive courses motions have to run, and tasks they have to perform, but to convey no real distinctions; as they only point to that which has been done, but scarcely even hint at the mode of doing it. Words of this description are required for the purpose of giving information, and adjusted to the forms of the scholastic logic, but they are utterly unproductive of physical knowledge. For they all signify motions combined, re-combined, and in manifold ways still further combined; whereas men of more acute meditation ought to penetrate to simpler principles. For the principles, the sources, the causes, and the modes of motion, that is, the tendencies and appetencies of every form of matter, are the proper field of philosophy; and so in their order the modes of communicating and stimulating motion, its restraints, retardations, lines, impediments, its reactions and combinations, its indirect paths and concatenations, in short, the entire progression of motions. For of little avail are windy disputations, or specious discourses, or vague meditations, or, lastly, plausible maxims. The business is, by well digested methods, and a management adapted to nature, to acquire a capacity to control, to intensify, to remit, to combine with other motions, to let gently down, to bring to a pause the motion of every portion of susceptible matter, and so to accomplish the conservation, the modification, and the transformation of bodies. We must, however, direct our inquiries principally to those motions which are uncompounded, original, ultimate, of which the rest are constituted. For it is most unquestionable, that in proportion as simpler motions are discovered, in the same proportion will the power of man be augmented, delivered from the trammel of using only specific and elaborated substances, and invigorated to strike out new lines of operation. And, assuredly, since the words or vocables of

all languages, in all their prodigious variety, are compounded of a few simple characters, so, in like manner, are the agencies and powers of the universe composed of a few primary properties or original springs of motion. And disgraceful would it be to mankind, to have studied with such pertinacious exactness the tinkle of their own utterance; but to have been in the tongue of nature unlearned, and like the barbarians of primeval times, before letters were invented, distinguishing only the compounded sound or expression, but incapable of analyzing it into elementary tones and characters.

Of a fixed Sum of Matter, and that Change takes place without Annihilation of Substance.

V.

That all things change, that nothing really perishes, and the mass of matter remains absolutely the same, is sufficiently evident. And as the Divine omnipotence was required to create any thing out of nothing, so also is that omnipotence to make any thing lapse into nothing. Whether that would take place, by a withdrawing of the preserving energy, or by the act of annihilation, is of no importance; this much is necessary, the interposition of a decree of the Creator. Having laid down this as an aphorism, we would, in order to fix the wandering of the mind, and prevent the supposition that we mean some invented matter of the schools, intimate thus much in further explanation; namely, that the matter here introduced by us, is such, and with such attributes invested, that it may be truly affirmed of it, that more of that matter is present in one body, and less (though they occupy the same dimensions) in another. For instance, there is more of it in lead, less in water, greatly less still in air, and that not in a vague sense, or a dubious and unsatisfactory manner, but specifically, so as to be matter of exact computation, as that there is twice as much of it in this body, thrice as much in that, and so on. If any one were to say, then, that air could be made out of water, or water, again, out of air, I should listen to him; but should he say, that a like quantity of water could be made into a like quantity of air, I should not listen. For that would be equivalent to saying that something could be made into nothing. In like manner, conversely, if he were to say that a determinate quantity of air (that, for example, contained in a vessel of a given measure) could be converted into a like quantity of water, it would be the same as saying that something can be made out of nothing. From these principles, three rules or practical directions seem to me deducible, in order that men may with greater skill, and, in consequence of skill, with greater success, conduct their trade with nature. The first is in this wise, that men ought often to control nature by a counter-reckoning, in giving in her account; that is, that when they see some body, which had previously been full in the eye of sense, make its escape and vanish, they should not at once, as it were, authenticate and clear off the account of nature, till a correct voucher has been given to them, whither such body has transferred itself, and in what it has found a recipient. This, as matters now go, is most carelessly done, and contemplation in general stops with appearances; thus men are ignorant of the recipient of flame, the most common of substances; for it is a perfect fallacy to suppose that it is converted into the substance of the air. The second is thus; that while men regard the property inherent in matter of being self-sustained, and not dropping into annihilation or dissolution, as an adamantine necessity of nature, they ought to permit no method to escape them of torturing and agitating matter, if they would detect and drag to light its ultimate workings and obstinately preserved secrets. Now, this may seem to be, what I at once admit that it is, an admonition which it requires little sagacity to give:—yet it seems to contain in it something of real use; it is not a counsel that has nothing in it. Let us now, however, add to this subject, if you please, a sprinkling of actual observation. Thus, then, the greatest difficulty man encounters in operation or experiment is, that it is scarcely possible to keep together, act upon, and master the refractory properties of a given quantity of matter, without such substance undergoing diminution or augmentation; but a separation of the parts taking place, the effort of experiment is rendered, in the last resort, abortive. Now, separation interposes thus in two ways; either so that a part of the matter flies off, as in extraction, or, at least, that a segregation of parts takes place, as in cream. The intention, therefore, of a complete and thorough change of bodies is no other than to vex matter by every well digested method of scrutiny; always, however, with due prevention of these two kinds of separation, during the period of such process. For then, and not till then, is matter truly delivered up bound into our hands, when every avenue of escape has been closed up. The third direction is this, that when men behold alterations take place in the same section of matter, without its being either increased or diminished, they should first free their imagination from the deeply-rooted error, that alteration is effected by separation alone; and should then begin painfully and carefully to discriminate the various forms of alteration, when they ought to be placed to the account of separation, when to that of disorganization only, and a different collocation of the same parts, without other separation; when to that of both together. For I do not believe, that when we shuffle hard, throw about, and meliorate in our hands a harsh and untimely pear

by which it acquires sweetness, or when amber or a diamond reduced to an extremely fine dust, are divested of colour, that there is any perceptible fraction of the substance of either lost, but only that their component parts are arranged differently as to place.

It remains that we try to eradicate from the minds of men an error of which the influence is such, that if credit continues to be attached to it, several of the investigations we have mentioned must be given up in despair as impracticable. For it is the common persuasion, that the ethers (or spirits) of substances, when they have been brought to an extreme degree of exility by heat, evaporate even in the most solid vessels, (such as silver or glass retorts,) through certain imperceptible pores and crevices. This is not true. For neither air, nor such ethers, not even flame itself, volatilize so perfectly, as to become capable of seeking or finding emission through such orifices. But as an exceeding small aperture does not permit the escape of water, so neither do such pores the passage of air. For, as air is a fluid rarer by far than water, so such pores are proportionally much more minute than visible apertures. Nor would suffocation in a covered vessel be inevitable, if such exudations either existed, or were competent to produce their supposed effect. And the instance they adduce is pitiful, or rather a fit subject for pity, as are most of the speculations of the common philosophy, when they are brought down to details. They say, that if ignited paper be put in a cup, and the mouth of the cup inverted on a vessel of water, the water is then drawn upwards; their reason is, that after the flame, and the air subtilized by the flame, occupying as they had done a certain portion of the interior space, had passed out through the pores of the vessel, it remains that some other body should succeed to their place. The same, they say, is the case in cupping glasses, which raise the flesh. And with respect to the water and the flesh succeeding another body which is displaced, their notion is a just one enough, but of the cause which produces that effect, a most ignorant one. For there is no emission, creating vacant space, but only the contraction of that body. For the body into which the flame has passed now occupies much less space than before the flame had been extinguished. It is thus that a vacuum is formed, desiderating the succession of something else. And this is perfectly clear in the instance of cupping glasses. For when they wish them to act more powerfully on the flesh, they apply to them sponges filled with cold water, that the cold may condense the imprisoned air, and make it gather itself up into smaller space.

Thus do we extricate men from the anxiety and the dispiriting impression engendered by the ease with which such finer spirits effect their liberation; since the very spirits which they are chiefly desirous to confine, odours, savours, and the like, do not really exhale from their prisons, but are lost within them.

Of seeming Quiescence, of Consistency, and of Fluidity.

VI.

That certain bodies appear quiescent and void of motion, is a just impression in reference to their wholes or aggregates, but as respects their parts, it misleads men's opinion. For simple and absolute immobility, either in the parts or the totality of bodies, there is none; but what is so regarded, is the effect of the obstacles, restraints, and balances with one another, subsisting among motions. For instance, when in the vessels perforated at the bottom, which we use in watering gardens, the water does not find vent through the holes, if the mouth of the vessel be closed, it is evident that this is occasioned by the resilient motion, not the quiescent property of the water. For the water desires to fall, precisely as much as if it were performing the act of descent; but as there is not a body to fill up the vacuity formed at the top of the vessel, the water at the bottom is drawn back, and with considerable force, by the water at the top. Thus, in wrestling, if a man grasp another weaker than himself in such a way that he is unable to move, and yet continues to strain his utmost, the motion of renitency is not made less because it is mastered and tied by the stronger motion.

Now, the observation we make on false quiescence is useful to be known in numberless cases, and affords no little light in the inquiry into the nature of solid and liquid bodies, or of consistency and fluidity. For solids seem to remain at rest in their positions, but liquids subject to agitation and interfusion of parts. Thus a column, or any other figured body of water, cannot be raised as one of wood or stone. It is, therefore, hastily supposed that the upper parts of the water tend (in their natural motion, as it is termed) to flow downwards, but the corresponding parts of the wood not. But this is not true; since in the parts of the wood forming its top, there exists the same tendency to motion downwards as in water; and it would be brought into act, were it not fettered and drawn the other way by a superior motion. Now, the appetite of continuity or horror of separation, which is in itself no less incident to water than to wood, is in the wood stronger than the motion of gravity, in water weaker. For that liquids also partake of this motion, is manifest. Thus we see in a succession of waterdrops, how, to prevent a solution of continuity, the water draws itself out and tapers to a thin filament, so long as the fluid which succeeds supplies the means; but should water be wanting to maintain the continuity, it then gathers

itself into globules, the diameter of which is considerably greater than the filament previously formed. In the same way we see that the water with difficulty admits of being broken into more minute particles, since it does not, without having been shaken, exude by its natural gravity through pertures and crevices, if they be somewhat minute. It is evident, then, that there is a tendency to continuity in fluids also, but weak. On the contrary, however, it is strong in solids, and predominates over the natural motion, or that of gravity. For if any one conceives that in a pillar of wood or stone, the upper parts do not throughout affect descent, but rather to maintain themselves in entirely the same position, he will easily set himself right, by considering that a column or a similar structure, if the altitude is disproportioned to the base, or exceeds the due relation to it, cannot stand, but is precipitated by its own gravity. So that in very elevated piles of building it is necessary to make them incline to the pyramidal form, and narrow to an apex. What that principle in nature is, however, which determines the intensity or weakness of the affection of continuity, will not easily occur to the inquirer. It might, perhaps, be suggested that the parts of solids are more concentrated and compact, those of liquids more lax, or that in liquids there was an ether, the principle of fluidity, which was wanting in solids and the like. But neither of these explanations is reconcileable to truth; for it is apparent that snow and wax, which can be divided, cast into form, and receive the impression of other bodies, are a much rarer substance than melted quicksilver or lead; as is proved by a comparison of their weight. But if any one still insists that it is possible that snow or wax, though (as a whole) less gross than quicksilver, may, nevertheless, have its parts disposed more closely and compactly, yet, that as it is a porous body, containing many cavities and much air, it is, therefore, rendered lighter as a whole: as is the case of pumicestone, which, though in comparing the size of both, it be perhaps lighter than wood, nevertheless, if both be ground to a dust, the dust of the pumicestone will outweigh that of the wood, because the porosity of the former no longer continues: these are well observed and well objected facts. But what shall be said of melted snow or wax, where the same interstices are now filled up: or what of gum mastic and the like substances, which have no perceptible cavities of the kind, and are yet lighter than several liquids? As to the allegation of an ether by the virtue and impulse of which things are put into the state of being fluid, that, no doubt, is at the first glance probable, and falls in kindly with the common notions: but in the experience of actual nature, it is much more hard to admit, and inaccurate, being not merely unsupported by sound reason, but almost repugnant to it. For that other of which they speak, has for its proper effect (surprising as the saying may appear) consistency, not fluidity. This is also very well seen in the instance of snow, where, though the substance be a concrete of air and water, and the water and air be separate fluids, yet the union of the two produces consistency. Should any one object, that this consistency may be occasioned by the condensation of the aqueous part by cold, and not by means of the incorporated air, he will correct himself by observing that froth also, which is a body similar to snow, is not in any way condensed by cold. Yet, if he still press the objection, by saying that in the formation of foam there is still an antecedent condensation, not indeed by the action of cold, but by agitation and concussion: let him take a lesson from the boys, who with a slight inspiration of air through a pipe or reed, and by the aid of some water rendered rather more viscid by mixing a little soap with it, form a strange turriform congeries of bubbles.

The case, in fact, stands thus: bodies at the contact of a friendly or homogeneous body relax and fall to solution; at that of a dissimilar body they contract and hold themselves erect and aloof. The application, therefore, of an incongruous body is the cause of consistency. Thus we see oil mixed with water, as takes place in preparing unguents, in so far divest itself of the fluidity which before prevailed, both in the water and the oil. On the contrary, we observe paper moistened with water become flaccid and lose its consistency, (which was considerable, by reason of the air which had penetrated its pores,) but when moistened with oil, the cohesion is less affected, because it has less congruity with paper. We see the same thing take place also in sugar and the like substances, which soften into commixture with water and wine; and not only blend intimately with these fluids, but even attact and suck them up.

Of the Harmony of sentient Bodies with insentient.

VII.

The affections of bodies endowed with sense and destitute of it, have great conformity with one another, except that in the sentient body, there is the addition of spirit. For the pupil of the eye corresponds with a mirror and with water, and by a similar property admits and refracts the images of light and of visible objects. The organ, too, of hearing is analogous to the obstructed part of a cave-like passage, from which part the voice and all sound best reverberates. The attractions, also, of inanimate objects, and again their affections of horror and flight, (those I mean which come of their own spontaneous motion,) are correlative to

smell and to odours grateful and offensive in the case of animals. But the capacity of touch and taste, like a prophet and interpreter, delivers to the mind all the modes either of forcible appeal, or of benign and insinuating flattery to the sense, which are incident to inanimate substances, and all the forms they assume under the influence of these affections. For compressions, expansions, corrosions, separations, and the like, are, in things without life, invisible in their progress, and are not perceived till the effect is manifest. But all violence to the organization of animals is accompanied with a sense of pain, according to their different kinds and peculiar natures, owing to that sentient essence which pervades their frames. And from this principle may be inferred the knowledge whether haply any animal possesses some additional sense, besides those commonly observed, and what senses and how many can possibly exist in the whole circle of animated nature. For from the affections of matter duly analyzed, will follow the number of the senses, if there be only the sufficing organs for the operation of such senses, and the presence of spirit to inform them.

Of violent Motion, that it is the rapid Motion and Discursation of the Particles of a Body, in consequence of Pressure, but perfectly invisible.

VIII.

Violent motion, (as it is termed,) by which missiles, as stones, arrows, cannon balls, and the like, move through the air, is of all descriptions of motion nearly the most familiar. And we may note here, the singular and supine indifference which men have discovered in observing and investigating this kind of motion. Nor is a faulty way of tracing the nature and power of it attended with only trivial loss; since it is of unlimited use, and as it were the life and informing principle of projectiles, engines, and all the applications of mechanical power. Yet many conceive that they have completely acquitted themselves of their part in the investigation, if they but pronounce such motion to be violent, and contradistinguish it from natural. And no doubt it is the system of Aristotle and his school, to instruct men what to say, not what to think; to teach a man by what devices of affirming or denying, he may get clear of a disputant in argument, not how, by force of thought, he may get clear of a difficulty in the conviction of his own mind. Others, rather more attentive, laying hold of the position that two bodies cannot exist in one place, say that it follows as a consequence that the stronger body propel, and the weaker be dislodged: that this dislodging or flight, if a less force is used, continues no longer than the duration of the original impulse, as in protrusion; but if a greater, the impulsion continues for a time, even after the removal of the impelling body, till it gradually slackens, as in throwing. And here, again, according to another inveterate habit of the same school, they catch only at the commencement of the thing, indifferent to its progression and termination, and drag in all that follows under the head of the beginning; whence, with an overweening haste and impatience, they break off their train of thought in the midst. For in what they say of bodies giving way at the impelling force, there is something; but why the motion should continue after the urging body is withdrawn, and consequently the necessary alternative of the weaker and stronger body mingling is at an end, of this they say nothing, not sufficiently apprehending the scope of their own observations.

Others, however, more attentive and steady in investigating, having marked the force of the air in winds and the like instances, which is capable of throwing down trees and towers, have supposed that the force which urges and accompanies projectiles, after the first impulsion, ought to be referred to the air accumulating and rushing in behind the body in motion, by the impulse of which that body is borne along, like a ship in the expanse of water. And such persons, at least, do not quit their subject, but carry their thought to its conclusion; yet they, nevertheless, do not attain to the truth. The cause in reality is this. The principal motion seems to be in the parts of the volant body itself, which parts being imperceptible to vision, on account of their extreme tenuity, escape the notice of men, not sufficiently attentive to their subject, and passing it over with a cursory glance. But to one who gives it a sounder examination, it is clearly evident, that the harder bodies are, they are the more impatient of pressure, the more acutely sensitive to it, as it were; so much so, that if disturbed ever so little from their natural position, they endeavour with great velocity of movement to free themselves from its effect, and resume their original state. To effect which, the several parts, beginning with the part struck, successively propel one another, in the same way as an external force, and keep up that motion vigorously; hence results a continuous and, though invisible, intense vibration of the parts. And this we see exemplified in glass, sugar, and similar brittle substances, which, if they be divided by a blade or edged instrument, are, as it were, in a moment broken down in other parts distant from the line described by the blade. Which evidently proves that the motion of pressure travels to the parts of these substances successively. This motion pervading all the parts of the body, and trying, as it were, their compactness, causes the breaking down of that part, where, from the structure, the cohesion is weak. Yet does not this motion, though it agitates and

permeates the whole, come into view, till a visible break or divulsion of continuity takes place. Again, we observe, if we happen to bend and compress between the thumb and forefinger the two ends of a wire, or bit of cane, or the harder part of a pen, (or similar bodies which unite flexibility with a certain degree of elasticity,) they anon spring from the hand. The cause of which motion is evidently discernible not to be in the extremities compressed by the fingers, but in the middle part, which is the seat of forcible pressure, to relieve itself from which, the motion comes into play. And in this instance it is clearly shown, that the alleged cause of motion, the impulsion of the air, is inadmissible. For here there is no concussion to let in a rush of air. This is also proved by a slight experiment, when we press the fresh and smooth ball of a plum, drawing the fingers gradually together, and in this manner let it go. For in that instance also compression is substituted for percussion. But the most conspicuous effect of this interior motion is in the revolutions and gyrations of missiles while flying. The missiles, indeed, proceed onwards, but they make their progression in spiral lines, that is, by straight-lined and rotatory motion together, and indeed this curvilinear motion is so fleet, and at the same time so easy, and somehow so familiar to things, as to excite a doubt in my mind whether it does not depend on some higher principle. Yet I think that the cause of this fact is no other than the same we are now handling. For the concussion of the body occasions an excessive impetus in all its parts and particles, to effect in some way or other their extrication and freedom. The body, therefore, not only acts and flies forth in a straight line, but strives to move from every point in it at once, and, therefore, whirls round; for in both ways it somewhat relieves itself of its impulse. Now this, which in the harder solids is a somewhat recondite and latent property, is in the softer ones evident, and, so to speak, palpable. For as wax, and lead, and similar soft bodies, when struck with a mallet, give way not only in the line of percussion, but laterally every way; so, in like manner, hard or resisting bodies move in a straight line and periphery at once. For the retrocession of soft bodies in their substance, and of hard ones in their place, is the same in its principle, as is evidently seen in the structure of the soft body, and in the affection of the hard one, exhibited in its flight and volant path. Meantime let none think that besides this motion, (which is the cardinal point,) I do not ascribe a certain degree of effect to the conveyance of the air, which is capable of assisting, obstructing, modifying, and regulating the principal motion; for its power is far from being inconsiderable. And this doctrine of violent or mechanical motion (which has been hitherto unknown) is, as it were, the fountain-head of practical mechanics.

Of the cause of Motion in Fire-arms, which has been hitherto investigated only in part, and that part comparatively unimportant.

IX.

The theory of fire-arms—of a motion so powerful and so remarkable, is imperfect, and, in the more important part, defective. For it is said in explanation that the gunpowder, after having been converted into flame and volatilized, expands and occupies more space; whence it follows, that as two bodies cannot exist in the same space, otherwise a jumbling of their dimensions would ensue, or the elementary form be destroyed, or a preternatural arrangement of the internal parts of the body be the effect, (for this is what they say,) that the impeding body is ejected or broken. And what they say contains something. For this tendency is both an affection of matter, and an ingredient in the motion itself. Yet they err in this, that in their over hasty way of determining, they jump at once to the necessary consequence of the dilatation of a body, and do not accurately consider what comes first in the order of nature. For that the substance of the gunpowder, after having been converted into flame, must occupy a larger space, is doubtless a thing of necessity; but that the substance of the gunpowder should be inflamed at all, and that so instantaneously, is not determined by a like necessity, but depends on an antagonism, and comparative force of motions. For there is not a doubt, that the compact and heavy body which is expelled or dislodged by this motion, offers considerable resistance before it gives way, and, if it happen to be the stronger, is victorious; that is to say, the flame, in that case, does not cast out the ball, but the ball stifles the flame. If, therefore, instead of gunpowder, you take sulphur, asphaltum, or the like, bodies which are also quickly inflammable, and (as the closeness of particles in bodies hinders ignition) reduce them to a grain like gunpowder, mixing up with it a small quantity of the ashes of the juniper, or some other very combustible wood; yet, should the nitre be wanting, that rapid and powerful motion does not follow: the motion to perfect inflammation is impeded and fettered by the resisting body, so that it cannot fully expand and take effect. For, besides the motion of inflammation, which chiefly arises from the sulphureous part of the gunpowder, there is yet another powerful and violent motion in the case. This is caused by the crude watery ether, which is extricated from the nitre in part, but chiefly from the charcoal, and which not only itself dilates, as exhaled essences are wont to do, on the application of heat, but at the same time (which is the principal circumstance) by a motion of extreme rapidity, flies off and breaks forth from the heat and flame, thus distending and opening passages for the inflam mation to follow. Of this motion we see the

simplest form in the crackling of the dry leaves of laurel or ivy, when we cast them into the fire, and still more in salt, which approximates more nearly to the substance under examination. We also often observe something like this in the tallow of candles when melted, and in the windy rustle of green wood set on fire. But it is chiefly discernible in quicksilver, which is an extremely crude substance, not unlike the water of a chalybeate spring; and the force of it, if tried by the application of fire, and prevented from egress, not greatly inferior to that of gunpowder itself. Men ought, therefore, to be admonished and conjured from this example, not in their investigation of causes to catch at only one element, and so too lightly to pronounce upon them; but to look around them with caution, and rivet their contemplation more intensely and profoundly.

Of the dissimilarity of things celestial and sublunary, in regard to eternity and mutability, that it has not been proved to be true.

X.

The received opinion that the universe is regularly divided and discriminated by spheres, as it were, and that there is one system of heavenly and another of sublunary being, appears to have been adopted, not without rational grounds, provided the opinion is applied with proper modifications. For there is no doubt that the regions situated beneath the lunar orb, and above it, differ in many and important respects. Yet is not that belief more certain than this other, that the bodies in both spheres have tendencies, appetencies, and motions which are common to both. We ought then to imitate the unity of nature, to discriminate those spheres rather than rend them asunder, and not break down the continuity of our contemplation. But with respect to another received opinion, that the heavenly bodies undergo no change, but that the terrestrial or elementary (as they are called) are subject to change; and that the matter of the last resembles a courtezan ever seeking the embracement of new bodies, but of the other a matron linked to one in stable and inviolable union; it seems but a popular notion, weak, and originating in appearances and superstition. This notion appears to be tottering, and without foundation, when viewed in either way. For neither does their imagined eternity consist with heaven, nor their mutability with earth. For, with respect to heaven, we cannot rest upon it as a reason for changes not happening there, that they do not emerge to our view, the view of man being prevented no less by distance of place than by tenuity of bodies. For various changes are found to take place in the air, as is evident in heat, cold, smells, sounds, which do not fall within the line of sight. Nor, again, I suppose, would the eye, if placed in the orb of the moon, descry across such a prodigious interval, what operations, movements, and changes presented themselves on the face of the globe, in engines, plants, animals, and so on, which on account of their distance would not equal the bulk of the minutest straw. Now, in bodies of such immense bulk and magnitude, that by the vastness of their dimensions they can overcome the greatness of distance, and come into visibility; it is evident from certain comets, that changes take place as they move in the expanse of the heavens. I allude to those comets, which have retained a certain unvaried relation of position to the fixed stars, such as that which in our own day appeared in Cassiopea. But as respects the earth, after having penetrated into the interior recesses of it, leaving that crust and mixture of substances which composes its surface and contiguous parts, there seems to exist there also an eternal immobility, analogous to that supposed to be found in heaven. For it is beyond a doubt, that if the earth underwent changes at an extreme depth beneath its surface, the influence of such changes, even in the region we tread, would produce greater calamities than any we behold. Most earthquakes, certainly, and volcanic eruptions, do not rise from a great but a very moderate depth, since they affect such an inconsiderable part of the surface. For in proportion as such visitations agitate a wider area of the earth's surface, in the same proportion we are to suppose that their bases and primitive seats enter deeper into the bowels of the earth. These earthquakes, therefore, which are greater, (in the extent of surface agitated I mean, not in violence of tremefaction,) and which but rarely happen, may be assimilated to comets of the description we have mentioned, which are also unusual. So that the proposition with which we set out remains unshaken, namely, that between heaven and earth there is no great difference as respects stability and change. But if any one is influenced to a different opinion by the regularity and seeming exactness of the motion of the heavenly bodies, we have before us the ocean, the solitary handmaid as it were of eternity, which exhibits no less unchangeable uniformity than they. Lastly, if any one shall still insist, that nevertheless it cannot be denied, but that on the surface of the globe, and the part contiguous to it, changes innumerable take place, but that in heaven it is not so, we would have him thus answered; that we do not carry the parallel through every part; and yet if we take the upper and middle regions of air (as they are termed) for a surface and exterior integument of heaven, just as among us we regard that space over which are distributed animals, plants, minerals, as a surface or outer integument of earth, we behold in both manifold reproductions and vicissitudes, in full operation. It would, therefore, seem that all the disorder, contention, and commotion of the universe, has its seat on the frontiers of heaven and earth alone. As in civil

society, it often happens in the ordinary course of things, that the borders of two adjacent kingdoms are wasted with a perpetual succession of inroads and affrays, while the interior provinces of either kingdom enjoy continued and profound tranquillity.

And none who bestows a proper attention on the subject will make an objection of religion. For it was only a heathen flourish to ascribe to a material heaven the quality of being impregnable to decay. The sacred Scriptures ascribe eternity and destructibility equally to heaven and earth, though they assign to them a different glory and an unequal reverence. For if it be recorded, that "the sun and moon bear faithful and eternal witness in heaven," it is also said that "generations pass away, but the earth abideth for ever." And that both are transitory is a doctrine contained in the same oracle of God, namely, that "heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord will not pass away."

These things we have noted, not from any ambition of novelty in opinion, but because, not in ignorant conjecture, but instructed by examples, we foresee that these fantastical divorces, and distinctions of objects and of regions, beyond what truth admits, will prove a serious impediment to true philosophy and the contemplation of nature. W. G. G.

THE

THEORY OF THE FIRMAMENT.

But as so many foiling inconveniences are found to spring up on all sides, it should be deemed satisfactory if any thing can be avouched less revolting.

Let us, therefore, construct a scheme of the universe, according to that measure of history hitherto known to us, reserving for our future judgment all new lights, after history, and through history, our philosophy, by induction, may have reached a maturer age. But we will, in the outset, premise some points that have reference to the matter composing the heavenly bodies, whence their motion and formation may be better understood; afterwards setting forth our thoughts and ideas of that motion itself, the chief subject under discussion.

Nature, then, in the separating of matter, seems to have drawn an impassable bar between the rare and dense, and to have assigned the globe of the earth to the order of the dense; but every thing, from the very surface of the earth, and its waters, to the utmost extremity of the firmament, to that of the rare or volatile, as it were, to twin classes of first principles, not indeed of equal but of suitable portions. Nor indeed does either the water clinging to the clouds, or the wind pent up in the earth, disarrange this natural and appropriate position of things: but this difference, between rare or volatile, and dense or tangible, is entirely primordial or essential, and is what the system of the universe chiefly has recourse to. It proceeds from a state of things the most simple possible—this is from the abundance and scarceness of matter, in proportion to its extension. What belong to the order of subtile or volatile, as found here among us, (we are speaking of those bodies that are simple and perfect, not of such as are compounded and imperfectly mixed,) are clearly those two bodies, air and flame. But these are to be propounded as bodies utterly heterogeneous, not, as is commonly supposed, that flame is nothing else than air set on fire. To these correspond, in the higher regions, the ethereal and sidereal nature, as, in the inferior, water and oil, and in the still deeper parts, mercury and sulphur, and generally crude and fat bodies, or, in other words, bodies that have a repugnance to, and such as are susceptible of, flame; (for salts are of a compounded nature, consisting of crude and at the same time also of inflammable parts.) It is now to be seen by what compact these two great families of things, air and flame, shall have occupied by far the greater part of the universe, and what are those parts they hold in the system. In air nearest to the earth, flame lives but a momentary life, and utterly perishes. But after the air has begun to be more depurate from the effluviæ of the earth and well rarefied, the nature of flame through various* adventures explores its way, and tries to take its station in the air, and after a time acquires some duration, not from succession, as with us, but in identity;† which takes place for a time in some of the feebler comets, which are in a manner of an intermediate nature between a successive and a fixed flame; the flamy nature, however, is not fixed or established, before its arrival at the body of the moon. There the flame lays down

* Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum, Virg. Æn. iii. 208. 'Per varios casus tentat et experitur,' may be translated, 'after various adventurous efforts tries,' or, 'adventurous through many casualties tries.'

† Identitas: quævis actio repetita.

its extinguishable part, and protects itself on all sides, but yet it is a flame, weak without vigour, and having little of radiation of that kind; that is, neither vivid from its own nature, nor much excited by a contrary one; neither is it sincere, but, from its composition with an ethereal substance, such as is there met with, it is stained and mixed up. And in the region of Mercury flame has not very plentifully established itself, since, by the accumulation of its whole amount, it is able to form only a small planet, and that withal labouring and struggling, like an ignis fatuus, with a great and highly disturbed diversity of fluctuating motions, and not bearing to be separated but for a small distance from the guardian protection of the sun. Moreover, after we arrive at the region of Venus, the flamy nature begins to gain strength and to wax brighter, and to be collected into a globe of a tolerable size; nevertheless, she also is the handmaid of the sun, and shudders with an abhorrence of any greater recession from him. But in the region of the sun, flame is set, as it were, on a throne, the mean being among the flames of the planets, for there it is stronger and more glittering than the flames of the fixed stars, on account of the greater restraining* influence shed all around, and the closest possible union. But flame in the region of Mars is observed to be likewise powerful, denoting by its splendour the sun's vicinity, yet existing of its own proper virtue, and admitting of a separation from the sun to the extent of the whole diameter of the firmament. In the region of Jupiter, however, flame, laying aside, in a gradual manner, this emulation, appears more serene and clear, not so much from its proper nature, (as the planet Venus, she being more sparkling,) but from being less moved and excited by the nature spread around him;† in which region it is probable *that* takes place, which Galileo devised, to wit, that the firmament there begins to be studded with stars, although from their minuteness invisible. But, again, in the region of Saturn the nature of flame seems to become somewhat languid and faint, as being both farther removed from an alliance with the sun, and exhausted by the neighbouring constellated firmament. Lastly, a flamy and sidereal nature having overpowered the ethereal nature, gives a constellated firmament composed of an ethereal and sidereal nature, as the globe of the earth is of continent and waters scattered up and down on this side and that side, the ethereal substance being however overruled, subdued, and assimilated, so as to thoroughly endure and become subservient to the sidereal. Wherefore, from the earth to the summit of the firmament are found three genera of regions, and, as it were, three stages, as relate to the region in which flame is extinguished, the region in which flame disperses itself; moreover, to quibble about contiguity and continuity in soft and flowing bodies, would be an utter vulgarism. Nevertheless, that point should be understood, namely, that nature is accustomed to advance to spaces by gradual steps, then, of a sudden, by leaps, and to alternate this sort of process, otherwise no fabric could be formed did she always proceed by insensible degrees; for what a jump as respects the expansion of matter is there from water to air, even ever so dense or clouded, and yet these bodies, so different in their nature, are joined together in position and superficies without any medium or interposing distance: nor is it a less leap as to a substantial nature, from the region of the air to the region of the moon; in like manner, a prodigious one from the firmament. Wherefore, if any one shall have taken for continuous and contiguous, not from the manner of their annexation, but from the diversity of the bodies connected, those three regions we have spoken of, they can only be held for contiguous in their limits.

But now it is time to notice, in a clear and explicit manner, the amount and nature of what this our theory, relating to the substance-matters of a system, may establish, as also of what it may give the negative to, in order that it may be maintained or overthrown. It denies that vulgar opinion, that flame is air ignited, by affirming that those two bodies, air and flame, are clearly heterogeneous, like water and oil, sulphur and mercury. It negatives that *vacuum coacervatum* held by Gilbert, to obtain among the scattered spheres, but affirms that the spaces are filled with aerial or a flamy nature. It denies that the moon is an aqueous, or a dense, or a solid body, but affirms that it is of a flamy nature, though it be gentle withal, and weak, being indeed the first rudiment and the last sediment of celestial flame; since flame, (according to its density,) no less than air and liquids, admits of innumerable degrees. It establishes that flame, justly and freely posited, becomes fixed and subsists, no less than air and water; nor is it a momentary thing, and only successive in its bulk, by renewal and feeding, as is the case here with us. It maintains that flame has a natural tendency to go and collect itself into globes, after the manner of an earthy nature, but not at all like air and water, which are gathered together in orbs and the interstices of globes, but never into perfect globes. It avers that the same flamy nature in the proper place, (that is) in the constellated firmament, is dispersed in infinite round atoms, but yet, in such a rt that

* Antiperistasin: περίστασις signifies, generally, 'circumstance:' but, in Athen. l. 5, it also denotes 'circuitus:' *αἱ δὲ τῆς περιστάσεως ὧραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἴσχουσι σύσαι*, portæ, quæ in circuitu erant, viginti, &c.; therefore, the illustrious author may mean by 'antiperistasis,' the attractive influence of the sun opposed to, and which detains [cohibet] the planets in their orbits.

† Or, "from the nature spread around him being less," &c., according as irritata and exasperata are taken in the nominative or ablative case.

that twofold principle of pure air and constellation be not put off, nor yet flame extended to the heaven of heavens. It affirms that stars are real flames, but that the actions of flame in the heavens should in no wise be wrested into a comparison with the actions of flame with us, most of which operate by casualty. It affirms that the ether interspersed among stars, and the stars themselves, have respective relations to air and flame, but sublimated and rectified. And thus, with respect to the substance of the constitution or system of the universe, some such ideas as these have suggested themselves to our mind.

We must now speak of the motions of the heavenly bodies, on account of which we have adduced these premises. It appears reasonable to suppose that rest is not excluded from nature as to any whole, (for we are not now discoursing of small parts.) This (waiving logical and mathematical subtleties) is mainly evident from the fact, that the inciting causes, and the velocities of the heavenly motions, gradually slacken themselves, as tending to ultimate cessation, and because that, even the heavenly bodies partake of rest, hard by the poles, and because, if immobility be excluded the system, it is dissolved and dissipated. But, if there be a certain accumulation and mass of matter of an immovable nature, there seems no further room to doubt that it is the globe of the earth; for a dense and close cementing of matter disposes toward a languid and reluctant motion; as, on the contrary, a loose unfolding of it towards a brisk and ready one. And not without reason did Telesius (who revived the philosophy and discussions of Parmenides in a treatise on the principle of cold,) introduce into nature, not, indeed, a co-essentiality and coupling, (which was his wish,) but, however, an affinity and agreement, to wit, on one side, of hot, shining, rare, and immovable, and, on the opposite part, of cold, dark, dense, and immovable, by placing the site of the first harmony in the heavens, of the second on the earth. But, if rest and immobility be conceded, it seems fit that we also suppose a motion without limit and to the uttermost movable, especially in natures opposed to each other. This motion is commonly rotatory, such as is generally found in the heavenly bodies; for, motion in a circle has no termination, and seems to flow from a natural desire of the body, which moves, only that it *may* move, and follow itself, and seek its own embraces, and excite its nature, and enjoy it, and exercise itself in its proper operation; whereas, a motion in a right line may seem a finite journeying, and a movement to a boundary of cessation or rest, and that it may attain something, and then quietly lay down its motion. Wherefore, respecting that rotatory motion, which motion is true and perennial, and commonly supposed peculiar to the heavenly bodies, we must inquire how it equips itself in the outset, and by what rate of conduct it incites and checks itself, and what the nature may be of those influences which really act upon it. In our progress of unfolding these things, we will refer to computations and tables, that beautiful mathematical dogma, (that all motions are restrained to circles, perfect, or eccentric, or concentric,) and that high flown dictum, (that the earth is, in respect of the firmament, like a point of no magnitude,) and many more feigned discoveries of astronomers. But, first, we will divide the heavenly motions: some are *cosmici*, others, *ad invicem*. Those we call *cosmici*, which the heavenly bodies acquire from the consent not only of the heavens, but of the universe: those *ad invicem*, in which some heavenly bodies depend on others: and this is a true and necessary division. On the supposition, then, of the earth standing still, (for that, at present, appears to us the truer hypothesis,) it is manifest that the heavens are carried round by a diurnal motion, the measure of which motion is the space of twenty-four hours, or thereabouts; and, consequently, the revolution is from east to west, upon certain points, (which they call poles,) south and north: moreover, the heavens are not whirled round movable poles, nor, back again, are the points different from those stated: and this motion verily seems in harmony with universal nature, and therefore sole, except as far as it admits both of decrements and declinations; according to which decrements and declinations, this motion shoots through every thing movable, and pervades all space, from the constellated firmament even to the very bowels and inmost recesses of the earth; not by any snatched or harassing course, but by perpetual consent; and that motion in the constellated firmament is perfect and entire, as well as to a just measure of time, as by a full restoration of place; but, inasmuch as that motion recedes from the summit of the heavens, insomuch does it become more imperfect, with a reference to its slowness as well as its aberration from a circular motion. And, first, we must speak distinctly of that slowness. We affirm, that the diurnal motion of Saturn is too slow to carry it round, and restore it to the same point in twenty-four hours; but that the starry firmament is carried on quicker, and outstrips Saturn by such an excess, as, in as many days as complete thirty years, would agree with a whole circuit of the heavens. The same is to be said of the rest of the planets, according to the difference of the periodic time of each planet; so that the diurnal motion of the starry firmament (in that same period, without any regard to the magnitude of the circle) is nearly by one hour swifter than the diurnal motion of the moon; for, if the moon could complete its revolution in twenty-four days, then that excess would be one whole hour; wherefore that much talked of motion, in an opposite and contrary direction, from

west to east, which is attributed as peculiar to the planets, is not true, but only apparent, from the outstripping of the starry firmament toward the west, and the leaving behind of the planets towards the east, which being granted, it is evident that the velocity of that cosmical motion, by an unperturbed law of nature, as it descends, decreases, so that the nearer each planet approaches the earth, the slower it moves; whereas the received opinion overthrows and turns upside down that law; and by attributing a motion of their own to the planets, falls into the absurdity, that the planets, the nearer they are to the earth, (which is, naturally, the place of rest,) in that ratio have their celerity increased; which astronomers, in the most trifling and unsuccessful manner, attempt to excuse, by a relaxation of the force of the primum mobile. But if it seem to any one a matter of wonder, that, in spaces so vast as interpose between the starry firmament and the moon, that motion should gradually decrease by portions so small, by less, to wit, than one hour, which is the twenty-fourth part of the diurnal motion; it subsides when we consider that each planet, the nearer it is to the earth, completes lesser circles, revolving in a shorter circuit; so that, the decrement of the size of the circle being added to the decrement of the periodic time, that motion is perceived to decrease in a marked manner. Up to this time we have spoken of the velocity, absolutely and apart, as if the planets, placed, for example, in the plane of the equator, or of any of its parallels, were simply overtaken by the starry firmament, and by one another, but yet in that selfsame circle; for this would be a mere leaving behind, without any respect to obliquity. But it is manifest, that the planets not only hasten on their course with unequal relative speed, but do not return to the same point of a circle, but decline towards the south and the north, the limits of which declination are the tropics; which declination has produced a circle oblique to us, and its different polarity; after the same manner that that inequality of velocity has caused the motion of an opposite action. Nor really is there need of this figment in the nature of things, since, by introducing spiral lines, (the thing that comes nearest to sense and fact,) the matter in dispute may be settled, and those points be safe and sound. Besides, (which is the sum and substance of the matter,) these spirals are nothing else than deviations from a perfectly circular motion, which the planets cannot bear; for in proportion as the substances degenerate in purity and expansion, so also do their motions. But it happens, that as in point of celerity the higher planets are carried on quicker, and the inferior slower; so, also, that the superior planets form spires that approximate* and more nearly resemble circles, but the inferior curves more disjoined and eccentric; for, by descending more and more, there is a perpetual departure both from that prime state of velocity and that perfect circular motion, by a law of nature nowhere interrupted. In this, however, the planets agree, (as bodies retaining much of a common nature, though in other respects differing,) that they have the same limits of declination. For neither doth Saturn return within the tropics, nor does the moon stray beyond the tropics, (and yet we must not dismiss from our consideration what has been handed down and remarked by some upon the wanderings of the planet Venus,) but all the planets, whether superior or inferior, after their arrival at the tropics, turn themselves, and recommence a course back again, weary of a lesser spiral range, such as they would have to undergo, if they did approach nearer the poles; and dreading that loss of motion as destructive of their nature. For, howsoever it may be, in the starry firmament, both the stars near the poles, and those about the equinoctial, preserve their ranks and positions, reduced into order, one by another, with steadfastness and consummate uniformity; nevertheless, the planets seem to be of that mixed nature, that they admit not willingly an ampler circuit, nor bear at all a shorter. Furthermore, these doctrines concerning the heavenly motions seem to us somewhat preferable to forced and opposite motions, and of a different polarity of the zodiac, and an inverted order of velocity, and such like, which in no way agree with the nature of things, though they may in a manner accord with calculations. Neither have eminent astronomers been blind to these matters, but, wrapped up in their craft, and reveries of perfect circles, catching at subtleties and the evil results of a fashionable philosophy, they have disdained to follow nature. Truly, however, is that despotic decretal against nature of wise men more mischievous, than the very simplicity and utter credulity of the uninformed, when any one, for instance, looks with scorn at truth, because it is manifest. And yet huge is that evil, and most widely extended, that the human intellect, whenever it finds itself unequal to subjects, has a predilection to soar above them.

But now we must inquire whether that one and simple motion in a circle, and in a spiral curve, from east to west, upon certain south and north poles, cease and terminate with the heavens, or it also be conveyed down to things beneath. For it would not be ingenuous in us to feign here in this nether region such aphorism as they suppose with respect to the heavens. Wherefore, if in these regions be also found that motion, it

* Propiores, if not misprinted for propriores, must respect the foci of the ellipses; which explains "disjunctas:" but, if the illustrious author did write propiores, why did he afterwards tautologize by saying "quæque circulos propius referant?"

will appear that, even in the heavens, it is of like kind, according to a nature common or cosmical, with that we experience. In the first place, then, it is plainly evident, that it is not confined to the limits of the heavens. But the demonstrations and proofs of this matter we have fully laid down in our *anticipation* respecting the flowing and ebbing of the sea; therefore, to that we refer; and this being supposed and taken for granted, we will proceed to the rest of the heavenly motions. But these we have said are not cosmical, but reciprocal. There are four kinds of motions visible in the heavens, besides that which we have called cosmical, which is a diurnal motion in curves within the tropics. For either the stars are raised higher, and again depressed lower, as they may be farther from and nearer to the earth; or they bend and wind themselves through the latitude of the zodiac, by running out more to the south, or more to the north, and by traversing what they call the dragons;* or they vary from an incited and also an acquisitive motion,† (for we join together these two,) advancing sometimes quicker, sometimes slower, sometimes progressively, sometimes retrogressively, sometimes even stopping and staying; or at a certain distance from the sun, they are more or less bound together and drawn round each other. We will recount the causes and natures of these only, generally touching the heads of each; for our present undertaking requires that to be done in this place. But in order to this, and to secure beforehand, as well as to open the way, we must frankly declare our sentiments upon some of the maxims of philosophers, as also upon certain hypotheses of astronomers, as well as their observations during several ages, out of which materials they built up their mysteries; all which things appear to us to be full of error and confusion. Wherefore there are axioms, or rather certain conceits, which, received by philosophers, and transferred to astronomy, and unfortunately being credited, have corrupted the science. Our rejection of them will be simple, as well as our judgment upon them; for it is not suitable to waste precious time on silly refutations. The first of these is, that all things above the moon inclusively are incorruptible; and in no degree or form whatever do they undergo new beginnings or changes; of which it has been said elsewhere, that it is a fond and silly saying. Indeed, from this source proceeds that prodigious evil, that, on the appearance of every irregularity astronomers shape new and, as they suppose, corrected theories, and adapt causes eternal and invariable to things more frequently, as it were, fortuitous.

The second is, that those turbulent actions of compression, expansion, resistance, and yielding, which seem to be produced by a certain softness and hardness of bodies, taken for elementary qualities, are not compatible with the heavens, which is doubtless of the fifth and least elementary essence. But this assertion is a presumptuous and arbitrary reprobation of things and sense. For wheresoever any body in nature is in a state of rest, there also is a reluctance to change, and that in proportion to the size of the body. But wherever are natural bodies, and a local motion, there will take place either repulsion, or a yielding, or resolution of motion;* for those things which have been named compactness, looseness of parts, resistance, a giving way, with many others, are what matter universally undergoes everywhere. Yet, however, from this source have come down to us all that multiplicity of orbits capriciously jumbled together, which, nevertheless, they are pleased to say are so distinctly interlineated, and which move and turn within each other so evenly and glibly, that, notwithstanding their intricacy, there is no entangling or vibration; all which are visionary and a palpable mockery of facts.

A third is, that to each individual body appertains a peculiar and appropriate motion; and if more motions are observable, all, except one, are extrinsic, and derived from some other moving body. Nothing falser than this can be conceived, since all bodies, from the manifold consent of things, are endued with even many motions, some denoting their nature, others waxing weaker and weaker, others even lying hid until they be drawn forth; but there are no special or proper motions of things, except the exact measures and ratios of common motions. And hence again has been presented to us that primum mobile severed and made distinct, and heavens on heavens, and new-fangled mansions contained in them, that they may suffice for the performances of so many different motions.

The fourth is, that all heavenly motions are distributed through perfect circles; which is a very cumbrous doctrine, and has produced to us those monsters of eccentric curves and epicycles; whereas, however, had they consulted nature, a regulated and uniform motion belongs to a perfect circle; but a motion, regulated, indeed, but of

* The twelve signs of the *zodiac*, I presume; so called because most of them resemble some living creature; thus, Eurip., in Oreste, has Δρακοντώδης, 'draconibus, seu anguibus plenus;" or it may mean the two nodes, which comes to the same thing, represented by the head and the tail of the Dragon; for, the ascending node and Dragon's head have the same character to denote each, (☊;) so, likewise, the descending node and Dragon's tail (☋.)

† Consecution, used by Newton; does it mean 'picked up on its revolution,' or an orderly accompanying, &c.; a relative motion; or a train of *consequential* motion, incitatio referring to *original*?

* Sectio means, classically, a confiscation of goods, division of spoil, &c., so, possibly, here it may mean dissipation of motion; if the illustrious author uses it here for secutio, (a sequor,) then it means an "orderly following," (consequentia ακολουθησις,) but such a word in such a sense is utterly unclassical.

different forms, such as is found in many of the heavenly bodies, is the property of other lines; and with good reason Gilbert ridicules these, because it is not likely that nature should have formed wheels, which, for example, contain one or two miles in circumference, in order that a ball of a finger's breadth should be sustained: for of so little magnitude does the body of a planet appear to be, compared with those circles round which they pretend it is to be carried.

The fifth is, that stars are parts of their sphere, as if fixed therein by a nail. But this is most clearly a revery of those who deal in mathematics, not in nature, and are so stupidly intent on the motion of bodies, that they entirely forget their substances. For that fastening is a particular disposition of compact and consistent things, which have firm cohesions, because of the pressures of the parts. But it is utterly to be unlooked for, if it be applied to soft or liquid substances.

The sixth is that a star is a denser part of its sphere of action; for the stars are not only not parts, but neither are they denser; for they are not homogeneous with either, and that in degree only, but they are entirely heterogeneous, and differ in substance; and, besides, that substance, as to density, is rarer, and more expanded than an ethereal one. Over and above these there are many other conceits of equal whimsicality; but these shall suffice for the subject now under discussion. Again, these observations have been made on the fanciful dicta of philosophy respecting the heavens. But as to what respects the hypotheses of astronomers, the refutation of them is generally without any use; for neither are they asserted for truths, nor is it impossible that, although they may vary and be contradictory in themselves, the phenomena should equally be preserved and harmonize. Therefore, if you please, between astronomy and philosophy, as if linked together by an expedient and legitimate bond, be so circumspect a mediator, that, on the one hand, astronomy may have her previous hypotheses, which are best adapted to expedite calculations; on the other, philosophy, such as approach nearest to the truth of nature; and so that the hypotheses of astronomy may not prejudice the truth of a thing, and that the decisions of philosophy may be such as may easily be explained with regard to the phenomena of astronomy. And so much for hypotheses.

Now, as to astronomical observations, which are assiduously accumulated, and continually are pouring down like water from the sky, I have a great wish to admonish men on that head; lest, haply, that be true of them, which is so elegantly fabled of the fly in Æsop, that sitting on the harness of a chariot, contending for victory at the Olympic games, cried out, "see what dust I excite!" Just so, any petty observation, vacillating, at one time, in the instrument, at this, in the eye, and at that, in a calculation, and which possibly may be a reality, on account of some true change in the heavens, calls into existence new firmaments, new spheres, and new circles. And we do not make these remarks in order that any relaxation in the taking of observations or the study of history should take place, both which we are of opinion should by all means be stimulated and intently prosecuted; but only that, in rejecting or changing hypotheses, the highest prudence and a mature gravity of judgment be displayed.

Wherefore, having now laid open the road as to the motions themselves, we will say a few words also as to their nature. We have already said, then, that there are four kinds of motions of the higher order in the heavens: an ascending and descending motion through the whole expanse of the heavens; a motion, to the breadth of the zodiac, stretching out towards south and north: a motion in the course of the zodiac, quick, slow, progressive, retrograde, stable; and the motion of elongation from the sun. And let not any one object, that that second motion of the breadth of the zodiac or of the signs* thereof may be referred to that great cosmical motion, since there is an inclination by turns towards the south and the north; which as well as the curves themselves from one tropic to the other are alike, except that the latter motion is merely curvilinear, but the former hath also many turnings, and lies inmost at much less distances.† For neither hath this point escaped our consideration. But assuredly the constant and perpetual motion of the sun in the ecliptic, considered apart from all latitude and exclusively of the signs of the zodiac, which same sun does yet communicate with the rest of the planets, as to their paths within the tropics, does not allow us to entertain this opinion. Wherefore, we must seek for different sources of this and of the other three motions. And these are the points, with regard to the heavenly motions, which appear to us to be fraught with a less degree of inconvenience. But we must see what they may be found to deny, and what to affirm. They deny that the earth revolves. They deny that there are in the heavens two motions from the east to different points of the west; and they affirm one, that outstrips and consequently leaves behind others. They deny any oblique circle and its different polarity, and they affirm spiral curves. They deny a primum mobile separated and forced asunder; and they affirm a cosmical consent, as it were the common bond of the system. They affirm that a diurnal motion is found not in the sky or heavens, but in the air, in waters, even in what are placed on the superficies of the earth, as far as relates to their turning

* See note on "dracones," p. 420.

† "Te sinuoso in pectore fixi."—*Pers.* 5, 27.

round. They affirm that that close following and cosmical rolling in fluids is their whirling tendency to become consistent, till at length they reach a state of perfect rest. They deny that the stars are fixed like knots in a board. They deny that eccentric circles, epicycles, and such like crafty devices are realities. They affirm that a magnetic motion, or one having a power to collect matter together, is in full vigour in the stars, by which fire elicits fire, and elevates it. They affirm that, in the firmament of the planets, the bodies of the planets move and revolve quicker than the rest of the heavens in which they are placed, which certainly revolves, but slower. They affirm from that inequality the waves, the undulations, the flowings and ebbings of the ethereal atmosphere of the planets; and from them that various motions are drawn forth. They affirm a necessity in the planets of revolving quicker or slower, according as they may be placed higher or lower in the heavens, and that from the consent of the universe. But at the same time they affirm the languor, resulting from an incitement in their course beyond what nature has prescribed, in the planets both of the greater and lesser orbit. They affirm the following after the sun, from the defective nature of weaker flames, of Venus and Mercury; since even the moving stars, the attendants of Jupiter, have been discovered by Galilæus. But these are matters of which we, standing as it were in the threshold of natural history, and of philosophy, take a prospective view—subjects which, probably, the inquirer will be better qualified to prove, in proportion to the depth of his researches into natural history. But, again, however, do we enter our protest against this fetter of intellect. In these, as in other matters, we are sure of the correctness of our career, though we be not so persuaded as to the station we are entitled to hold in it. But we have mentioned these topics during our intellectual journey, lest any one should suppose, that from a wavering judgment, or a destitution of talent to maintain the position, we had a preference for advocating negative questions.

Wherefore, we will retain, as the heavenly natures are wont to do, (since our treatise is of them,) a dignified constancy.

THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS

OF

FRANCIS BACON, OF VERULAM,

CONCERNING

THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE, OR THE INVENTION OF THINGS AND OF WORKS.

Francis Bacon thought in this manner. The knowledge whereof mankind is now possessed doth not extend to certainty and magnitude of works. Physicians pronounce many diseases incurable, and often make mistakes, and fail in the treatment of the rest. Alchymists wax old and die in the embraces of hope. The works of magicians are transitory and barren. The mechanical arts take but little light from philosophy, and do but spin on slowly the little threads of their own experience. Chance is, without doubt, a beneficial discoverer of inventions; but one that scatters her favours among men in distant ages and periods. So he saw well, that the inventions of man, which we possess, must be counted very imperfect and immature; and that, in the present state of the sciences, are not now to be expected, except in a great length of time; and that those which human industry has hitherto produced cannot be ascribed to philosophy.

He thought also, that in this narrowness of man's power, that is most deplorable at present, and ominous for the future; that men, contrary to their real interest, strive to rescue ignorance from shame, and to satisfy themselves in this poverty. For, the physician, besides the cautels of practice, (in which there are no small means of defending the credit of his art,) calls in what is, as it were, a general cautel of art, by turning into a reproach upon nature the weakness of his art; and, what art doth not reach, that he discharges from art upon nature, as an impossibility; neither can art be condemned, when itself judges. That philosophy also, out of which the knowledge of physic, which now is in use, is hewn, itself receives and cherishes certain positions and opinions, which,

if they be well weighed, induce this persuasion, that nothing arduous or powerful in nature is to be expected from art, and the hand of man. Hence that opinion, that "the heat of the sun or star, and the heat of a fire differ in kind;" and that other, that "composition is the work of man, but mixture is the work of nature alone," and the like; which, if they be carefully examined, all tend to an envious circumscription of human power, and a voluntary and artificial despair, which rejects not only the auguries of hope, but the chances of experiment, and cuts away all the incitements and nerves of industry; while they are solicitous, only, that their art be thought perfect, and labour for a most worthless vainglory; namely, to have it believed that all is impossible that is not already found. But the alchymist, to relieve his art, throws the blame on his own errors, accusing himself, either of not fully understanding the terms of the art and its authors, which makes him attend to the whispers of tradition and oral evidence; or else of failing in the true proportions, and scruples, and moments of practice; which makes him renew infinitely his trials, under what he supposes more favourable prospects. And, meantime, when, in the mazy labyrinth of experiment, he lights upon certain inventions, either new in appearance or of some utility, he feeds his mind with such foretastes, and displays and magnifies them above their value, and supplies the rest in hopes. The magician, when he finds something, as he conceives, above nature effected, and is convinced that a breach is once made in nature, gives his imagination wings, and scarcely allows that the matter admits of degrees of greater or less; wherefore, he assures himself of arriving at the highest power; not seeing that they are but subjects of a certain and almost definite kind, wherein magic and superstition, in all ages and countries, have had power and played. The mechanical person, if he chances to add a higher finish or more elegant ornament to previous inventions, or to compound, and bring together into one, separate observations; or to couple things more commodiously and naturally with their use; or to produce the work in greater or less mass and volume than has usually been the case; ranks himself at length among inventors. So he saw well, that men came to sneer at the invention of new things and arts as a vain attempt, and not to be relied on; or to believe that important inventions are indeed extant, but confined among a few, in the strictest silence and mystery; or else that they descend to account those little industries and additions, inventions. All which turns to the averting of men's minds from just and constant labour, and from the working of inventions, noble and worthy of the human race.

He thought also, when men did set before themselves the variety and exquisite perfection of works supplied for human life by the mechanical arts; they are apt rather to admire the provisions of man, than to apprehend his want; not considering that the original observations of man and operations of nature, which are, as it were, the breath and life of all that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and that the rest belongs to man's patience, and the subtile and ruled motion of his hand or instruments; and that in this the shop is very like the library, which exhibits such a variety of books, in which, if one carefully examine, he will find nothing but infinite iterations of the same thing, varied in the form and mode of treatment, but preoccupied in invention. So he saw plainly, that opinion of abundance was one of the causes of want; and that both works and doctrines appear many, but are, when examined, few.

He thought also that those doctrines which we have, are presented with a kind of ambition and pretension, and come before us dressed up and in form, as if each art were in every branch perfect and finished. For it is reduced into such methods and divisions, as seem to embrace and include all treatises that can possibly bear on that subject. And however weakly the parts are filled, and destitute of any living seeds of things: yet they carry the show and reason of a total; and it is brought to this, that a few writings of some received authors, yet not the best chosen, go for the very art in its perfection. Whereas the earliest searches for truth in better faith, and with more fortunate event, used to throw into aphorisms or sentences short, scattered, and unconfined by method, the knowledge which it was their object to gather from the consideration of things, and to store up for use; which, as they showed simple representations of things discovered, and evident spaces and vacancies for things not discovered, were less fallacious; and invited men's talents and thoughts alike to criticism and invention. But now sciences are exhibited in such forms, as to claim belief, not solicit judgment, and check with a sullen authority the generous springings of invention: so that every succession and devolution of philosophy bears the character of master and disciple, not of inventor and continuer; whence it necessarily follows that sciences continue in their own steps, and never stir from their ground. This has been done for many ages, so that what is positive is fixed, and that which is question is kept question, and remains wholly in the same state. And, therefore, he saw plainly, that columns against proceeding further are firmly and, as it were, fatally pitched; and that it is no marvel, that that is not obtained, for which men feel neither hope nor desire.

He thought also, that what is said of men's despondency or self-conceit, as far as concerns most of the pursuers of science, is too deeply fetched, for far the greater part is otherwise occupied. They seek knowledge either for delight

and satisfaction, or for profit and professional emolument, or for support and ornament of the reputation: and if these are proposed as the ends of sciences, so far will men be from wishing that the mass of knowledge receive an increase, that, in that stock which is at hand, they will seek no more than what they can turn to use in the matter before them. And if any one among so many seeks knowledge with an honest zeal and for its own sake, yet he will be found to hunt rather after variety than truth. And if he be a severer inquisitor of truth, yet that very truth will be such as will rather explain more subtly things already uttered, than kindle any new light. And if his heart is so large, that he propounds to himself further discovery, he will doubtless be most taken with that light which displays in the distance specious contemplations, not that which shows important works and inventions close at hand. So he saw plainly that we return to this point, that it is by no means wonderful that the course is not finished, when men turn aside to these lesser matters: and much more when, as far as he can see, the mark itself has never been set up and fixed for any man. But the mark is no other, than that mankind be continually enriched with new works and powers.

He thought also, that among these difficulties of the sciences, the case of natural philosophy has been the hardest of all: inasmuch as it has had but a trifling share of men's labour, has been readily deserted, and never cultivated and matured in any high degree. For since the Christian faith has grown up and been received, the greatest number of wits have been employed upon divinity, and in this subject the highest rewards have been offered to men's studies, and aids of every kind most plentifully supplied. And before-time, likewise, the greatest of the labours of philosophers was consumed in moral philosophy, which was almost in the place of divinity to the heathens. And in both times a great part of the best wits betook themselves to public business, especially in the time of the greatness of the Romans, who by reason of their large empire needed the service of the most. But the time among the Grecians, in which natural philosophy seemed most to flourish, was out a short space, and that also abused and thrown away in disputing, and affecting new opinions. But from that time to this, no one can be named, who has made it his business to cultivate natural philosophy, and consumed his life in its pursuit; so that this science has not for ages possessed any whole man, unless perchance one may instance some monk studying in a cloister, or some gentleman in the country, and that will be found very rare. But it has become a kind of passage and bridge to other arts, and this venerable mother of the sciences is turned into their handmaid, and made to serve physic and practical mathematics, or to season a little, young and unripe wits, like a kind of priming, that they may take a second wash in a kindlier and better manner. So he saw plainly, that, from the small number, and hurry, and rawness of its followers, natural philosophy is left destitute. And soon after, he saw also that this had a very great influence on the general state of knowledge: for all the arts and sciences, when torn up from this root, may perhaps be polished and moulded to use, but will grow no further.

He thought also, how prejudicial and every way hard an adversary natural philosophy has in superstition and the immoderate and blind zeal of religion. For he found that some of the Grecians who first propounded the natural causes of thunder and storm, to men unused to such speculations, were condemned, on that ground, for impiety: and that the cosmographers, who, by most certain proofs, which no man in his senses would now dispute, asserted the spherical figure of the earth, and consequently the existence of antipodes; were not much better treated, but included in the same sentence, not indeed affecting life, but character, on the accusation of some of the ancient fathers of the Christian church. And the case of natural history is now much worse, in regard of the boldness of the schoolmen and their dependencies, who having, as far as they can, reduced divinity into method, and given it the form of an art; having attempted moreover to incorporate the contentions and turbulent philosophy of Aristotle into the body of their religion. And it has the same tendency that, in our time, no opinions or arguments are found to have more success, than those which celebrate with great pomp and solemnity the union, as if it were a lawful one, between divinity and philosophy, that is, faith and sense; and while they tickle men's minds with an agreeable variety, are meantime making an unhallowed conjunction of divine and human matters. And, truly, if one observes carefully, as great danger threatens natural philosophy from this kind of hollow and ill assorted league, as from avowed hostility. For, in a treaty and confederation of this nature, only the received maxims of philosophy are included; but every thing of advancement or improvement is most rigorously and obstinately shut out. In fine, with respect to augmentations, and what may be called the new shores and tracts of philosophy, all from the side of religion is full of grovelling suspicion, and impotent disdain. Thus, some in their simplicity fear that my deeper inquisition into nature may penetrate perchance beyond the allowed and sanctioned limit of sobriety, improperly applying what is said of the secrets of God, many of which remain closed under the divine signet, to the secrets of nature which are guarded by no interdict. Others, with greater cunning, conceive that if men are ignorant of second causes, each particular may be more easily referred to the wand of the deity which they think is of the highest interest

to religion; though this is no other than seeking to flatter God with a lie. Others tremble for the precedent, lest the shifting and changes of philosophy end with attacking religion. Others, lastly, seem in fear that, in the inquisition of nature, something may be found to shake religion. Both which opinions savour of a sort of incredulity and worldly policy, but the last cannot even be brought into doubt or question without impiety! From which it was sufficiently clear, that in opinions of this kind there is much weakness, and not a little envy and bitterness. For natural philosophy is, next to the divine word, the most certain remedy of superstition, and the most wholesome food of faith; and is, therefore, rightly considered the truest and loveliest handmaid of religion; the one displaying the will of God, the other his power. So that he was not wrong who said: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God," joining in an intimate union, information of his will, and meditation on his power. But, though this is most certain, it still remains among the most effectual hindrances to natural philosophy, that all which is pronounced by blind zeal and superstition is considered out of the reach of dispute.

He thought also, that, in the orders and customs of schools, colleges, and such conventual bodies, all is found to be adverse to the further progress of the sciences. For much the greater part are professors, and in the receipt of emoluments. And the lectures and exercises are so arranged that nothing out of the common routine can easily arise in any one's mind. But if a man chance to use the liberty of inquiry and judgment, he will soon find himself left in a great solitude. And if ever he can bear this, he will yet find that, in achieving his fortune, this industry and magnanimity will be much hindrance to him. For in places of this kind men's studies are almost confined to the writings of certain authors; from which, if any one disagrees, or propounds matter of argument, he is immediately set down as a turbulent person and an innovator. Though, if one judge fairly, there is a great difference between the government of civil affairs and the arts; for the danger is not alike of new light, and of new motion. It is true that in civil affairs change, though for the better, is suspected from fear of disorder; since governments rest on authority, consent, credit, opinion, not on demonstration and truth in abstract. But in the arts and sciences, as in mines, all sides should resound with new works and further progress. And it is so in right reason. But in real life, he saw that the government and administration of the knowledge, which is in use, presses cruelly, and checks the increase and growth of science.

He thought also, that, even in the opinion and common feeling of men, much appears on all sides that denies a fair opening to the increase of knowledge. For most men, unjust to the present times, hang upon antiquity, and believe that if we, who now live, had had the office of first attempting what was sought for and discovered by the ancients, we should not have come up to their works by a great space. And in like manner they believe that if a man even now, relying upon his own powers, attempt to begin anew an inquisition, the end will be, that he will either come to the very conclusion that was approved of by antiquity; or else to some one, which, having been long ago decided upon and rejected by antiquity, deservedly fell into oblivion. Others, altogether slighting the powers of human nature at both periods, ancient and modern, fall into a fanciful and superstitious belief that the elements of the sciences emanated from spiritual beings, and that new inventions in the same manner may receive assistance from their authority and concurrence. Others, of more sober and chastened imagination, but greater diffidence, openly despair of any increase of knowledge, from reflecting on the obscurity of nature, the shortness of life, the uncertainty of the senses, the weakness of the judgment, and the difficulties and unbounded variety of experiments. So that such swelling hopes, as promise more than we now have, are the offspring of a weak and unripened mind, and will no doubt have their beginning in exultation, their middle course in difficulty, and their end in confusion; and there is as little hope of the reward as of the accomplishment; for knowledges evidently breed and expand in great and excellent wits, but the estimation and price of them is in the multitude, or in the inclinations of princes and great persons meanly learned. So that the projection of sciences and the judgment upon them are not in the same; whence it comes that those inventions only succeed which are accommodated to popular reason and common sense; as happened in the case of Democritus' theory of atoms, which being a little too remote, was treated with ridicule. Hence, sublime views of nature, which, almost like religion, must enter the senses of men with difficulty, may be now and then conceived, but (unless proved and recommended by evident and exceeding utility, which hitherto has not been the case) are generally in a short time blown and extinguished by the winds of common opinions; so that time, like a river, is wont to bring down to us what is light and blown up, while it sinks and drowns that which is solid and grave. So he saw well that the hindrances of an improved state of the sciences were not only external and adventitious, but innate also, and drawn from our very senses.

Moreover, he thought that the vagueness and irregular form of words mocks the understanding

and, as it were, attacks it; for words are like coins which represent the image and authority of the people; for they always compound and classify according to popular notions and acceptation, which are for the most part erroneous and very confused; so that even infants in learning to speak, are compelled to suck in and swallow a pernicious system of error. And though the wise and learned endeavour by various contrivances to deliver themselves from this bondage, by making new words, which is harsh, and by inserting definitions, which is troublesome, they cannot, with all their strength, throw off the yoke; so that innumerable controversies, even in the most acute discussions, are raised about words, and, what is much worse, that depraved coinage of words reflects its rays and impressions into the mind itself, and is thus not only a hindrance in discourse, but injurious also to the judgment and understanding. So he saw well, that, among the internal causes of error, he must place this as one serious and pernicious import.

He thought also that, besides the usual difficulties of the sciences and knowledge, natural philosophy, particularly the active and operative, had its peculiar drawbacks and impediments. For it has been notably hurt and discredited by some of its professors, light and vain men, who, partly from credulity, partly from craft, have loaded the human race with promises, offering promulgation of life, delay of infirmity, relief from pain, supply of natural defects, deceptions of the senses, the binding or inciting of the affections, illuminations of the mental powers, ecstasies, transmuting of substances, unlimited multiplication of motions, impressions on the air and changes of it, divination of future events, representations of distant occurrences, revelations of mysteries, and many other things. Now, in considering these liberal givers, we shall not be far wrong if we pass a judgment like this: that there is as much difference in philosophy, between their trifling and the true arts, as there is in history between the wars of Julius Cæsar or Alexander, and those of Amadis de Gaul or Arthur of Britain. For it is evident that those renowned generals achieved more in reality than the other shadowy heroes are pretended to have done, but by means and ways of action not at all fabulous or supernatural. So that it is not just to deny credit to true history, because it is sometimes wounded and injured by fabulous stories. For Ixion of a cloud begat the Centaurs, yet still, of the real Juno, Jove begat Hebe and Vulcan, that is, the lovely and divine virtues of nature and art. But though this is true, and it shows great ignorance to be incredulous without distinction; yet, he saw well that the access to truth was formerly shut up, or at least narrowed by fables of this kind, and that the ignominy of vanity even now abates all greatness of mind.

He thought also that there is found in the mind of man a certain affection, naturally bred and fortified by some men's opinion and doctrine, which has checked and prevented the true proceeding of natural philosophy, that is, the active and operative kind. This is a rotten and pernicious idea or estimation, that the majesty of man's mind suffers diminution, if it be long and deeply conversant with experiences and particulars subject to sense, and bound in matter: especially as such things usually appear laborious to search, ignoble to meditate, harsh to deliver, illiberal to practise, infinite in number, and contemptible in their minuteness; and, though such qualities as these no ways accommodate to the glory of the arts. And this opinion or state of mind received much strength from another wild and unfounded opinion, which held that truth is innate in the mind of man, and not introduced from without, and that the senses rather excite than inform the understanding. Neither has this error, and (to describe it truly) delusion of mind, been any ways corrected by those who have given to sense the due, that is, the first place. Nay, more, even these, by their example and practice, deserting altogether natural history and actual experience, rested only upon agitation of wit, and grovelled without ceasing among the darkest idols of the understanding, under the suspicious name of contemplation and reason. So he saw well that this rejection and divorce of particulars has thrown the human family into total disorder.

He thought, also, that we should not make our conjecture from the hindrances we meet with; only, since it is possible that the fortune of mankind may overcome these difficulties and burst the barriers. Hence, we must consider and examine closely the nature of that philosophy which is received, and whatever other, from ancient times, has been cast upon our shores, like the spars of a sunken vessel. And he found that the natural philosophy which we have from the Greeks is to be accounted a kind of childhood of science; and that its properties are those which belong to boys, that is, it is forward to chatter, but immature and unqualified for generation.

Aristotle, by common consent the chief of that philosophy, without ever meddling with the observation of nature, has been unprofitably employed on stale opinions, and on their comparison, opposition, and reduction. Nor is it reasonable to hope for any thing solid from one who has made up the world itself of categories. For, it is of little concern whether we lay down that matter, form, and privation, or substance, quality, and relation, are the real principles: but we had best pass by those controversies; for it would be inconsistent to set about a formal confutation, when we neither agree about the principles, nor the modes of demonstration; and, again, to lash with ridicule one who has obtained an authority almost

dictatorial in philosophy, would have more levity than suits the dignity of the subject, and be, moreover, arrogant. He has certainly corrupted natural philosophy with logical subtleties, which were his own creation, as he himself too loudly boasts.

But, to leave him, Plato was, without doubt, a man of loftier genius, and one who aimed also at the knowledge of forms, and used induction universally, not for principles only; but with reasoning futile on both sides, since he pursued and accepted vague inductions and abstract forms. And, if we consider with attention the writings and habits of this philosopher, we shall find that he took no great interest in natural philosophy, at least so far only as to vindicate his own name and character as a philosopher, or give by its intermixture a certain majesty to his moral and political doctrines. And he adulterated nature as much with theology, as Aristotle with logic; and, to say the truth, approached as near to the province of the poet as the other to that of the sophist. Now, we can draw the doctrines of these two from the very fountain head, their works having survived.

There is a different estimate to be made of the rest, namely, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenis, Zenophanes, and others; because we have received their opinions by means of intermediate writers, only, and by tradition, and scattered fragments; so that we must use closer inquisition, with greater scruple of judgment, to make up for the disadvantage of their circumstances. But yet, he has been most diligent and watchful to catch every whisper about these opinions, so as to extract whatever can be found referring to them, where they are confuted by Aristotle, or cited by Plato or Cicero; or in Plutarch's budget, or Laertius' lives, or Lucretius' poem; or any other scattered hint or mention: and he has examined them with impartiality and careful judgment. And, first, there is no doubt that, if their opinions were in their own works, they would have greater weight; for the strength of theories lies in a nice and mutual harmony of the parts, and a certain unbroken demonstration; and they are therefore weakened when uttered in fragments: wherefore, he did not make his judgment of them lightly.

He found, also, among so many opinions, a number of remarks made with some care with regard to the observation of nature, and the assigning of causes: and, as commonly happens, some have been more successful than others in different branches. The discoveries and opinions of Pythagoras alone, (though his doctrine of numbers implies something physical,) are mostly of that kind which lead rather to the founding of some religious order, than to the opening of a school in philosophy; which the event proved: for, this philosophy had more weight in the heresy of the Manichæans, and the superstition of Mahomet, than among men of science. The rest, however, were certainly natural philosophers; and there are some of them who have dived into nature much deeper and more acutely than Aristotle. But he busied himself, like the Ottomans, in destroying his brothers; and succeeded in it to his wish. Now, he had the same opinion of Aristotle as of the other Greek philosophers, namely, that such systems and theories were, like the different arguments of dramatic pieces, moulded into a certain keeping with nature, some with more nicety, others more negligently and roughly; and that, as belongs to fiction, they appeared more trim and symmetrical than real accounts. Nor could the wanderings and searchings of the human mind rest or limit themselves in those theories which were uttered and published. For, had not the customs and affections of men, and the pursuits of business, been adverse and blighting to novelties of this kind, even in matters of contemplation, many other sects would doubtless have been formed in natural philosophy. For, as it is in astronomy with those who decide that the earth moves in a circle, and those who explain it by elliptical and epicycle motion, that their systems to account for appearances in the heavens, are alike pleadings for a side, and amount not to conviction, nay, even the calculations of the tables answer with each: in the same way it would be much easier to devise various theories in natural philosophy, all widely differing with one another, and yet each consistent with itself, and using unfairly the suffrage of popular zeal, which, in questions of this kind, often guides the judgment, and drawing it over to opposite sides.

There has, indeed, been no want of men who, in this age and the last, have meditated new systems of natural philosophy. For, within our recollection Telesio has appeared on the stage, and exhibited a new plot, not so well rewarded with applause, as the probability of its arguments merited: and Fracastoro, not long since, though he did not set up a new sect, yet was staunch in using liberty of judgment and inquiry: Cardan, too, was as bold, but less steady. Very lately, also, our countryman, Gilbert, after most laboriously examining the nature of the magnet with great sagacity and perseverance, and with a host and almost a multitude of experiments, began forthwith to design a new school in natural philosophy; and was not terrified by the ridiculed name of Zenophanes, whose opinion he inclined to. These, then, and all who are or shall be like them, must be ranked in the band of ancients, for there is the same character in them all: thus, they were men who gave their opinions on few matters, and trifled with nature without making such a close union with her as to beget either certainty of contemplation or useful works.

It is a truth that out of so many schools of phi-

losophy, laboriously cultivated through such a length of years, not one experiment can be cited, which has a view to the improvement or aggrandizement of the state of man, and can be pointed to with truth as the gifts of such speculations. On the contrary, indeed, Aristotle's device of the four elements, which he rather gave currency to than invented, (and which being greedily caught up by physicians, drew after it the systems of the four complexions, the four humours, and the four primary qualities,) like some malignant and unlucky star, caused extraordinary barrenness in medicine, besides many mechanical arts; men all the while allowing themselves to be satisfied with conceits and methodized nothings of this kind, and carry no further. Meantime a multitude of questions and controversies clamoured and fluttered on all sides round these philosophies, so that they seem represented to the life in the fable of Scylla, who had the upper part and countenance of a virgin, while her womb was girt and crowded with barking monsters. In like manner have those doctrines something specious at first sight, but when we approach the generative part, to produce fruits, nothing is to be found but strife and restless disputing, which are in the room of bearing.

At the same time it must be remembered, that the reasons for rejecting these systems assail the opinions only, not the understandings or industry of their authors. For, in proportion to a man's wit and zeal, does he, if he desert the light and observation of nature and the evidence of particulars, plunge himself and become involved in the darkest and most intricate recesses, and, as it were, dens of fantasies and idols. Again, the general plans of the philosophies are not attached with the purpose of approving the detailed application of minor causes, which are commonly given and inquired into in the works of philosophers of this kind: on the contrary, these are no better than the other, not only because they depend upon them, but also because they display no severity of inquisition, and lead us to matters not unknown, but almost at our feet, in which the mind acquiesces lightly, and is satisfied, but by no means penetrating into the interior of nature. And they have always this fault, which is alike in all, that they connect together experiments and known effects in a kind of system, and, as it were, with a net, made to the just measure of what is known; but never exhibit any cause or canon, which may mark out new and formerly unknown effects and experiments.

Having thus traversed these outskirts of philosophy, casting his eyes on every side, he turned them to the depths of antiquity, as to a kind of clouded and dim region. And he saw that if he chose to deal unfairly, there would be no difficulty in persuading men, that with the ancient sages, long before the Grecian times, natural science flourished with greater vigour, but perhaps in greater silence: and that it were, therefore, more dignified to refer to them those discoveries which are now made: as new men are used to do, who connect with themselves the nobility of some ancient stem by the rumours of genealogy and conjecture. But, relying on the evidence of facts, he rejected every form of imposture; and, whatever might be his opinion about those times, thought that it had no more relation to the matter in hand whether our discoveries were known to the ancients, and in the revolution of things have sunk and risen again; than it should be any concern, whether the New World be that island Atlantis, and so known to the ancients, or was first discovered by us. For inventions are to be sought in the light of nature, not traced in the shades of antiquity. Meanwhile, some may remark that he has passed over the art or philosophy of chymistry; which he has done from respect, being unwilling to class it with those philosophies which are entirely barren of works, since it has displayed and given many noble discoveries. Indeed, this art accords with the fable of the old man, who bequeathed his sons a treasure buried in his vineyard without showing them where, whereby they set themselves with diligence to dig the vineyard, and did not find the treasure, but, by their husbandry, the vintage was made more abundant. In like manner the sons of chymistry, while they are busy seeking the hidden gold, whether real or not, have by turning over and trying, brought much profit and convenience to mankind. Yet their inventions issued in no other or better way than the birth and advancement of mechanical arts, that is, by mere experience. For their philosophy and speculation are unsound, and harsher than those fabulous philosophies of which we have been speaking. For though the three principles was no useless discovery, but partly bordering on fact: yet, for the most part, practised in a few experiments of distillation, they referred every thing in philosophy to separation and liberation, unmindful of true alteration. But the structure of that opinion, on which as a foundation their philosophy rests, that there are four matrices or elements in which the seeds and forms of matter complete their fruits, and that these are quadriform according to the different elements, so that nothing is found in sky, air, water, or earth, which has not in the three remaining ones something parallel and corresponding: this fantastic arrangement of matter will certainly scarce have a place in the dreams of the skilful observer of nature. Not unlike this are the harmonies of things believed in by the followers of natural magic, who explain every thing by sympathy and antipathy, and, by the most idle and unfounded conjectures, affix to things miraculous virtues and powers. Yet he treats them gently, because among so many fables they have yet produced some works, though commonly of that kind which are rather

novel and surprising than fit for profit and utility. But even novelty has often the advantage of agitating somewhat the intricate folds of nature, and assisting with light at least, if not with deed. So he saw that, neither in the opinions of the Greeks or the moderns, nor in the traditions of alchymy or natural magic, could any thing be found leading to the increase of human means. Wherefore all these should either be thrown into oblivion, or given up to the pursuit of the multitude, while the true sons of knowledge turn their course elsewhere.

He thought also that the modes of demonstration should be reviewed; for demonstrations, by a certain influence, are philosophy; and, in proportion as they are just or faulty, complete or imperfect, doctrines will probably ensue from them. But he found that the demonstrations which are in use are neither full nor certain. Yet we should not blame the senses, as some have done. For the errors of the senses in particulars have no great effect on the sum of the sciences: not more at least than may be corrected by the rightly informed mind. But that the mind itself, if it rely on nature without art and discipline, is unequal to the matter and below it, may be pronounced boldly. For it is neither so capacious as to admit and arrange the infinite variety of particulars necessary for information, nor so free and unbiassed as to receive true and natural impressions without some warp and colouring. Nay, it is very certain both that the human mind is generally like an uneven mirror, which receives and reflects the rays of objects according to the angle of each facet, and not on a plain surface; and also that every one, from his education, pursuits, and constitution, is haunted with a kind of misleading power, and, as it were, familiar spirit, which mocks and disturbs the mind with various and fantastic devices. Yet we must not, therefore, fall into the opinion of incapability. For it is evident, that by no steadiness of hand or skill of eye, however exquisite, could an exact straight line or circle be described; yet, on applying a ruler or turning the compasses, the matter is easy. Again, in mechanical crafts the naked hand of man can work but little, yet with the aid and means of instruments it conquers alike the vastest and most minute. It follows then that we must fly to art, and must look to demonstration, which is governed by art. And sentence may be given in a few words on the syllogism which is Aristotle's oracle. It is, doubtless, a useful instrument and aid to the understanding in sciences, which are founded in human opinion, as the moral and political; but inferior and incompetent to the subtlety and obscurity of natural processes. For the syllogism certainly consists of propositions, and the proposition of words, and words are the evidences and signs of ideas or conceptions of the mind. So that if the ideas themselves, which are the souls of words, are vague, incomplete, and not sufficiently defined, (which is for the most part the case in nature,) the whole sinks. Induction remains the last and only refuge and aid for matter; nor are our hopes placed in it undeservedly, since it can collect laborious works, and the certain evidence of facts, and lay them before the mind. But its name only is known, its power and use has hitherto lain hid. For induction must be judged of thus; in its use and form men have erred doubly. First, that impatient of delay and searching round for short cuts, and hastening to fix some things as certain, round which as poles discussions might turn, they have only applied it to the general principles of sciences, lightly hoping to work all within by syllogistic deduction. Secondly, that having examined the syllogism accurately, but this demonstration hastily and carelessly, they have devised its form very simple and indeed puerile, to proceed by enumeration alone, and thus conclude precariously, not necessarily. No one, therefore, can wonder if he, with this opinion on demonstrations, does not agree on natural philosophy with others, either ancient or modern. For it cannot be, (to speak jestingly,) that the drinkers of water and wine should feel alike. For they swallow a raw fluid, either flowing spontaneously from the mind, or pumped up with some labour; but he drinks a liquor prepared from innumerable grapes, mature and in season, plucked and heaped up in bunches, afterwards squeezed in the winepress, purified in the vat, and clarified; which will bear time, and at the same time is corrected of all intoxicating quality, by neither giving nor leaving any room for the vapours of the fancy. So he saw that the philosophies of which we have spoken should be rejected, not only for their barrenness of works, but for the weakness and fallaciousness of their demonstrations also, since they are not only removed from nature, but deserted and betrayed by the very auxiliaries they have raised.

He thought also, that we should make a separate review of the modes of invention in use, if there be any. But in this quarter not so much misleading and devious paths, as solitude and vacancy, are found, which strike the mind with a kind of stupor. It has not been the object or desire of any man to guide the force of human wit and understanding to the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and hew a road thither; but the whole has been, and is left to the dimness of tradition, the steps and fury of arguments, or the waves and turnings of chance and experiment. Hence, it was not without reason, that, in the temples of the Egyptians, who (as was the custom of antiquity) used to deify inventors, so many images of brutes were found; since animals without the light of reason have

been, almost as much as men, the discoverers of nature's operations, nor have men in this matter made much use of their prerogative. We must, however, examine what is done. And, first, of the simple and untaught mode of invention which is common with men, it is no other than that he who girds and prepares himself for an invention, first inquires and learns what others have said on the subject, then adds his own reflection. But for a man to commit himself to the guidance of others, or to entreat and almost invoke his own spirit to give him oracles, is a proceeding without ground. Next follows the invention in use with logicians, which has only a nominal connexion with the matter in hand. For it is not of principles and axioms, of which arts consist, but only of what seems agreeable to them. For logic, with a well known response, drives the curious and importunate, and lovers of business to yield their faith, as it were allegiance to some art. There remains simple experience, which, if unforeseen, is called chance, if sought, experiment. And this is no more than, as they say, the faggot unbound. Nay, more, they who are assiduously employed in opening and bringing to light some nature or work, by a long and desultory course of experiments, are either fixed in amazement, or run round in giddiness, sometimes eager, at others confused; and always find matter for further inquiry. Nor can it well be otherwise. For it is an aimless and very foolish speculation, to search for the nature of a thing in itself: for the same nature is hidden in some, in others open, and as it were palpable; and causes admiration in the latter, in the former not even attention. Thus that quality of bodies which resists separation, seems a very subtle thing, and ingenious in bubbles of water, which for this purpose throw themselves into thin films in the form of a hemisphere. The same quality is little marked in stone or wood, but goes under the name of solid. Wherefore he saw that a certain ill fortune rather than ignorance is to be imputed to men, since they have been drawn from the appointed path by mischance or temptations, but, within its bounds, have not shown themselves wanting in energy.

He thought also, that some limit must be set to despondency, or at least to complaint; and that it must rather be considered whether we are to stop altogether, and use what we have already; or to make trial and devise something by which the matter may proceed better. And, first, it is right to mark the excellency and value of the end and purpose, that in a dry matter and difficult attempt there may be a greater supply of industry. And he remembered that in ancient times, the affection and zeal of men exceeding moderation: divine honours were paid to inventors. But those who had deserved well in civil affairs, as the founders of cities and empires, legislators, deliverers of their countries from long standing evils, dethroners of tyrants, and the like, reached not beyond the rank of heroes. Nor has this distinction in old time been made without reason, seeing that the gifts of the former fell upon the whole human race, those of the latter upon limited districts and patches of society: the former to pour blessings on human life without violence or uproar, while the latter are not commonly introduced but with struggle and tumult. Now if the utility of any single invention so moved men, that they accounted more than man him who could include the whole human race in some solitary benefit, that invention is certainly much more exalted, which by a kind of mastery contains within itself all particular inventions, and delivers the mind from bondage, and opens it a road, that under sure and unerring guidance it may penetrate to whatever can be of novelty and further advancement. For as in the early ages, when sailors steered their course only by observations of the heavenly bodies, they coasted along the shores of the old continent, or ventured across some small internal seas: but it was necessary that the use of the compass should be known, as a more certain guide of the passage, before the ocean could be crossed and the tracts of the new world discovered: in like manner, all that has been hitherto invented in human arts and sciences might have been found out by instinct, experience, observation, meditation, being more obvious to sense; but before we may stretch across to the more distant and secret regions of nature, it is a necessary provision, that some better and more perfect application and management of the human mind be found out. Wherefore such an invention as this would be, without doubt, a most noble and truly masculine offspring of time.

Again, in the Holy Scripture he saw that Solomon the king, while in the pride of his power, his riches, his magnificent works, his guards, his household, his exact distribution and arrangement of slaves and domestics, his fleet moreover, the renown of his name, and the greatest honour from men; thought none of these his true glory, but said, that "the glory of God is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the king is to find it out," as if the Divine nature took delight in the innocent and playful sport of children, who hide themselves that they may be found out; and from his indulgence and graciousness to men, chose the human soul his playfellow. And the glory of inventions is that they raise human nature, without hurting any one, (as civil affairs commonly do,) and do not press or sting a man's conscience, but bestow on all rewards and blessings without the sacrifice, or injury, or sorrow of one. For the nature of light is pure and harmless, it may be perverted in its use, but not polluted in itself.

Again, taking note of the purposes and ambitions of men, he observed three kinds of ambition,

if it be allowed to give that name to one of them: the first is of those who struggle fiercely to increase their sway in their own country; and this is common and mean. The second of those who strive to extend the sway of their country over other nations; which has doubtless more dignity, but not less selfishness. The third is of those who essay to create and extend the sway and empire of man himself or the human race over the universe of matter; which is clearly wiser and nobler than the others. Now the empire of man consists in knowledge alone, for his power is what he knows, nor can any force burst the chain of natural causes; for nature is only to be conquered by obeying.

He thought also, and inquired what account should be made of the value and efficacy of inventions, whether simple and unmixed, or joined with their favours and benefits. And in no case is this consideration more plainly suggested, than in those three inventions, which were unknown to the ancients, and whose birth among us was obscure and noiseless; printing, gunpowder, and the compass. For these three, though a small number, and not remote in invention, have changed the face of things, and the condition of the world: the first in literature, the second in war, the third in navigation; and hence have flowed infinite mutations in the state of things, apparent to careful observers; so that no empire, sect, or star, seems to have had a stronger influence, and, as it were, ascendant over human affairs than those mechanical works. As to their worth, it may be best descried if any one will reflect what a gulf there is between man's life in the most polished country of Europe, and the rudest and most savage region of the New Indies: so great, that man may fairly be said to be a god to man, not only by reason of assistance and benefit, but from comparing their conditions. And this is not the effect of soil, or climate, or constitution, but of arts. But the new world of science and the new world of geography do not agree in the old being more refined than the new: on the contrary, it is certain that the additions to arts must show themselves greatly superior to those we have, so as not only to bend nature gently, but to conquer and enslave it, and shake it to its foundation: for it almost always happens that what is easy of discovery is infirm of work; since the roots of things of potent virtue are covered deeply. But if to any one given to the love and worship of contemplation, this frequent and honourable mention of works sounds somewhat harsh and offensive, let him be assured that he thwarts his natural wishes; for in nature works are not only benefits to life, but pledges of truth. And, as it is most justly required in religion that a man should show his faith by works, it is right also in natural philosophy that knowledge should be proved by its works in like manner. For truth is rather shown and proved by the evidence of works than by argument, or even sense. Hence there is one and the same means of improving man's condition and his mind. So he saw that what has been said of the dignity of the end we aim at and design, is not strengthened, but really diminished by words.

He thought also, that what has been said of the excellence of the end may appear accommodated to his wishes. We must, therefore, inquire carefully what hopes shines on us, and on what side it appears: and we must be on our guard that love of what is excellent and beautiful do not make us lose or relax the rigour of our judgment. For it is meet to bestow on this matter legal caution, which distrusts on principle, and takes the least favourable view of human concerns. The lighter whisperings of hope must, therefore, be rejected, but those which seem to have some stability, discussed. And in taking a view of his prospects, it occurred to him, first, that what we are treating of, by reason of the eminent nature of good, is manifestly from God; and that in the works of God the smallest beginnings lead to their end. He had hope also from the nature of time: for truth is by universal consent the daughter of time. It is a mark, therefore, of utter weakness and narrowness of mind to attribute infinite effects to authors, but to withhold its due from time, the author of authors and of all authority. Nor had he hope only in the common right of time, but also in the superiority of our own age. For the opinion of antiquity which men hold, is a hasty one, and not even agreeing with the name. For the old age or more advanced period of the world is properly to be called antiquity. And, in truth, as we expect a greater acquaintance with affairs and more mature judgment, in an old man than in a youth, by reason of his experience, and his having seen and heard and thought more; it is reasonable that in like manner we should hope from our own age (if it knew its own strength, and would essay and apply it) more than from former times, being a more advanced age of the world, and enriched to fulness with numberless experiments and observations. Nor must we think it little that, in those distant voyages and travels which have been frequent in our time, much has been discovered in nature which is capable of shedding new light on philosophy. Nay, it is dishonourable to men, if in our age the regions of the material world, that is, the earth, the ocean, and the heavenly bodies, are discovered and displayed to a vast extent, but the boundaries of the intellectual world are still fixed within the narrow space and knowledge of the ancients. Even the state of Europe at present in a political respect is not averse. England is raised, France at peace, Spain worn out, Italy and Germany in a state of inaction: so that from the power of the greatest kings being balanced, and the conditions of the

first rate nations shaken, affairs lean to peace, which is like clear and mild weather for the sciences. Nor is the present state of letters itself unfavourable; nay, it enjoys a certain facility, both from the art of printing, unknown to ancient times, by means of which the inventions and thoughts of individuals glance from side to side like lightning: and also by reason of religious controversies, from weariness of which perchance men have been able to turn their minds more readily to the contemplation of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God in his works. But, if any one is moved by the consent and continuance enjoyed by the opinions of the ancients, he will find, if he looks more carefully into the matter, very few leaders, and the rest followers only and a crowd; men, that is to say, who have stepped from ignorance into prejudice, and have never met in true consent, which must be after the use of judgment. And on proper reflection, the length of time itself shrinks into a narrow shred. For of the five-and-twenty centuries with which the memory of man is acquainted, scarce five can be marked out which have been useful and productive in the increase of knowledge, and even they have been for the most part planted and cultivated with other knowledges, and not that of nature. For there are reckoned three periods and revolutions of opinions, one with the Greeks, another with the Romans, the last with the western nations of Europe; the remaining time of the world has been taken up with wars and other pursuits, and, as far as regards the growth of knowledge, is a barren wilderness.

He thought thus then about time. From the power and nature of chance also he augured thus. Chance, indeed, has been, without doubt, the author of many inventions, occasion being taken from the nature of things. Did then the Promethens of New India differ from the European in the discovery of fire, because the former have no supply of flints? In those things, therefore, which are at hand, chance gives inventions in plenty; in those which are removed from common use, she travails and brings forth more sparingly, but yet in all ages. For no cause can be seen why chance should be thought to have grown old and past the time of bearing. He thought, therefore, that if many discoveries chance to men without seeking, and while otherwise employed, no one can doubt that if the same men were to search, and by rule and order, not by fits and starts, many more things must be discovered. For, though it may happen in one or two cases that some one may by chance hit upon what has escaped him before when straining all his powers in the inquiry, yet, without doubt, the contrary will appear in the long run. For chance works thinly, and slowly, and irregularly; but art constantly, and rapidly, and connectedly. From those inventions also, which are already brought to light, he thought it might be truly conjectured about those which are yet hidden. But some of them are of that kind that, before their discovery, surmises of them would not readily come into any one's mind. For, men commonly guess at new things by a likeness to old ones, and by ideas learned of them, which is a very vain way of thinking, since those things that are sought from the fountain-head do not flow through the common channels. Thus, if some one, before the invention of firearms, had described them by their effects, and had said that a discovery was just made by means of which walls and the strongest fortifications might be battered and beaten down from a great distance, men would certainly reason much and variously about multiplying the powers of casting engines and machinery, by weights, wheels, and the like; but the idea of a fiery wind could scarcely occur, as what they had never seen an instance of, except perchance in an earthquake or thunderstorm, which they had neglected, as not imitable. In like manner if, before the invention of silken thread, some one had spoken thus: that there was a certain kind of thread useful for dress and furniture, which much excelled linen and woollen thread in fineness, and, notwithstanding, strength, and moreover gloss and softness; men would immediately begin to think of some vegetable silk, or the delicate part of some animal's hair, or the feathers and down of birds, but would never guess the fabric of a worm, and that too in such plenty and every year. And if any one had dropped a hint about worms, he would certainly have been ridiculed for dreaming of some new works of spiders. And hence, for the most part, those things which are still hidden in the womb of nature have this same property, that they escape and elude the imaginations and reasoning of men. So he thought, if it check any one's hope of new inventions, that, by inference from those before us, he counts them either impossible or unlikely, he should know that he is not competent, even to wish fitly and usefully.

But again he thought that there are other things among those discovered of a different and almost contrary nature, which lead us to think that mankind may pass by and neglect great inventions lying close at their feet. For although the invention of gunpowder, and silk, and the compass, and sugar, and the like, seem to depend upon certain properties of matter and nature; the art of printing has certainly nothing which was not plain, and almost obvious, and gathered from what was already known. But in this race of invention the human mind is commonly so unlucky and awkward, that in some things it first despairs, and shortly after despises itself; and at first it seems incredible that any such thing could be invented, but after it is invented, again it appears incredible that it could have escaped men so long. And this

leads him to hope that there yet remains a great mass of inventions which might be gained, not only from uncovering new properties, but also from transferring and applying those already known.

He accepted also as happy omens what he observed in the mechanical arts and their success, especially when compared with philosophy. For the mechanical arts, as if enjoying a certain vital air, grow and perfect themselves daily; while philosophy, like a statue, is adored and celebrated, but moves not. The former also are seen rude, and commonly without proportion and cumbrous in the hands of their first authors; but afterwards get new strength and aptness. The latter is in its greatest vigour with its first author, and afterwards declines. And the real cause of this different success is that, in the mechanical arts, the wits of many meet together in one; but in philosophy the wits of all are spoiled by one. For after they have surrendered themselves they give no increase, but are employed in the servile office of dressing and attending one. Wherefore every philosophy, torn up from the roots of experience, from which it first sprung and grew, becomes dead matter. And, roused by this thought, he observed also, that the means of arts and sciences are, by universal consent, empirical or rational, that is, philosophical; but he has not yet seen these well put together and united. For the empirical, like the ant, only collects and uses; the rational, like the spider, spins from itself. But the practice of the bee is midway, which draws materials from the flowers of both garden and field, but transmutes and digests them by a faculty of its own. Nor is the work of true philosophy different, which stores up the matter supplied by natural history and mechanical experiments, not raw in the memory, but changed and prepared in the understanding. And he is aware that there are some of the empirical who wish not to be held as merely empirical, and of the reasoners who aim at seeming industrious and plain in practice. But these have been and are the artifices of a few, aiming at the character of each excelling in his own sect; though, in reality, there has always been a division and almost antipathy between these faculties. So he thought there was hope of excellent effects from a close and confirmed union of them.

He saw also with pleasure that he found an infinite expense of wit, time, and means, which men employ in matters and pursuits that, rightly considered, are useless; while if a small part of them were turned to what is sound and useful, it might conquer every difficulty. Nor is there any reason to fear the multitude of particulars, since the phenomena of the arts are but a handful to the reasonings of the mind when disunited and distracted from the evidence of things. Now, all this that has been said has its effect in producing hope; but, above all, the most certain hope is from the errors of the time past. And (as some one said of the maladministration of civil government) that may be the best for the future, which is the worst on looking to the past; for if such errors cease, (and giving warning is the first step towards it,) there would be a very great change in things. But if men had passed through the course of so many years, without being able to make any progress, no hope could remain. For then it would be clear that the difficulty was in the matter and subject, (which are out of our power,) not in the instrument, (which is within it,) that is, in the things and their obscurity, not in the human mind and its working. But now it appears that the way is not stopped up by any block or barrier, but turns from the path of men: it does, therefore, cause in some measure the fear of solitude, but threatens nothing more. In fine, he determined that, if even a much weaker and less sensible air breathed from that new continent, it should yet be attempted. For there is not the same danger in not trying a thing and not succeeding in it; since, in the former case, the loss of a great benefit, in the latter, of a little human labour is concerned. In truth, both from what has and has not been said, he saw well that there was sufficient hope, not only for a diligent man to make trial, but also for a prudent and sober one to give credit.

He thought also, that, when the desire is kindled, and the hope formed, we must look to the means of performance. This is then what appeared to him generally in that matter; and he thought fit to enclose and embrace it in naked and open sentences.

He saw that things must be done entirely otherwise than they are now; and therefore that the disproving of the past is a kind of oracle for what is to come.

He thought that theories, and opinions, and common notions, as far as can be obtained from the stiffness and firmness of the mind, should be entirely done away with; and that the understanding should begin anew plainly and fairly with particulars; since there is no other entrance open to the kingdom of nature than to the kingdom of heaven, into which no one may enter except in the form of a little child.

He thought that a body and mass of particulars, both from their number, kind, and certainty or subtility sufficient for information, might be collected and stored up, both from natural history and mechanical experiments, the latter especially, because nature displays herself more fully when she is held and pressed by art than at her own liberty. He thought that this mass should be reduced and digested into tables and regular order, that the understanding may be able to act upon it and perform its office; since even the divine word did not work upon a mass of things without order.

He thought that we must not suddenly pass

from the particulars digested into tables, to the inquisition after new particulars, (which is nevertheless itself a useful thing, and like a kind of learned experience,) but that we should first proceed to general and large comprehensions, and so far indulge the natural bent of the understanding. But at the same time he saw that the natural but vicious motion and impulse of the mind to jump from particulars to high and general comprehensions, (such as what are called the first principles of arts and things,) and to get at the rest by descending through the middle ones, must be altogether checked; but the nearest comprehensions must be first drawn out and discovered, and then the middle ones, and we must climb the true ladder by repeated steps. For the paths of thought and understanding almost agree with that twofold way in morals, sung by the ancients; for one road, smooth at the entrance, leads to pathless wilds, the other, steep and difficult at first, ends in level road.

He thought that such a form of induction should be introduced as should conclude generally from certain instances, so that it can be proved that there cannot be found a contradictory instance, lest by chance we pronounce from fewer than are adequate, and from those which are at our feet; and (as one of the ancients said) seek knowledge in our private worlds, and not in the public one. He saw that that comprehension only should be approved of and received, which was not made and fitted to the measure of the particulars from which it was derived, but which was rather more ample and lax, and supported its amplitude and laxity by the designation of new particulars, as a sort of suretiship, lest we should stop at what is already known, or perchance in too wide an embrace catch shadows and abstract forms. He saw that many things besides these should be invented to work notably, not so much to the perfecting of the matter, as to the shortening of the labour, and to the speeding of men's harvest from it. And whether all this be rightly thought or otherwise, we must, if need be, appeal from the opinions, and stand by the effects.

He thought, also, that what he is treating of is rather performance than opinion, and that it lays the foundations, not of any sect or school, but of immense utility and enlargement. Wherefore thought must be taken not only about accomplishing the matter, but about communicating and transmitting it, which is of equal consequence. But he found that men minister to their love of fame and pomp by sometimes publishing, sometimes concealing the knowledge of things which they think they have got; and that they who propose what is least solid are, more than others, used to barter what they offer in an obscure and doubtful light, that they may more easily swell the sails of their vanity. But he thought that he was handling a subject which it were unbecoming to defile with any ambition or affectation; but yet that he must needs descend to the recollection, (unless indeed he were very inexperienced in affairs and minds, and would begin his journey without any search,) that inveterate errors, like the ravings of the lunatic, must be subdued by art and contrivance, and are aggravated by violence and opposition. We must, therefore, use prudence, and humour them, (as far as we can with simplicity and candour,) that contradictions may be extinguished before they are inflamed. For this object he is preparing a work on nature, which may destroy errors with the least harshness, and enter the senses of mankind without violence; which would be easier from his not bearing himself as a leader, but bringing and scattering light from nature herself, so that there may be no future need of a leader. But as time meanwhile glides away, and he has been more engaged in business than he wished; it seems a long work; especially when he considers the uncertainty of life, and pants to lay up something in safety. It therefore seemed to him that something simpler might be proposed which, though not uttered to the many, might perchance at least be sufficient to preserve so salutary a matter from abortion. And after considering the matter, and weighing it long and attentively, it seemed to him the best way that tables of invention, or formulæ of just inquisition, that is, a mass of particulars, arranged for the work of the understanding, should be offered in some subjects, by way of an exemplar and almost visible description of the work. For nothing can be found to place in a clearer light the right road or the wanderings of error; or show more plainly that what is offered is but words: nor which would be more carefully avoided by the man who either mistrusted his scheme, or desired it to be caught at and celebrated above its deserts. But, if it is not allowed him to complete his designs, as there are nevertheless human minds of a strong and lofty character, it may be that, even without more assistance, taking the hint from what is offered, they may be able to look for and master the rest of themselves. For he is almost of opinion (as some one said) that this will be enough for the wise, though even more would not be for the dull. But he saw that it would be too abrupt to begin his teaching with the tables themselves; and, therefore, that he should say something suitable by way of preface, which he thinks he has now done, and that all which has been hitherto said leads only thither. Lastly, he saw that, if any good be found in what has been or shall be said, it should be dedicated as the fat of the sacrifice to God, and to men in God's similitude, who procure the good of mankind by true affection and benevolence.

G. W.

OF THE

PRINCIPLES AND ORIGINS OF NATURE,

ACCORDING TO THE FABLES OF CUPID AND HEAVEN:

OR, THE

PHILOSOPHY OF PARMENIDES, TELESIUS, AND PARTICULARLY OF DEMOCRITUS, AS EXHIBITED IN THE FABLE CONCERNING CUPID.

The fables of the ancients repecting Cupid or Love, cannot be made to agree in one and the same person. They indeed profess to speak of two Cupids of two different periods, the one the most ancient of the gods, the other of a much later era. At present we will treat of the ancient Cupid. They relate that this Cupid was the most ancient of the gods, and therefore of all things, excepting chaos, which is said to have been coeval with him. This Cupid had no parent, but being united to heaven, was the father of the gods and of all things. Some indeed would derive him from an egg over which Night brooded. Different atttributes are ascribed to him, so that he is represented as a boy blind, naked, winged, and armed with darts. His chief and especial influence is over the uniting of bodies. To him were given the keys of the earth, the sea, and the sky. Another and younger Cupid is also celebrated in fable, the son of Venus. To him are ascribed the attributes of the ancient Cupid, besides many peculiar to himself. This fable, with the sequel respecting heaven, seems to embrace in a concise parable the doctrine of the elements of things and of the origin of the world, and to agree with that of Democritus, except that it appears somewhat closer, more reasonable, and clearer. For the observations of that confessedly acute and accurate philosopher nevertheless were of a too diffusive nature, and did not seem to keep their proper limit, and to confine and support themselves sufficiently. And indeed these dogmas, which lie veiled in the parable, although better regulated, are yet of such a nature as to appear to have come from the mind left to itself, and not uniformly and gradually assisted by experience; for this seems to have been the common fault of antiquity. But it must first be remarked, that the opinions brought forward in this part of my treatise were the conclusions and productions of unassisted reason, and rested on perception alone, the failing and imperfect oracles of which are deservedly rejected, now that the higher and more certain light of the Divine Word has shone upon men. That chaos therefore which was coeval with Cupid, signified the confused and disordered mass or collection of matter. But matter itself, with its power and nature, in a word, the elements of things were shadowed out in Cupid himself. He is introduced without a parent, that is, without a cause: for cause is, as it were, the parent of effect; and in tropical discourse nothing is therefore more usual than for the parent to stand for cause, and the offspring for effect. But there cannot be in nature (for we always except God) any cause of the first matter, and of its proper influence and action, for there is nothing prior in time to the first matter. Therefore there is no efficient nor any thing more known to nature; there is therefore neither genus nor form. Wherefore whatever primitive matter is, together with its influence and action, it is sui generis, and admits of no definition drawn from perception, and is to be taken just as it is found, and not to be judged of from any preconceived idea. For the mode of it, if it is given to us to know it, cannot be judged of by means of its cause, seeing that it is, next to God, the cause of causes, itself without a cause. For there is a certain real limit of causes in nature, and it would argue levity and inexperience in a philosopher to require or imagine a cause for the last and positive power and law of nature, as much as it would not to demand a cause in those that are subordinate.

On this account the ancients have fabled Cupid to be without a parent, that is, without a cause. And they did so not without design. Nay, perhaps there is not any thing more important; for nothing has more corrupted philosophy than the seeking after the parents of Cupid; I mean, that philosophers have not received and embraced the elements of things as they are found in nature, as a certain fixed and positive doctrine, and as it were by an experimental trust in them; but have rather deduced them from the laws of words, and from dialectics and slight mathematical conclu-

sions and common notions, and similar wanderings of the mind beyond the bounds of nature. This, therefore, must be constantly in the philosopher's thoughts, that Cupid is without parents, lest perchance his understanding turn aside to empty questions; because in universal perceptions of this kind the human mind becomes diffusive, and departs from the right use of itself and of its objects, and, whilst it tends toward things more distant, falls back upon those that are nearer. For when, through its own limited capacity, it is accustomed to be most affected by those things which occur familiarly to it, and which can enter and strike the mind suddenly; it comes to pass that when it stretches itself toward those things which, according to experience, are for the most part universal, and, nevertheless, is unwilling to rest satisfied, then, as if desirous of something more within the reach of its knowledge, it turns itself to those things which have most effected or allured it, and imagines them to be more causative and palpable than those universals. Therefore, it has been now laid down that the first essence of things, or Cupid, is without a cause.

We have now to inquire into the mode of this thing which is uncaused; and the mode of it is likewise very obscure, which indeed the fable elegantly hints in Cupid being hatched beneath the brooding wing of night. So at least the inspired philosopher saith, "God hath made all things beautiful in their seasons: He hath also set the world in their heart, yet so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning unto the end." For the great law of essence and nature which cuts and runs through the vicissitudes of things, (which law seems to be described in the compass of the words, "the work which God wrought from the beginning even to the end,") the power lodged by God in the primitive particles, from the multiplication of which, the whole variety of things might spring forth and be composed, may indeed just strike, but cannot enter deeply the mind of man. But, that saying concerning the egg of night, is very aptly referred to those proofs by means of which our Cupid is brought to light. For those proofs which are concluded by means of affirmatives, seem to be the offspring of light; those which are concluded by means of negatives and exclusions, may be called the offspring of darkness and night: and Cupid is in truth the egg sprung from night; for all the knowledge we can gather respecting him comes by the way of negatives and exclusions. But a proof gathered by exclusions has still some degree of ignorance in it, and is a kind of night as to that which is included in it: whence Democritus admirably remarked, that the atoms or seeds and their properties were like nothing that falls under the observation of sense, and held them to be of a dark and secret nature. He therefore pronounced of them, "They are neither like fire, nor any other thing, the body of which is perceptible by sense, or open to the touch." And again he says of their nature, "but it is requisite the elements in the work of creation, should put forth a secret and dark nature, lest any contrarious and opposing principle arise." Therefore atoms are neither like sparks of fire, nor drops of water, nor bubbles of air, nor grains of sand, nor the minute particles of spirit or ether. Nor, is the power and form of them a something heavy or light, or hot or cold, or dense or rare, or hard or soft, as are found in larger bodies, since those powers, and the rest of that order, are compounded and wrought together. And, in like manner, the natural motion of an atom is neither that motion of descent which is called natural, nor a motion opposed to that force, nor a motion of expansion and contraction, nor of impulsion and connexion, nor the rotatory motion of the heavenly bodies, nor any other of the greater motions simply. But, notwithstanding this, in the body of an atom are the elements of all bodies, and in the nature of an atom the beginning of all motions and natural properties. But, yet, in this very point, namely, the motion of an atom as compared with the motion of greater substances, the philosophy of the parable appears to differ from that of Democritus. For he is not only opposed to the parable, but inconsistent, if not contradictory in his more copious assertions on this head. For he should have ascribed a heterogeneous motion to an atom not less than a heterogeneous body and power. But, he out of the motions of greater substances, has chosen two, to ascribe them as primitive motions to atoms, namely, the descent of heavy and the ascent of light bodies, (which he explained by the striking or the percussion of the more heavy, in forcing upwards the less heavy bodies.) But the parable all along preserves the heterogeneous and exclusive nature it ascribes to atoms, as well in speaking of its motion as of its substance. But the parable further intimates, that this exclusion has its limit, for night does not brood over the egg forever: and it is certainly proper to the Deity, that in our inquiry into his nature by means of the senses, exclusions should not terminate in affirmatives. And there is another reason for this, namely, that after the due exclusions and negations, something should be affirmed and settled, and that the egg should be produced as it were by a seasonable and mature incubation; not only that the egg should be brought forth by night, but also that the person of Cupid should be delivered of the egg: that is, that not only should an obscure notion upon this subject be originated, but one that is distinct. Thus much upon demonstrations, as far as they can be given, upon the first matter, and I think in accordance with the parable.

We come now to Cupid himself, the primitive matter and its properties, involved in so great

darkness; and let us see what light the parable can throw upon it. And here I am aware that opinions of this sort the most incredible have entered men's mind. Certainly was this danger incurred here by the philosophy of Democritus itself upon atoms, which, from its seeming acuteness and profundity, and for its remoteness from common notions, was childishly entertained by the vulgar, but unsettled, and nearly overthrown by the arguments of other philosophies which came nearer to the vulgar comprehension: and yet he was the admiration of his age, and was styled Pentathlus for his multifarious erudition, and was deemed by universal consent the greatest of natural philosophers, and obtained the name of a wise man. Nor could even the opposition of Aristotle (who, like the Ottomans, could not feel firm upon his throne until he had murdered his brother philosophers; and who was solicitous, as appears from his own words, that posterity should not doubt his dogmas) effect by his violence, nor the majesty of Plato effect by reverence the demolition of this philosophy of Democritus. But whilst the dicta of Aristotle and Plato were celebrated with applause and professorial ostentation in the schools, the philosophy of Democritus was in great repute amongst the wiser sort, and those who more closely gave themselves to the depths and silence of contemplation. It kept its ground and was approved in the era of Roman letters; for Cicero everywhere makes mention of him with perfect approbation; and soon after we read the panegyric of the poet, who appears to echo after the manner of the poets the sentiment of his times, whose wisdom shows that in a land of dulness and beneath a Bœotian sky, the greatest and the most illustrious men can spring up. (Juv. Sat. 10, v. 48.)

Neither Aristotle, therefore, nor Plato, but Genseric, Attila, and the barbarians were the ruin of this philosophy. For, then, after that human learning had suffered shipwreck, those records of the Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, as being lighter and more inflated matter, were preserved and came down to our times, whilst the more solid sank and went into oblivion. I cannot but consider, on the other hand, the philosophy of Democritus worthy of being rescued from neglect, especially since it agrees in most things with the authority of antiquity. In the first place, then, Cupid is described as a certain person, and to him are attributed infancy, wings, arrows, and other attributes, concerning which we will afterward speak separately. But this we assume in the mean while, that the ancients laid down the primitive matter (such as can be the origin of things) with a form and properties, not abstract, potential, and informal. And certainly that matter which is stripped and passive seems altogether an invention of the human mind, and to have sprung thence, for those things are mostly present to the human understanding which it most imbibes, and with which itself is most moved. Hence it is that forms, as they are called, seem to exist more than either matter or action, because the one is hid, the other glides before us; the one is not so strongly impressed, the other constantly inheres. But forms, on the other hand, are deemed evident and lasting, so that the primitive and common matter seems as it were an accessory, and to be in the place of a support to them; but every sort of action only an emanation from the form, and forms, therefore, to be in every respect worthy of the higher rank. And hence, also, seems to be derived the kingdom of forms and ideas in essences, by the addition of a kind of fantastic matter. Some things moreover have grown out of this superstition; (from want of judgment having, as might have been expected, followed this error;) abstract ideas and their powers have been introduced with such confidence and authority, that this troop of dreamers had nearly overpowered the more sober class of thinkers. But these follies have for the most part disappeared, although one person in our age, with more daring than advantage, made it his endeavour to raise and prop them up when they were of themselves on the decline. I think, however, that it can to an unprejudiced person be easily shown how, contrary to reason, abstract matter was made into an element. It arose thus; men supposed that forms endued with action subsisted by themselves, but none thought that matter thus subsisted by itself; not even those who considered it an element; and it seemed unreasonable and contrary to the nature of an inquiry upon the elements of things to make entities out of mere imaginations. And it is not our object to search how we can most conveniently conceive of the nature of entities or distinguish them, but what are in truth the first and simplest possible of all entities, from which all others are derived. But the first ones ought no less to possess a real existence than those which flow from it; rather more. For it has its own peculiar essence, and from it come all the rest. But the assertions that have been made respecting abstract matter are as absurd as it would be to say that the universe and nature were made out of categories and such dialectic notions, as out of elements. For the difference is by no means important between asserting that the world sprang from matter and form and privation, and asserting that it arose out of substance and the contrary qualities. But almost all the ancients, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Democritus, though disagreeing in other respects upon the prime matter, joined in this, that they held an active matter with a form, both arranging its own form and having within itself the principle of motion. Nor can any one think otherwise without leaving experience altogether. All these, then, submitted their mind to nature.

But Plato subjected the world to his contemplations, and Aristotle his contemplations to terms: for the studies of men were at that time verging toward logomachies and disputations, and leaving the severer investigation of truth. Wherefore dogmas of this nature are rather to be condemned in the mass than refuted in detail. For they come not from a desire of knowledge, but of much speaking: and that abstract matter is not the matter of the universe, but matter for disputation. For a true philosopher will dissect, not sever nature, (for they who will not dissect, must pull her asunder,) and the prime matter is to be laid down joined with the primitive form, as also with the first principle of motion, as it is found. For the abstraction of motion has also given rise to innumerable devices concerning spirits, life, and the like, as if there were not laid a sufficient ground for them through matter and form, but they depended on their own peculiar elements. But these three are not to be separated, but only distinguished, and matter is to be so treated (whatever it be) in regard of its adornment, appendages, and form, as that all kind of influence, essence, action, and natural motion may appear to be its emanation and consequence. Nor need we fear that from this that inquiry should stagnate, or that variety which we perceive should become incapable of explanation, as will be shown hereafter. And that the first matter is possessed of form, the parable teaches in making Cupid a definite person. Yet so that matter in the mass was at first without form: for chaos is without form, Cupid is a person. And this perfectly agrees with Holy Scripture. For it is not written that God created in the beginning the matter of chaos, but the heavens and the earth.

There is also subjoined a description of the state of things as it was before the work of the days, in which distinct mention is made of the heaven and earth, which are the names of forms, but yet, that the mass according to the whole was without form. But Cupid is introduced into the parable personified, yet so as that he is naked. Therefore, after those who speak of matter as abstract, they err next (though in a contrary way) who speak of matter as not unclothed. And, on this topic I have inserted some remarks, in treating upon what kind of proofs are suited to the subject of the first matter, and upon the heterogeneous nature of the first matter. But the proper place for this subject, upon which we shall now enter.

We will examine, therefore, who of those who attributed the origin of things to matter endowed with form, held a native and bare form of matter, and who, on the other hand, a form spread over it and shapen. There are, in all, four sects of those who have hazarded opinions on this subject.—The first is of those who maintain one element of things, but set up a diversity of entities in the unfixed and distributable nature of the same element. The second is of those who maintain an element one in substance, and fixed and invariable, but derive a diversity of entities through the various magnitudes, figures, and positions of this kind of element. The third is of those who maintain more elements, and a diversity of entities, on the ground of their temperament and commixture. The fourth, of those who lay down an infinite, or, at least, very numerous body of elements of things, but with their species and forms; and these have no need of inventing something to lead things to a various principle, seeing they already separate nature from a primitive element. Among these, only the second sect seems to me to set forth Cupid as he is, native and unclothed. The first introduces him as veiled, the third with a coat, the fourth with a cloak and mask.

For the better explication of the parable, I will make a few remarks on each. In the first place, then, of those who have laid down but one first element, I find none who affirm that of the earth. The nature of the earth, indeed, was against it; quiet, and senseless, and inactive, but yielding to the influence of the heavens, of fire, and other things; so that none thought of asserting this of the earth. Yet, the wisdom of the ancients assigned to the earth the next place after chaos, making it first the parent, then the bride of the heaven, from which union proceed all things. But we are not to suppose from this, that the ancients ever thought of the earth as the principle of essence, but as the element, or rather origin of the system. We, therefore, leave this subject to the parable on heaven that follows; where we will inquire into the origin of things, which inquiry comes after that of their elements.

Thales made water the prime element. For, he saw that matter was mostly disposed in moisture, and that in water. But he deemed that it was right to make that the element of things in which the virtues and powers of entities, especially the elements of generations and renovations, were mostly found. He remarked that the generating of animals was by moisture, and that the seeds and kernels of plants, as long as they vegetated and were not dried up, were moist and tender. He remarked that metals melted and flowed, and were, as it were, the thickened juices of the earth, or rather a kind of mineral waters. He remarked that the earth itself was enriched and renewed by showers or the irrigation of rivers; and that the earth and loam seemed nothing but the dregs and sediments of water; but that the air was very evidently the expiration and expansion of water, and that fire was not conceived of itself, nor altogether continued, or was kept alive of itself, but from and through moisture; and, moreover, that that fat of moisture, in which the fire and flame are supported and live,

appeared a kind of maturity and concoction of water; and, that a body and mass of water was spread through the whole as a common fuel; that the sea surrounded the land; that there was a very vast and subterraneous force of sweet waters, whence come springs and rivers, which, like veins, carry the waters through both the face and bowels of the earth; and that, in the heights above were immense congregations of vapours and waters, and, as it were, another universe of waters, for the reparation and renovation of the waters below, and of the sea. He, moreover, thought that those waters and vapours fed the heavenly fires, for that those worlds could not subsist without some nourishment, and that this was the only nourishment that they could possess. He remarked that the figure of water, as seen in drops or particles of water, was that of the universe, round and spherical, and that the undulation of water was apparent even in air and fire; lastly, that the motion of water was suited to its nature, neither too slow nor too quick, and of all generations the most numerous was the generation of fishes and water animals. But Anaximenes chose air for the one sole element. For, if bulk is to come into consideration in treating upon the elements of things, air seems by far the most bulky, and to occupy the greatest space. For, unless a separate vacuum be given, or the superstition of the heteregeneous nature of the heavenly and sublunary bodies be resorted to, whatever is extended from the globe of the earth to the furthest region of the heavenly expanse, and is neither star nor meteor, seems to be filled with aerial substance. And the abode of this earthly globe is thought to be as a point, in comparison of the circuit of the heavens. But in the ether itself, how very small a portion is besprinkled with stars, when in the nearer spheres they are seen single, in the last, although there is a great number of them, yet, considering the interstellar spaces, but a small part of space seems to be occupied by stars; so that they all appear to swim in one immense sea of ether. Nor is that part of ether and spirit inconsiderable, which has its seat and settlement in the waters and the hollow places of the earth, whence the waters receive their tides. They are, moreover, extended, and swell; but not only has the earth its porousness, but also its tremors and agitations, evident signs of wind and air pent up within it. But if a middle nature is proper to elements, in order to the being susceptible of so great a variety, that is certainly found in air. For air is, as it were, the common bond of things, not only because it is everywhere close at hand, and takes the place of other things, and possesses itself of void spaces, but so much the more from its appearing to have a middle and a diaphorous nature. For this is that body which receives and conveys light, darkness, and the tints of all colours and shades, which, by its admirably nice motion, discriminates the impressions and notes of harmonic, and, what is by far more remarkable, of articulate sounds, which enters without confusing the differences of scents, not only those general ones of pure and fetid, of dull, acute, and the like, but also the peculiar and specific, as of the rose or the violet; which accommodates itself equally to those remarkable and very powerful qualities of hot and cold, also of wet and dry, in which aqueous vapours, dense fogs, spirits of salts, fumes of metals, fly suspended in the height; lastly, in which the rays of light and the closer agreements and variances of things move and make a noise; so that the air is, as it were, a second chaos, in which so many seeds of things move, wander, try their powers, and are tried. Lastly, if you consider its genial and vivifying power, which conducts you to the elements of things and manifests them, they seem to be also the more excellent parts of the air, so that the words air, spirit, and life, are often used as if they were synonymous. And, with reason, since some degree of respiration seems the inseperable companion of life a little more advanced, (excepting those little beginnings of life in embryos and in eggs,) so that fishes are suffocated by the congealing of water. Also, fire itself, unless kept alive by the surrounding body of air, is extinguished, and seems only worn-out air irritated and inflamed; as water, on the other hand, can appear to be the conjunction and reception of air. Nor is there any necessity to maintain that the earth constantly exhales the air, nor that it passes through water into the form of air. But Heraclitus, who was more acute, but not so much to be relied upon, held fire to be the element of things. For it was not a middle nature, which is wont to be extremely uncertain and corruptible, but the highest and most perfect nature, which is a considerable bound, as it were, to corruption and change, which Heraclitus sought for instituting the origin of things. Now, he saw that the greatest variety and perturbation of things was found in solid and consistent bodies. For such bodies can be organic, and, as it were, a kind of machines, which acquire innumerable variations according to their shape, as the bodies of animals and plants. Even among these, such as are not organic upon a closer inspection, are found to be very dissimilar. For, how great is the dissimilarity between those very parts of animals which are called similar! the brain, the crystalline humour, the white of the eye, the bones, membranes, cartilages, nerves, veins, flesh, fat, marrow, blood, sperm, breath, chyle, and the rest; also between the parts of vegetables, roots, barks, stalks, leaves, flowers, seeds, and the like! But fossils are not certainly organic, but yet are variously mixed together in one kind, and show mutually a very great variety. Wherefore, that base of the diversity of entities

so vast, so broad, so extended, in which so vast an apparatus of things is manifested and is constantly present, seems to be fixed in a solid and constant nature. But the power of formation seems plainly to desert the bodies of liquids. For there is not found in all nature one animal or plant in a body of mere fluid. That infinite variety of form, therefore, is cut off and taken away from the nature of liquid. No small variety, however, does remain, as is clear in the so great variety of fusibles, juices, distilled bodies, and the like. But in aerial and pneumatic bodies a much greater variety is enclosed, and there seems drawn over them a somewhat promiscuous similitude of things. That influence, indeed, of colours and tastes, by which liquids are in some instances distinguished, ceases indeed altogether here; but that of scents and of some other properties remains yet, so as that they pass through, are confused, and do not inhere; so that on the whole variety disappears in proportion as we approach the nature of fire. But after we are come to the nature of fire, and that rectified and purer, every organ, every peculiar property, every dissimilarity is put off, and nature seems to coalesce as it were in a pyramidal point, and to have reached the limit of its own proper action. Heraclitus called, therefore, the kindling of fire peace, because it made nature one; but generation war, because it made it manifold. In order, therefore, to explain by some means the manner in which things ebbed and flowed as a stream, from variety to simplicity and from simplicity to variety, he supposed fire was condensed and then rarefied, yet so as that rarefying toward the nature of fire should be the direct and progressive action of nature; but the densation as it were a receding from and leaving of nature. He thought that both took place by fate and at certain periods, (according to the sum,) so that there would be at some time or other a conflagration of the world, which is now moved in its orbit, and then a renovation, and so on successively forever. But he held a diverse order of incension and extinction, if any one is well versed in that slight remain of information concerning him and his opinions which hath descended to our time. But in the scale of incension he in no way differed from the usual and well known opinion, that the progress of rarefication and extenuation was from earth to water, from water to air, from air to fire: but he did not hold the same return, but plainly inverted the order. For he asserted that fire brought out earth through extinction as a kind of dregs and soot of fire; that they next conceived and collected moisture, whence came the flowing forth of water, which again emitted and breathed out air, so that a sudden, not a gradual change is made from fire to water. And these or better notions did those conceive who asserted one element of things, looking upon nature simply, not for the sake of strife. And they are indeed to be praised, because they ascribed but one vest to Cupid, that which approaches nearest to bareness, and as it were a veil of the thinnest and lightest kind. But by the vest of Cupid I mean a certain form attributed to primary matter, which is asserted to be substantially homogeneous with the form of some one of the secondary entities. It will be easy to prove that the assertions we have recited respecting water, air, fire, are groundless, and here we can take them by the genus, and not severally by the species, into consideration. In the first place, then, the ancients did not inquire with accuracy into the nature of elements, but only made it their object to find out the chief virtues of those bodies that were clearly under the senses, and those virtues they supposed were the elements of things, through a seeming, not a real and true superiority of nature. For they thought that such a nature was worthy of being said to be solely that which it appeared: but every thing else they held to be the nature itself, though by no means according with the appearance; so that they seem to have spoken metaphorically, or to have been under some fascination, since the more powerful impression drew the remaining properties after it. But a true philosopher would look with equal attention to all the circumstances, and would consider those to be the elements of things which agreed with the very least and fewest and the most solitary of entities, and not only with the greatest, most numerous, and most prolific. For although we men are most struck by those entities which mostly meet our sight, the bosom of nature is open to them all. But if they hold that their opinion of an element, not on account of superiority of nature, but simply, they seem indeed to fall into the adoption of a harsher figure; since the thing is plainly made equivocal, and their assertion cannot be predicated either of natural fire, air, or water, but of a certain fantastical and notional fire, (and so of the rest,) which retains the name without the definition of fire. They seem, too, forced into the same difficulties with those who assert abstract matter. For, as they introduce an entire, so do these a partial, potential, and fantastic matter. For they lay down matter in one respect (as, that is, their supposed element) with form and action; in other respects only potential. Nor is any thing gained by this kind of sole principle more than by the supposition of abstract matter, unless it be deemed an advantage that it is entertainable by the comprehension of man, in which human contemplation is more fixed and acquiesces, and through which the notion of the element itself is made somewhat fuller, but as to every other circumstance more difficult and abstruse. But predicaments did not rule then, so as that this element of abstract nature might lie hid under the protecting tutelage of the predicament of the substance.

No one dared, therefore, to feign a kind of matter entirely fantastic, but decided upon a principle according to perception, a certain true ens; but yet (proceeding in this respect too far) the mode of its distribution fantastic. For, they find nothing, nay, they do not feign any thing by which, by an appetite or incitement, or in any way, method, or guidance, this their element may degenerate from itself and again return to itself. But when throughout the universe there appears so great an army of contrary powers, density, rarity, heat, cold, light, darkness, animation, inanimation, and of many others which contend with each other and fall into privation or nothingness, to suppose that all these flow from one and the same fount of a material nature, and yet not to point out any way in which this can take place, is the part of a mind overcome by distraction, and seems a departure from the spirit of true inquiry. For if the thing were clearly made out by sense, it were to be borne with, though the mode of it were involved in obscurity; again, if by the strength of reason any suitable and credible mode could be searched out, one might learn perhaps from appearances; but our assent is by no means to be demanded to the existence of entities, neither evident to the senses, nor admitting of any probable elucidation from reason. Besides, if there were but one element of things, there ought to be seen in all things some signs of it, and certain more excellent parts, and a certain pre-eminent quality in their nature. It ought moreover to be in open sight, that it might the more easily be accessible to all things, and might diffuse itself throughout its orbit. But none of these things can be made out from their dogmas. For, the earth, which is cut off from the honour of being deemed an element, appears to receive and cherish natures opposite to these three principal, seeing that to the mobility and lucid nature of fire it opposes the natures of rest and darkness; to the tenuity and softness of air, in like manner, the natures of density and hardness; and to the humidity and yieldingness of water, a nature dry, stubborn, and rough, and the earth occupies a middle rank, the rest being denied this claim. Moreover, if it were the only principle of things, it ought to have a natural fitness equal to both the generation and dissolution of things. For it as much belongs to the nature of an element that things should be dissolved into it, as that they should be produced out of it. But this is not the case: but of those bodies air and fire seem quite incapacitated from administering any generating material, and only to be adapted to the receiving of bodies resolved into them. But, on the other hand, water is very favourable and conducive to generation, but with respect to resolution or restoration of bodies the reverse; as would be easily perceptible, if showers cease a little while. Nay, putrefaction itself by no means reduces things to pure and raw water. But this was by far their greatest error, that they made an element of that which is corruptible and mortal. This they do, when they introduce an element which lays down and leaves its own nature in its compounds. For, "whatever by undergoing change departs from its proper limits, this change is forthwith the death of that thing which it was before." But we shall need to take this into our account more when we have come to the proper place for considering the third sect, which held more elements than one, which sect has at once more strength and more prejudice. We will, therefore, treat of these opinions severally and not in the mass.

Of those, then, who asserted a plurality of elements, we will place by themselves such as make them also infinite. For the consideration of infinity pertains to the parable of the heaven. But of the ancients, Parmenides held two principles, the fire and the earth, or heaven and earth. For he asserted that the sun and stars were true fire, pure and limpid, not degenerate as our fire, which, like Vulcan after his fall, is the worse for its transmission. These opinions were brought up again in our age by Telesius, who was deeply versed in the peripatetic system, (if, indeed, there can be said to be system in it,) which yet he turned against itself; but unhappy in the stating of propositions, and more able to pull down than to build up. There are indeed but very slight and sparing memorials left us of the conceptions of Parmenides. But we see the foundations of a similar opinion obviously laid in Plutarch, "De primo frigido," which seems to be taken from an ancient work then in being, but now lost. For they contain not a few opinions more acute and solid than the author's generally were; and by these Telesius seems to have been roused both to catch them up with earnestness, and to pursue them with vigour, in his commentaries on the nature of things. These are the dogmas of this sect: that the first forms and first entities are active, and that so the first substances also, cold and heat; that these nevertheless exist incorporeally, but that there is subjoined to them a passive and potential matter, which has a corporeal magnitude, and is equally susceptive of either nature, itself at the same time void of all action: that light is the budding forth of heat, but of heat scattered, which, being multiplied by coition, is made firm and sensible; that darkness is, in like manner, the destitution and commingling of nature radiating from cold; that rarity and density are the textures, and, as it were, the webs of heat and cold: but that heat and cold produce and manufacture of them, as it were, cold by condensing and thickening the work, heat by widening and extending it: that from such kind of textures is put into bodies a disposition of their parts toward motion, either suitable to motion or somewhat

averse to it, in the thinner bodies prompt and naturally fitted to motion, in the denser inclining to torpor and averse to it; that heat therefore excites and effects motion through a rarefied space, and that cold represses and stops motion through a dense space: wherefore, say they, there are four co-essential natures and conjoined, and those twofold, preserving that order mutually which I have mentioned, (for heat and cold are the sources, the others are emanations,) yet that, nevertheless, they are ever concomitant and inseparable: that those four natures are heat, light, rarity, and motion: that, again, there are four opposed to these; cold, darkness, denseness, and immobility: that the seats and regions of the first conjugation is in the heaven, the stars, and especially in the sun; for that the heaven from its surpassing and pure heat, and from its matter mostly extended, is the hottest, most clear, and most rare, and highly inclined to motion; that the earth, on the other hand, owing to its pure and unbroken cold, and from its matter being mostly contracted, was the most cold, dark, and dense, utterly motionless, and altogether unsuited by nature to motion; but that the heights of heaven preserve their nature entire and unhurt, admitting some diversity among themselves, but altogether removed from the violence and attack of a contrary; that there is the same consistency through the lower parts of the earth, that only the extreme parts where there is a nearness and meeting of the contraries is uneasy, and suffers opposition from the mutual quarter; that so the heaven is in its whole mass and substance full of heat, and entirely free from every contrary nature, but unequally, being in some parts more, in others less heated; that the body of the stars is more intensely hot, the interstellary space less so; and, moreover, that some stars are more endued with heat than others, and are of a more vivid and darting kind of fire; yet so as that the contrary nature of cold, or any degree of it, never penetrates thither; for that the body of the stars receive a diversity, but not a contrariety of nature: and that no judgment can be formed from common fire of the heat or fire of the heavenly bodies, which is pure, and in its natural state; that our fire is indeed remote from its own natural place, tremulous, surrounded with contrary influences, of a low nature, requiring, as it were, nourishment for its very existence, and wandering about, but that being placed in the heavens, disjoined from the impetus of any contrary force, it kept its own place, was preserved out of its own power, and out of that of similar influences, and preserved its own proper course of action in freedom and unmolested. Also, that the whole heaven was full of light, though not in the same proportion throughout. For since of the stars that are known and can be reckoned up, some which can only be seen when the heavens are unclouded, and since there are in the galaxy clusters of little stars, which by their union give forth a white appearance, but do not seem distinct bodies of light, none can doubt that there are very many stars invisible to us, and that so the whole of the heaven is one body endowed with light, though not with light so strong and darting, nor with rays so deep and condensed as to pass beyond such vast distances, and to reach our sight. And he held that the whole heaven was of a thin and subtile substance, and that there was nothing in it that was crowded together, nothing forcedly compact, but that in this region matter was more expanded, in that less. Lastly, that the motion of the heaven was such as most suited a movable body, conversive or rotatory, for the circular motion is without a bound, and that for its own sake, as it were, this motion is in a right line, to a limit, and to some object, and as if for the purpose of attaining rest. That, therefore, the whole heaven was borne along by a circular motion, and that no part of it was without this motion, but that, nevertheless, as in the heat, light, and subtlety of the heavenly nature there exists inequality, so it is also seen in the motion or the heavens, and the more clearly since it admits more of human observation, and can even be measured.

But that orbicular motion can differ both in its speed and in its course; in speed so as to be either quicker or slower, in its course so as to be in a perfect circle, or to have somewhat of a spiral direction, and not to restore itself plainly to the same bound, (for a spiral line is compounded of a right line and a circle;) and that so the heaven is subject to variety of speed, and to deflection from recovery of itself, or to a spiral course. For both the fixed stars and the planets are of unequal speed, and the planets evidently turn from tropic to tropic, and the higher the heavenly bodies are, the greater speed they acquire and the nearer compass. For if the phenomena are taken simply, and as they appear, and there be laid down one diurnal motion in the heavens, simple and natural, and that mathematical beauty of reducing motions to perfect circles be rejected, and spiral lines received, and those contrarieties of motions in consecutive order from east to west which they call the motion of the primum mobile, and again from west to east, which they call the planetary motion, are reduced to one, by still keeping the difference of the time in the return through overhaste, and through leaving of the course to the difference as to the smoothness of the zodiac through the windings, it is plain that it will take place which I have said: for instance, that the moon, which is the lowest of the planets, will go the most slowly in a curve the least deep, and most expanded. And there may seem to this sect to be (on account of the distance from the opposite side) a firm and constant kind of nature of this portion of the heaven. But Telesius does not clearly lay down whether he preserved the

ancient bounds so as to conceive that whatever was situated above the moon was the same with the moon itself, or whether he thought that an opposing power ascended higher. But he held a portion of the earth (which is the seat of an opposite nature) to be in the same way quite of an unmixed and solid nature, and impenetrable by heavenly influences. But he considered that there was no reason for inquiring into the nature of that portion, only that it was endowed with these four natures, cold, darkness, density, and rest, and those perfect, and no way impaired. But he assigns to the generation of things the part of the earth toward its surface as a kind of bark or incrustation, and that all the entities which have come to our knowledge in any way, even the heaviest, hardest, and the lowest down, metals, stones, the sea, are produced from the earth, subdued in some part by the heat of the heaven, and which has already conceived somewhat of heat, radiation, tenuity, and mobility, and which partakes of a middle nature between the sun and the pure earth. It is requisite, therefore, that pure earth be placed lower than the bottom of the sea, than minerals, and every thing that is generated: and that from that pure earth, even to the moon, or perhaps higher, there be placed a certain middle nature, proceeding from the temperaments and refractions of the heaven and earth. But having sufficiently fortified the interior of both kingdoms, he proceeds to the march and to the war. For in the space within the outermost region of heaven and the innermost of earth, is all kind of tumult, and conflict, and horror; as it is with empires, the borders of which are infested with incursions whilst the interior provinces enjoy profound peace. That so these natures with their concretions have the power of incessantly generating and multiplying themselves, and of pouring themselves on every side, and of occupying the whole bulk of nature, and of mutually opposing and invading each other, and of casting one the other from their proper seats, and of establishing themselves in them; that they also have the power of another nature and its actions, both those that are proper to perception and apprehension, and that from this kind of perception they have the power of moving and adjusting themselves; and that from this conflict is deduced the whole variety of all entities, actions, and influences. But it seems elsewhere to have ascribed to it, though rather by the way and hesitatingly, somewhat of the property of matter; first, that it should not admit of increase or diminution through forms and active entities, but should be made up of one whole: then, that the motion of gravity or descent should be referred to it. He moreover inserts something on the blackness of matter: but that he does plainly; that heat and cold by the same force and power remit their strength in extended matter expand it in contracted, since they do not fill their own measure, but that of matter. But Telesius devises a method by which to explain the rise of so various a fecundity of entities out of this discord. And first he has regard to the earth, though the inferior element, and shows why it is that it has not been and never will be absorbed and destroyed by the sun. The chief reason he makes to be the immense distance of the earth from the fixed stars, sufficiently great from the sun itself, and such as it should be, well proportioned in measure. Secondly, the declination of the sun's rays from the perpendicular, respect being had to the different parts of the earth, that for instance the sun should never be vertically above the greater part of the earth, or the falling of his rays perpendicular; so that it can never occupy the whole globe of the earth with any very powerful body of heat. Thirdly, the obliquity of the sun's motion in its passage through the zodiac, respect being had to the same parts of the earth whence the heat of the sun, in whatever power it is, is not incessantly increased, but returns by greater intervals. Fourthly, the celerity of the sun in respect of his diurnal motion, which accomplishes so great a course in so small a space of time, whence arises a less delay of heat, nor is there any moment of time in which the heat may settle. Fifthly, the continuation of series of bodies between the sun and the earth; so that the sun does not send forth an unbroken power of heat through a vacuum, but passing through so many resisting bodies, and having to do and to contend with each, is weakened over this immense space; and so much the more, since the further it proceeds and the weaker it becomes, so much the more increase of resistance does it find in the bodies, and most of all after arriving at the surface of the earth, where there seems not only a resistance, but even some degree of repulsion. And he thus lays down his theory on the process of change. That there is as it were a deadly and interminable war, and that those contrary natures do not come together by any compact, nor by a third, excepting primitive matter. That either nature, therefore, naturally seeks the destruction of the other, and the putting into matter itself, and our nature only, so that it is the object of each (as he repeatedly and very plainly saith) to effect a change of the other, of the sun, the change of the earth into the sun; and of the earth, the change of the sun into the earth; and that the regularity and justly proportioned motions of all things present no obstacle to this theory; nor that every action has in its due course its beginning, its progress, its increase, its diminution, and its rest: that, nevertheless, not any of these happen through the laws of order, but entirely through want of restraint and order; for that the whole difference, whether of excess or inferiority in influence and action, is not occasioned by the direction of the effort of the motion itself,

(which begets a whole,) but from the force and curb of the opposite nature. That the diversity, multiplicity, and even perplexity of operation is owing altogether to one of these three; the power of heat, the arrangement of the matter, or the mode of its reduction: which three have, nevertheless, an inherent and mutual connexion and causality. That heat itself differs in power, quantity, speed, mean, and succession: that succession itself is varied in most bodies by tendency to approach or recede, whether by greater or less effort, by sudden motion, by gradual, or by return or repetition through greater and less intervals, and by changes of this kind. That calorics are, therefore, of a vast diversity in their nature and power, according to their purity and impurity, respect being had to their first source, the sun. Nor does heat cherish every kind of heat: but after they differ mutually a good number of degrees, they mutually destroy themselves not less than cold natures, and assume their peculiar powers of action, and are opposed to the acts the one of the other; so that Telesius makes the less with respect to the much greater caloric natures to hold the place as it were of traitors and conspirators with the cold against them. And so that vivid heat, which is in fire and darts, utterly destroys that slight heat which seems to glide secretly in water; and in like manner the preternatural heat of putrid humours, suffocates and extinguishes natural heat: but that there is a great difference as to the fulness of a body of heat, is too plain to need explanation. For one or two coals of fire do not throw out such a warmth as many do together; and that the effect of the fulness of heat is remarkably shown in the multiplication of the sun's heat through the reflection of his rays; for the number of his rays is doubled through simple reflection, multiplied though various. But to the quantity or copiousness of heat, there should be ascribed or added also its union, which is best seen by the obliquity and perpendicular of rays, with which the nearer the direct and reflex ray meets, and toward the acuter angles, the greater degree of heat it sends forth in proportion. Nay, even the sun himself, when amongst those greater and more potent fires of the fixed stars, the Serpent, the Dogstar, Spica, emit greater heat. But that the delay of heat is evidently an operation of the greatest moment, since all the influences of nature have respect to times, so as that some time is required to the putting its influences into action, and a considerable time to the giving them strength. That so the delay of heat turns equal heat into progressive and unequal, because the antecedent and subsequent heat is joined at the same time; that that is apparent in the autumnal heats, because they are perceived to be more ardent in the solstitial heats, and in the afternoons of summer, because they are found to be more ardent in the middays of those seasons; also, that in colder regions the feebleness of the heat is sometimes compensated by the delay and length of the summer days; but that the power and efficacy of the mean is remarkable in the conveyance of heat. For that hence, the temperature of the seasons is very various, so that the atmosphere is found, by an inconstancy that is discoverable, to be sometimes cold in summer days, sometimes moist in winter days, the sun in the mean while preserving his legitimate course and ordinary distance; that the corn and vine are more changed by the south winds and a stormy sky; and that the whole position and emission of the atmosphere, at one time pestilential and morbid, at another genial and healthful, according to the various revolutions of the year, has its rise from this, namely, from the varying of the medium of the air, which gathers its diverse disposition from the very vicissitude and alteration of the seasons, perhaps in a long series. But that, as there is a multifold ratio, so is there a very great virtue of the succession of heat, and of the order in which heat follows heat. For that the sun could not send out so numerous and prolific a generation, unless the configuration of the body of the sun moving toward the earth, and the parts of the earth, were a partaker of the very great inequality and variation; for the sun is moved both in a circle and rapidly, and obliquely, and recalls itself, so as to be both absent and present, both nearer and more remote, and more perpendicular and more oblique, and returning swifter and slower, so as that the heat emanating from the sun is never the same, nor ever recovers itself in a little while, (excepting under the tropics;) so that so great a variation of the power generating admirably agrees with this so great variation in that which is generated. To which can be added the very diverse nature of the medium or vehicle. That the other circumstances asserted of the inequality and degrees of heat alone, can be referred to the vicissitudes and varieties of succession in different heats. That Aristotle, therefore, rightly attributed the generation and corruption of things to the oblique path of the sun, making that as it were their efficient cause, if he had not indeed corrupted the truth he discovered, through his unbounded rage for uttering decisions and of making himself the lawgiver of nature, and of adapting and of settling all things so as to make them harmonize with his dogmas. For that he ought to have assigned generation and corruption (which is never entirely privative, but is productive of a second generation) to the inequality of the sun's heat, according to the whole that is of the approaching and receding of the sun jointly, not the generation to the approaching, the corruption to the receding separately, which he did, blunderingly and following the vulgar error. But if any should think it strange that the generation of things is attributed to the sun, when it is

asserted that the sun is fire, but fire generates nothing, this, saith he, is a groundless objection: for that which is asserted respecting a heterogeneous nature of the heats of the sun and of fire, is a mere fantasy. For that the operations are infinite in which the action of the sun and the action of fire come together, as in the ripening of fruits, the conservation of tender plants, and of those which are used to a clement temperature; in cold regions, in the hatching of eggs, the restoration of waters to their clearness, (for we join the solar and animal heat,) in the resuscitation of frozen animalculæ, in the calling of them up, and of vapours and the like. But, nevertheless, that our fire is a bad imitator, and does not well imitate the actions of the sun or come near them, since the sun's heat hath three properties, which common fire can but poorly imitate under any circumstances. First, that from its distance it is less and more bland in its very degree; but that this of a kind imitable in some way; for such a measure of heat is rather unknown than unattainable. Secondly, that in flowing and increasing through so many and such media it borrows, and obtains a considerable degree of generative influence; but chiefly because it is increased, lessened, advances or retires with so regular an inequality, but never succeeds to itself capriciously or with haste. Which two last properties are almost inimitable by fire, though the thing may be accomplished by very considerate and laborious measures. Such are the assertions of Telesius on the diversity of heats.

But he scarcely takes any notice of the contrary principle of cold and of its distribution; except perhaps what will be now said in the second place on the disposition of matter, might seem to him to suffice upon this head, which, nevertheless, he ought not to have supposed, since it was not his mind to make cold by any means the privation of heat, but as an active principle its rival and competitor. But his dissertations on the arrangement of matter go to show how matter is affected by heat, subdued or changed by it, the subject of cold being entirely overlooked. But I will add what he could, on his principles, have said respecting this subject, for it is my desire to go through, and with impartiality, the theories and suppositions of all the philosophers. He could have said that the seat of cold, being fixed and unmoved, most admirably agreed with the mobile and versatile structure of heat, as the anvil to the hammer. For if both principles were possessed of variation and change, they would doubtless produce contrary and momentaneous entities. That the immense regions of heat, (that is, the heavens,) moreover, were in some degree compensated by the compact nature of the globe of the earth and circumjacent bodies, since not the space, but the quantity of matter in the space, is taken into the account, but that the nature of cold, its powers and proportions need but few words, since experience does not furnish us with any certain deductions respecting it. We have, therefore, our common fire, the representative, as it were, of the sun, to show to us the nature of heat. But there is no substitution of the cold of the earth, within man's reach, for the trying experiments with. For that those hardenings and congealings of snow which, in winter and in cold regions, breathe themselves out into air from the globe and circuit of the earth, are plainly warmths and baths, owing to the nature of the first cold shut up in the bowels of the earth; so that the cold, which is in the power and under the perception of men, is something like as if they had no other heat than that which emanates from the sun in summer, and in warm regions; which, if compared with the fire of a heated furnace, may be deemed a refreshing coolness. But I shall take up less time upon those things that are pretended on this subject. We will inquire, therefore, in order into the nature of what Telesius has asserted respecting the arrangement of matter upon which heat acts; the power of which is such as to advance, impede, or change the action itself of heat. The ratio of this is fourfold. The first difference is taken from the preinexistent or nonpreinexistent heat; the second from the abundance or the scarcity of the matter; the third from the degrees of the reduction; the fourth from the closing or opening of the body reduced. As for the first, Telesius supposes in all entities known to us, that there exists a certain latent heat, though not subject to the touch, which heat is joined with a new or overspreading heat; moreover, that itself is excited and inflamed by the same adventitious heat to the performing its acts even in its proper measure. He esteems it a considerable proof of this, that there is no one entity, neither metal, stone, water, nor air, which does not acquire warmth by touch; and also by the application of fire or of a warm body. Which would not surely be the case, unless there were a preinexistent heat of a certain latent preparation for a new and manifest heat. That even that excess or diminution, or facility and slowness, which are found in the conceiving of heat in entities, agrees with the measure of the preinexistent heat; that the air grows warm by a small heat, and such as is quite impereeptible in an aqueous body; also that water is more easily endued with warmth than a stone, or metal, or glass. For that any of these, as a metal or a stone, should appear to acquire warmth sooner than water, that is, only on the surface, not within the body, because consistent bodies are less communicable in their parts than liquids. That, therefore, the outermost parts of a metal are sooner warmed than those of water, the whole bulk later. The second difference is made to depend upon the coacervation and extension of matter. If it be dense, the strength of the heat is more united, and through the union increased and made more intense; if, on the other

hand it be looser, the strength is more dispersed, and through the dispersion weakened. That the heat, therefore, of unknown metals is more powerful than of boiling water, nay, than of flame itself, unless that the flame would, from its subtile nature, pierce more. For that the flame of coals or of fuel, unless roused by wind, so as through motion to penetrate more easily, is not very violent; nay, that some flame (as of spirit of wine, especially if inflamed, and in a small quantity and dispersed) is of so mild a heat, as to be endurable by the hand. The third difference, which is taken from the reduction of matter, is manifold; for he makes seven degrees of reduction, of which the first is milder, which is the arrangement of matter, showing the body in some degree yielding to greater violence, and especially susceptible of extension, in fine, flexible or ductile. The second is softness, when there is no need of greater force, but the body yields even by a light impulsion and to the touch, or the hand itself, without any apparent resistance. The third is viscosity or tenacity, which is in a high degree the principle of fluidity. For a viscous body seems to begin to flow and go on at the contact and embrace of another body, and not to come to an end of itself, although it does not flow willingly and of itself; for the fluid easily follows itself, but is more viscous with respect to another body. The fourth is the fluid itself, when the body partaking of the interior spirit is in willing motion and follows itself, and is not easily bounded or brought to a stand. The fifth is vapour, when a body is attenuated till it becomes intangible, which yields, flows, undulates, and becomes tremulous, with a greater agility and mobility. The sixth is breathing, which is a certain vapour more concocted, and matured, and subdued, so as to be capable of receiving the nature of fire. The seventh is the air itself, but Telesius contends that the air is endued with a native heat, and that considerable and very powerful, for that in the coldest regions the air is never congealed or condensed: and that another proof of this is, that all air that is confined and separated from the main body of air, and left to itself, evidently collects heat, as in wool and fibrous substances; and that the air in confined situations is found to suffocate respiration, which is the consequence of its heat; and that this arises from the confined air beginning to exert its own nature, since the air out of doors, and under the open sky, is cooled by the cold which the globe of the earth is constantly emitting and exhaling; and also that our common air hath a certain celestial property, since it in some degree partakes of light; which appears from the power of those animals which can see in the night and in dark places. And such, according to Telesius, is the order of the arrangement of matter, in the means, to wit, since the extremes, although on one side hard bodies, and on the other fire itself, are not reckoned as the limits of the means. But, besides these simple degrees, he searches out a great diversity in the arrangement of matter according to the similarity or dissimilarity of the body, since portions of matter compounded and united in one body can be referred equally either to one of the beforementioned degrees, or unequally to different. For that a very great difference follows thence in the operation of heat. And that so a fourth difference is necessarily brought in from the nature and even position of a body upon which heat acts, whether close or porous and open. For when heat operates in an open and exposed situation, it does so in order and severally, by attenuating and at the same time by drawing out and separating. But when in a confined and compact body, it operates in the mass, not putting out any heat, but by the new and the old heat uniting and conspiring, whence it follows that it causes more powerful, intrinsic, and subtle alterations and reductions. But more will be said on this subject when we come to treat of the method of reduction. But in the meanwhile Telesius is fully occupied, and is strangely put to it to account for the method of the divorce and separation of their primary connatural qualities, heat, light, tenuity, and mobility, and the four opposite qualities, as they happen to be in bodies: since some bodies are found to be warm or admirably prepared to receive warmth, and yet to be at the same time dense, motionless, and dark; others are found to be subtle, mobile, lucid, or white, and yet cold; and so of the rest, one certain quality, to wit, existing in some things, whilst the remaining qualities are not in accordance with it; but others participate in two of these natures, but are without other two, by a very singular exchange and intercourse. And this part Telesius does not skilfully manage, but carries himself like his opponents; who making their conjectures before their experiments, when they come to the particular subjects themselves, abuse their talents and their subjects, and wretchedly pervert both, and are yet admirably dexterous and successful, (if you believe their own words,) in whatever way they explain themselves. But he concludes the subject in despair, intimating that although the quantity and copiousness of heat and the arrangement of the matter can be marked out in a vague manner and in the mass, that yet their accurate and exact proportions and their distinct measures are out of the reach of human inquiry: yet so that (by what manner is placed among the things that cannot be settled) the diversity of the disposition of matter can be better known than the strength and degrees of heat, and that yet in these very things is placed (if anywhere) the highest point of human knowledge and power. But after a plain acknowledgment of despair, he still goes further than mere wishes and prayers for more certainty

For so he said; "What heat moreover or quantity, that is, what strength of heat, and what quantity of it, that is which turns, and how it turns the earth, and those things that are entities into such bodies as itself, is not to be inquired into, since we have no means of coming to this knowledge. For on what principle shall it be allowed us to distribute the strength of heat, and heat itself, as it were, into degrees, or to perceive clearly the copiousness and quantity of matter which is endowed with it, and to assign a certain quantity, disposition, and certain actions of matter to certain and determinate powers and copiousness of heat, or, on the contrary, to assign a fixed and certain copiousness of heat to a certain quantity and certain actions of matter: O, that this might be obtained by those who have both time and intellect at command adequate to this investigation, and who could, in the possession of the most perfect tranquillity, search into nature; that mankind might not only become then masters of every kind of knowledge, but almost of every kind of power." This, indeed, is said with more honesty than is found in his opponents, who, if they cannot attain their objects, affirm that their attainment is impossible from the nature of the art or object itself, so that no art can be condemned, since itself is both pleader and judge. There remains that which was the third, namely, the method of reduction. This Telesius despatches by a threefold sentence. The first is that which we noticed by the way before, that no symbolization is understood (as in the doctrine of the Peripatetics) through which substances, by an agreement, as it were, are nourished, and act in unison: for that all generation, and every effect in a natural body, is the result of victory and predominance, not of agreement or treaty. This, indeed, is no new dogma, since Aristotle remarked it in the doctrine of Empedocles; for that Empedocles, indeed, though he maintains contention and amity to be the efficient principles of things, yet in his explications of causes generally makes use of their contention, and seems to forget their amity. The second is, that heat by its own proper action constantly changes a substance into moisture, and that dryness by no means coalesces with heat, nor moisture with cold; for that to attenuate and to moisten is the same, and that what is extremely thin is also extremely moist; if through humid be understood that which very easily yields, is divided into parts, again recovers itself, and is with difficuty limited or made to settle. All which are more the properties of fire than of air, which is for the most part moist, according to the Peripatetics; and that so heat continually draws, feeds upon, extends, inserts, and generates humidity; that cold, on the contrary, acts altogether on dryness, concretion, and hardness: where Aristotle deems him deficient in acuteness, and inconsistent, and impatient of the decisions of experience, in joining heat with dryness. For that the drying of substances by heat is accidental merely; namely in a dissimilar body, and that is composed of some parts more thick, of others more thin, by drawing out, and (by means of attenuation) giving vent to the thinner part, till the thicker part is forced thence, and compresses itself more; which thicker part, nevertheless, if a rather violent heat comes, flows also of itself, as is evident in bricks: for, in the first place, heat, not so fervent, makes the loam into bricks on the thinner part having evaporated; but a more powerful heat even dissolves that bricky substance into glass. And these two dogmata can be considered as the answers to errors; the third plainly affirms, and not only so, but clearly distinguishes the method of reduction. This is twofold, either by rejection or conversion: and one or other of these modes is brought out into act, according to the power of the heat, and the arrangement of matter. But two canons belong to this subject. The one is, that when heat and cold concur in vast bulk, and, as it were, with any even force, an ejection follows. For entities, like armies, are moved from their place and thrust forward. But when it takes place in a less quantity, then a conversion follows: for the entities are destroyed, and lose rather their nature than their place. There is a remarkable exemplification of this in the higher regions of the air, which, although they come nearer to the celestial heat, are yet found colder than the confines of the earth. For in those regions, after arriving nearer to the seat of the prime heat, the heat, collecting itself, at once casts down, and thrusts off, and hinders from approach the whole power of the cold which had ascended. He saith that the same thing, moreover, may happen, that there may be through the depths of the earth greater heats than on the surface; to wit, after the approach to the seat of the prime cold, which rousing itself throws off the heat with great force, and avoids it, and returns into its own nature. The second canon is, that in an open body ejection in a close conversion follows. He asserts that this is notably instanced in closed vessels, where the emission of an attenuated body (which we commonly call spirit) being restrained, begets deep and intrinsical alterations and fermentations in bodies; but that this takes place in like manner when a body, from its parts being compacted, is to itself like a closed vessel. Such are the opinions of Telesius, and, perhaps, of Parmenides, on the elements of things, excepting that Telesius added, of his own accord, *Hyle*, through his being led astray by the Peripatetic notions.

And the opinions of Telesius might, indeed, have an air of probability, if man were taken out of nature together with the mechanical arts which try matter, and if we simply looked to the fabric of the world. For it is a kind of pastoral philosophy, which tranquilly and, as it were, at ease contemplates the world. For, indeed, he is not amiss in laying down the mundane system, but miserably fails upon the subject of the elements. And there is, indeed, in his system itself, a great failure, in its being supposed capable of an eternal nature, the idea of a chaos and the mutations of the universal scheme of things being altogether omitted. For that philosophy, whether of Telesius or of the Peripatetics, or any other which so prepares and furnishes its system as not to derive it from chaos, is evidently of slight foundation, and altogether conceived from the narrowness of human imagination. For, so in entire accordance with sense doth the philosopher assert the eternity of matter, and deny that of the world, (as the world appears to us,) which was the opinion of the wisest ancients, and to which opinion Democritus seems to have approached. And this is also the testimony of Scripture; but with this great difference, that the Scriptures derive the origin of matter from God, the philosophers from itself. For, we gather from our faith three dogmas on this point; first, that matter was formed from nothing; secondly, that the production of the system was through the word of Omnipotence, and not that matter endued itself with form and of itself came forth from chaos; thirdly, that before the fall that form was the best of those which matter (such as it was created) could take: but to none of these dogmas could these philosophical theories ascend. For they shudder at the thoughts of a creation from nothing, and deem that this form of things was produced after many windings and attempts of matter, nor are they troubled as to conceiving of the most excellent kind of system, since theirs is asserted to be liable to decline and to change. We must, then, rest upon the decisions of faith and upon its supports. But, perhaps, we need not inquire whether that created matter, after a long course of ages, from the power at first put into it could gather and change itself into that most excellent form, (which, leaving these windings, it did immediately at the command of the Divine word.) For, the representation of time and the formation of a substance are equally miraculous effects of the same omnipotence. But the Divine Nature seems to have designed glorifying itself equally in either emanation: first, by omnipotently working upon ens and matter by creating substance from nothing; secondly, upon motion and time, by anticipating the order of nature, and accelerating the process of substance. But these pertain to the parable of heaven, where we will discuss more fully what we are now just intimating; and so we go on to the elements of Telesius. And here I wish it had been universally and at once agreed upon, not to fetch entities out of nonentities, and elements out of nonelements, and so to fall into manifest contradiction. But an abstract element is not an ens; again, a mortal entity is not an element; so that a necessity plainly invincible drives men (if they would be consistent) to the idea of an atom, which is a true ens, having matter, form, dimension, place, antetype, motion, and emanation. It at the same time remains unshaken and eternal during the dissolution of all natural bodies. For, since there are so many and various corruptions taking place in greater bodies, it is requisite that what remains as the centre immutable, should either be a somewhat potential or very small. But it is not potential, for the first potential cannot be like the rest which are potential, which are one thing in act, another thing in power. But it is requisite that it should be plainly abstract, since it refuses all act and contains all power. And so, it remains that this immutable should be of the smallest size; unless, perchance, some one will assert that no elements exist, but that one thing serves for elements to another, that the law and order of mutation are things constant and eternal, that the essence itself is inconstant and mutable. And it would, indeed, be better plainly to make an assertion of this sort, than, in laying down some eternal principle, to fall into the still greater absurdity of making that principle a fantastic one. For, that first method seems to have some design and end, that things should be changed into the world, but this, none, which, for entities, adopts mere notions and mental abstractions. And yet, the impossibility of this being the case I shall hereafter show. Yet, his *Hyle* pleased Telesius, which he transferred from a later age after the birth of Parmenides' philosophy. But Telesius instituted an evidently unaccountable and unequal contest between his elements in action, whether you consider their forces or their kind of war. For, as to their forces, the earth is alone, but the heaven has a great army; the earth is as a little speck, the heaven hath its immense regions. Nor can it relieve this difficulty that the earth and its connaturals are asserted to be of the most compact matter, and the heaven and the ethereal substances, on the other hand, of the most expanded. For although this indeed is a very essential difference, yet it will by no means equalize the forces even with so great an intermediate space. But the strength of the opinion of Telesius turns chiefly upon this, if an equal portion, as it were, of *Hyle* (according to the quantum, not according to the expansion) be assigned to both acting elements, so that the things can last, and the system be made and established. For whoever will think with Telesius on other points, and will receive the surpassing power of *Hyle*, especially in so great an

excess, in one principle compared with another, will involve himself in an inextricable difficulty. In the dialogue, therefore, of Plutarch, "De facie in orbe lunæ," this consideration is very wisely proposed, that it is improbable that nature in the dispersion of matter shut up the properties of a compact body into the sole globe of the earth, when there were in the mean time so many revolving bodies in the heavens. Yet Gilbertus indulged to such excess in this imagination as to assert that not only the earth and the moon, but many other solid and opaque globes were scattered amongst the bodies of light through the expanse of heaven. Nay, the Peripatetics themselves, after they had made the heavens eternal through their own condition, and things sublunary by succession and renovation, did not imagine that they had sufficiently guarded their tenet till they assigned to the elements as it were equal portions of matter. For this is that which they fable concerning that tenfold portion by which the surrounding element is superior to the inner element. But I do not bring these things forward, because none of them are to my mind, but to show that it is perfectly improbable and unnatural to maintain with Telesius that the earth is a principle acting in contrariety to the heavens. And the difficulty will be greatly increased if besides the quantum itself we consider the unequal influence and action of the heaven and the earth. For the condition of contest must be lost altogether, if the attack of the hostile weapons be borne by the one side, but do not reach the other, but fall first. But it is plain that the power of the sun is projected toward the earth, but none can promise that the influence of the earth ever reaches the sun. For of all the influences of nature, the influence of light and shade is conveyed to the greatest distance and is circumfused with the greatest space or orbit. But the shade of the earth is bounded on this side the sun, whilst the light of the sun, if the earth were transparent, could beat across the globe of the earth. Heat and cold, in particular, (of which we are now treating,) are never found to overcome so great a space in the conveyance of their influence, as light and shade. Therefore, if the shade of the earth does not reach the sun, much less is it in accordance with this to suppose that the cold of the earth travels thither. If indeed the sun and heat acted upon certain mediate bodies, whether the influence of a contrary principle could not ascend, or by any means hinder their action, it is requisite that the sun and heat should occupy whatever are the nearest bodies to them, and then should join also the more remote, so that in time the conflagration of Heraclitus should take place by the solar and celestial nature gradually descending, and making a nearer approach to the earth and its confines. Nor does this well harmonize, that that power of imparting and multiplying its own nature and of turning other things into itself, which Telesius attributes to the elements, should not operate on similar equally or more than opposite bodies; so that the heaven ought already to be lit up and the stars to be engaged in mutual conflict. But to come nearer the point, those four demonstrations ought to be set forth, which even singly, much more conjointly, can evidently subvert the philosophy of Telesius respecting the elements. Of these, the first is that there are found in things some actions and effects, even of things the most potent and the most widely diffused, which cannot by any means be referred to heat and cold. The second is, that there are found some natures of which heat and cold are the consequences and effects, and that not through the excitation of preinexistent heat, or through the application of heat approximating to them, but through those things by which heat and cold are infused and generated in their first esse. The ground of an element, therefore, fails in either side in them, both because there is a something not from them, and because themselves are from something. The third is, that even those which derive their origin from heat and cold, (which certainly are very many,) yet proceed from them as from an efficient and organs, not as from their proper and nearest source. Fourthly, that that conjugation of the four connaturals is altogether blended and confused. Therefore I will speak of these singly. But some may think the time misspent in so minute an examination of the philosophy of Telesius, a philosopher of no great popularity or celebrity. But the fastidiousness of such objectors I dismiss. I have a favourable opinion of Telesius, and recognise in him a lover of truth, a profitable servant of science, a reformer of some tenets, and the first indeed of the moderns. Nor have I to do with him so much as Telesius as in his character of restorer of the philosophy of Parmenides, and as such he is entitled to great regard. But my chief reason for so largely discussing this part of our subject is, that in Telesius, who is the first who meets our view, we find occasion to consider very many subjects which can be transferred, as replies to following sects, (of whom we shall hereafter speak,) to avoid repetition. For there are fibres of errors, (though of different kinds,) wonderfully complicated, which can yet in many instances be cut away by one answer. But as we began to say, we must see what kind of influences and actions are found in things which cannot by any concord of things or violence of ingenuity be referred to heat and cold. We must assume, then, in the first place, what is granted by Telesius, that the sum of matter remains eternally the same, without increase or diminution. This property, by which matter preserves and sustains itself, he transmits as passive, and as it were pertaining more to the measure of quantity than to form and action, as if there were no need of reckoning it to heat or cold, which are considered the

sources of acting forms only and influences, for that matter is not simply but altogether destitute of active influence. And these assertions flow from an incredible error, unless the miracle be removed by its having been an inveterate and general opinion. For there is scarcely any error similar than that a person should not deem the active influence that virtue infused into matter, (through which it is kept from decay, so that the very least portion of matter is not buried in the whole bulk of the world, nor destroyed by the power of all the active influences, or in any way annihilated, and can be reduced to order; nay, can occupy a portion of space and preserve resistance with impenetrable dimension, and itself by turns be capable of some action, and not forsake itself.) When, on the contrary, it is by far the most potent of all influences, and evidently insuperable, and, as it were, a mere fate and necessity. Yet this virtue Telesius does not attempt to refer to heat or cold. And rightly so: for neither do fire or numbness and congelation add or detract any thing from it nor have any power over it, when it yet meanwhile flourishes in the sun, at the centre of the earth, and everywhere. But he seems to fail, in that he recognises a certain and defined bulk of matter, is blind to that influence which should defend itself and preserve itself in its several parts, and (as it were, be clouded in the darkest shades of the Peripatetics) puts that in the place of an accessory, when it is mainly the principal, poising its own body, removing another, solid and adamantine in itself, and whence emanate by an inviolable authority the decrees of the possible and the impossible. In the same manner the vulgar school puerilely catches at it with an easy grasp of words, imagining that the judgment is satisfied by making a canon of the impossibility of two bodies occupying the same space, but does not take into actual and full consideration that influence and the measure of which we speak; overlooking how much depends upon it, and how great a light would thence be thrown upon science. But to our point, that influence, whatever is its nature, is not comprehended in the elements of Telesius. We must now pass to that influence itself, which is, as it were, the antistrophe to this former, that namely which preserves the connexion of matter. For as matter will not suffer itself to be overwhelmed and perish by matter, so neither can it be separated from matter. And yet it is very doubtful whether this law of nature is equally peremptory with that other.

But Telesius like Democritus supposed a vacuum heaped together and unbounded, that each ens singly might lay down its contiguous ens, and sometimes desert it involuntarily and with difficulty, (as they say,) but with a greater and a subdued violence, and he endeavoured to demonstrate this by sundry experiments, adducing especially those things which are cited here and there for the denying and refuting of a vacuum, and drawing out and enlarging these in such a manner as that the ens may appear to keep that contiguity by being placed in a certain light necessity; but that if they were very much agitated they would admit a vacuum; as in water hourglasses, in which if there be rather a small aperture through which the water can descend, they will want a spiracle for the water to descend; but if a larger foramen even without a spiracle, the water being incumbent with a greater bulk on the foramen, and in no way impeding the vacuum above, is carried downwards. So in bellows, in which if you compress and shut them so that there be left no place for the air to glide in, and you afterward elevate and expand them, if the skin of the bellows be slight and weak, it will break, not so if very thick and firm; and other experiments in like manner. But these experiments are neither exactly proved, nor are they quite satisfactory, nor conclusive on the question, and though Telesius thinks he adds to discoveries by means of them, and endeavours after a more subtle discernment of what others have seen but confusedly, yet he does not come off equal to his subject, nor educe a true conclusion, but fails in the means: the misfortune, indeed, of Telesius and the Peripatetics, who in looking into experiments are like owls, not through the inefficiency of their faculties, but through the cataracts of opinions and impatience of fixed and full contemplation. But the very difficult question how far a vacuum is to be admitted, and with respect to what spaces there can be a coition or separation of seeds, and what there is on this head that is peremptory and invariable, I leave to my dissertation on the vacuum. Nor does it relate much to my present purpose whether nature utterly abhors a vacuum, or (as Telesius imagines himself to speak more accurately) entities delight in mutual contact. This we hold to be plain that whether it be avoidance of a vacuum or inclination to contact does not in any degree depend on heat and cold, nor does Telesius assert that it doth, nor can it be so ascribed from any appearance in the things themselves: since matter moved from its place attracts doubtless other matter, whether that be hot or cold, liquid or dry, hard or soft, friendly or adverse, so that a warm would sooner attract the coldest body to come to it, than suffer itself to be disjoined from and deserted by every kind of body. For the bond of matter is stronger than the aversion of heat and cold: and the sequacity of matter has no respect to the diversity of special forms; and so this influence of connexion is by no means from those elements of heat and cold. The two influences that are mutually opposite follow, which conferred (as may be seen) this rule of elements upon heat and cold, but by a right badly explicated. I mean those influences through which entities

open and rarefy themselves, dilate and expand so as to occupy a greater space, and dispose themselves into a more extensive orbit; or, other hand, shut up and condense themselves, so as to retire from the space they occupied and betake themselves to a narrower sphere. We must show, therefore, how far that influence hath its rise in heat and cold, and how far it dwells apart, and has a separate nature from that other influence. And that is certainly true, which Telesius affirms, that rarity and density are, as it were, the peculiar works of heat and cold; for the most essential requisite, in respect of these, is that the bodies should occupy a greater and a less space; but yet these dogmas are received rather confusedly: for bodies seem sometimes to migrate from one natural site to another, and to transfer themselves, and that freely and, as it were, willingly, and changing their forms; but sometimes they seem only driven from their natural site, and to return to their accustomed site, their old form remaining the same. And that progressive influence entering on a new site is commonly determined by heat and cold: but that other restorative influence is not so. For water expands itself into vapour and air, oil likewise, and fat substances, into steam and flame, by the power of heat, and, if they have completely transmigrated, do not return. Nay, even the air itself is dilated and extended by heat. But if the migration shall have been half full after the departure of heat, it easily falls back into itself; so as that there are also some properties of heat and cold in the restorative influence itself. But those which, without any intervening heat or violence, are extended and divided, even without any addition of cold or subtraction of heat, most readily are returned to their former sites when the force ceases, as in the blowing of a glass egg, and in the emptying of bellows. But that is far more evident in solid and dense bodies. For if cloth, or a string of an instrument be stretched, when the force is taken away, they leap back with great swiftness, and the same is the nature of compression. For the air, drawn together and confined with some violence, breaks forth with a considerable effort, and so the whole of that mechanical motion by which a hard is struck by a hard body, which is commonly called the motion of force, through which solid bodies are discharged, and fly through the air or water, is nothing else than the contending of the parts of the discharged body to free themselves from compression. And yet here are no traces of heat and cold. Nor can any one take occasion from Telesius to say, that a certain portion of heat and cold is assigned to each natural site, according to a fixed analogy. And that it can thus happen, that though there be no additional heat or cold, yet if the space of the body of matter be extended or contracted, the thing would return to the same state, because more or less matter is laid on the space than is in proportion to the heat or cold. But these assertions, though not absolutely absurd, seem, nevertheless, like the imaginations of men unwilling to go from their first opinions, and who do not follow reality and nature. For if heat and cold be added to bodies thus extended or compressed, and that in a greater degree accords with the body itself, as, if the stretched cloth be warmed at the fire, it will not in any way make up for the thing, or extinguish the impetus of recovery. We have, then, made it plain that the influence of changing site does not depend, in a remarkable degree, upon heat and cold, when yet this is that very influence which assigns the greatest power to these principles. Those two influences follow which are universally recognised, through which bodies seek masses or greater congregations of things connatural with them, in observing of which, as of other subjects, men either trifle or err. For the vulgar school thinks it sufficient to have distinguished the natural from the forced motion, and to give out that heavy bodies are, by a natural motion, borne downward; light, upward. But these speculations are of very little help to philosophy. For their "nature," "art," "force," are only terms of terms and trifles. They should refer this motion not only to nature, but should seek in this very motion the particular and proper bias and inclination of the natural body. For there are many other natural motions, according to very different passive natures of things from these. The subject, therefore, is to be laid down according to these differences. Nay, those very motions which they call violent, are more truly natural than that which they call natural; if that be more according to nature which is more powerful, or even which is more of a universal kind. For that motion of ascent and descent is not very potent, nor even universal, but as it were provincial, and for certain regions, and even yielding and subjected to other motions. Their saying that heavy bodies are borne downward, light, upward, is no more than saying that heavy are heavy, light, light bodies. For what is so predicated is assumed from the very force of the term in the subject. But if by heavy they mean dense, by light, rare, they do not advance the subject, only they lead it back rather to the adjunct and concomitant, than to the cause. But they who so explain the bias of heavy bodies as to assert that they are borne to the earth's centre, and light to the circumference and circuit of heaven, as to their proper destinations, certainly advance something, and hint at a cause, but yet with much inconsideration. For places are not influences, nor is a body affected but by a body, and every incitation of a body which seems to be seat itself, affects and endeavours a configuration toward another body, not collocation or simple situ.

A. T. R.

TOPICS OF INQUIRY,

CONCERNING

LIGHT AND THE MATTER OF LIGHT.

I. *Presence Tables.*

We have first to note which are the substances, of whatever kind, that generate light; as stars, fiery meteors, flame, wood, metals, and other burning bodies, sugar in scraping or breaking it, the glowworm, the dews of salt water when it is agitated or scattered, the eyes of certain animals, some sorts of rotten wood, large quantities of snow; perhaps the air itself may possess a weak light adapted to the vision of the animals which see by night; iron and tin, when put into aqua fortis to be dissolved, boil, and without any fire produce intense heat, but whether or not they give out any light demands inquiry; the oil of lamps sparkles in very cold weather; a kind of faint light is sometimes observed in a clear night around a horse that is sweating; around the hair of certain persons, there is seen, though rarely, also a faint light, like a lambent flamule, as occured to Lucius Marcius in Spain; there was lately found an apron of a certain woman which was said to shine, yet only when rubbed; but it had been dyed in green, of which dye alum is an ingredient, and it rustled somewhat when shining. Whether alum shines or not when scraped or broken is matter of inquiry; but, I suppose, it requires more violent breaking, because it is firmer than sugar. In like manner, some stockings shine whilst you are pulling them off, whether from sweat or the dye of alum.

II. *Absence Tables.*

We must also observe which are the substances that give no light, yet have much similitude to such as do produce it. Boiling water does not give light; air though unusually heated does not give light; mirrors and diamonds, which so strikingly reflect light, give no light of their own.

In this kind of instances we have also to consider diligently the instances migratory, namely, when light, as if transient, is present, and when absent. A burning coal gives light, but loses it instantly when strongly compressed; the crystalline humour of the glowworm, after the worm's death, even when broken and divided into parts, retains light for a short time, which, however, soon after fades away

III. *Table of Degrees.*

We must remark which sorts of light are more intense and vibrating, which less: the flame of wood produces a strong light; the flame of spirit of wine, a weaker; the flame of coals when fully kindled, a very dim and scarcely visible light.

IV. *Colours of Light.*

We have to consider the colours of light, what they are, what not; some stars are white, others glittering, some red, some lead-coloured; the common sorts of flame are generally croceous, and among these the coruscations from the sky, and the sparks from flint, tend most to whiteness; the flame of sulphur is ceruleous and beautiful; but in some substances are purple flames. No green flames are observed: what most inclines to greenness, is that of the glowworm. Neither are there any crimson flames discovered: heated iron is red, but if heated somewhat more intensely, it becomes as it were white.

V. *Reflections of Light.*

We have to observe what bodies reflect light: as mirrors, water, polished metals, the moon, precious stones. All liquid bodies and such as have very equal smooth surfaces are somewhat bright; but brightness is a certain small degree of light.

We have to remark attentively, whether or not the light of one lucid body can be reflected by another lucid body; as if you took heated iron and opposed it to the sun's rays. For the reflections of light are reflected on, yet becoming gradually feebler, from mirror to mirror.

VI. *Multiplication of Light.*

The multiplication of light must next be considered: as by mirrors, perspectives, and the like, by which light may be sharpened and thrown to a distance, or also rendered subtler and softer for distinguishing visible objects; as you may see among painters, who use a phial filled with water beside their candle.

Whether all bodies of any considerable size do not reflect light, must also be considered. For light, as may be believed, either goes through or is reflected: from which cause the moon, though

it be an opaque body, may yet reflect light by reason of its magnitude.

We must ascertain, too, whether or not the aggregation of lucid bodies multiplies light. And in regard to bodies equally lucid there is no doubt of this: but it remains for inquiry, whether or not a light, which is evidently overcome and rendered of itself invisible by a greater light, doth not yet add some light. Whatsoever is bright also contributes somewhat of light, for an apartment is much lighter when hung with silk than with cloth. Light is also multiplied by refraction; for gems when cut into angles, and glass when broken, shine much more than if they were smooth.

VII. *Modes of destroying Light.*

The modes of destroying light must also be remarked: as by the exuberance of greater light, and by dense and opaque mediums. The sun's rays certainly, falling on the flame of a fire, make the flame seem like a kind of whiter smoke.

VIII. *Operations or Effects of Light.*

We have to consider the operations or effects of light, which, it seems, are few, and possess little power of changing bodies, especially solids. Light above all things generates itself, other qualities sparingly. Light doth certainly in some measure attenuate the air, is grateful to the spirits of animals, and exhilirates them; it excites the slumbering rays of all colours and visible things, for every colour is the broken image of light.

IX. *Continuance of Light.*

The continuance of light must be investigated; which, as it appears, is momentary. For light doth not illuminate an apartment more when it hath continued there for many hours, than for any single moment; which is not so in respect of heat, &c.; for the first portion of heat remains, and a new one is added to it. Yet, twilight is by some thought to arise from the traces of the sun.

X. *Ways and Progress of Light.*

We have attentively to consider the ways and progress of light. Light is shed around on all sides; but it remains for inquiry whether it at the same time ascends a little, or is equally shed around, upwards, and downwards. The light itself generates light everywhere around it; so that when the body of light, on interposing a screen, is not discerned, yet the light itself illuminates every thing around, except the objects which fall within the shadow of the screen: these, however, receive some light from the light which is thrown around; for any thing within the shadow of the screen can be discerned much better than if no light at all were present. Thus the visible body of any lucid object, and the light itself, seem to be things different. Light doth not penetrate bodies which are fibrous and of unequal structure; but yet is not impeded by the solid hardness of a substance, as you shall see in glass and the like. Thus the straight line and the pores which are not transverse, alone seem to transmit light. The best conductor of light is air, which conveys light the better the purer it is. It remains for inquiry whether or not light is carried through the body of the air. Sounds certainly we see carried by winds, so that they may be heard farther when going with the wind than against it. But it remains for inquiry whether or not any thing of the kind takes place with light.

XI. *Transparency of Lucid Bodies.*

We must also inquire respecting the transparency of lucid bodies. The wick of a candle is seen within the flame; but through larger flames objects reach not the sight. But again, all transparency is lost on heating any body, as may be seen in glass, which is no longer transparent when heated. The substance of air is transparent, also of water; yet, these two transparent substances when mixed, as in snow or foam, are no longer transparent, but acquire a certain light of their own.

XII. *Cognations and Hostilities of Light.*

The cognations, and also the hostilities of light must be investigated. Light, as far as regards its production, has most of all cognation with three things, heat, tenuity, and motion. We must, therefore, consider the marriages and divorces of these three with light, also the degrees of these same marriages and divorces. The flame of spirit of wine or of an ignis fatuus, has a much feebler heat than red-hot iron, but a stronger light. Glowworms, and the dews of salt water, and many of the things which we mentioned, throw out light, yet are not hot to the touch. Also burning metals are not subtile bodies, but yet they have an ardent heat. But, on the other hand, air is one of the subtlest bodies, yet it is void of light; again, this same air, and also winds, though rapid in motion, afford no light. But, on the other hand, burning metals do not lay aside their sluggish motion, nevertheless vibrate light.

But in the cognations of light, which have no relation to its production, but only to its progression, nothing is so much allied to it as sound. To the sympathies and disagreements of the two we must therefore strictly direct our attention.

In the following they agree: both light and sound are diffused around on all sides. Light and sound are conveyed through very large spaces; but light more swiftly, as we see in cannons, where the light is sooner discerned than the

sound is heard, although the flame follows after. Both light and sound undergo the subtlest distinctions; as sounds in words articulate, and light in the images of all visible objects. Light and sound produce, or generate almost nothing, except in the senses and spirits of animals. Light and sound are easily generated, and soon fade away. For there is no cause why any one should conceive that the sound, which continues for some time after a bell or chord has been struck, is produced at the moment of percussion; because, if you touch the bell or chord, the sound instantly ceases, from which it is evident, that the continuance of the sound is created by succession. One light is destroyed by a greater, as one sound by a greater, &c. But light and sound differ, in that light, as observed, is more rapid than sound, and goes over larger spaces: whether or not light is conveyed in the body of the air, in the same manner as sound, is uncertain: light proceeds in straight lines only, but sound in crooked lines, and in all directions. For where any thing is discerned in the shadow of a screen, there is no cause to think that the light penetrates the screen, but only that it illuminates the air around, which, from its nearness, doth also somewhat illustrate the air behind the screen. But a sound excited on one side of a wall is heard on the other side not much weaker. Sound also is heard within the septa of solid bodies, though fainter, as in the case of sounds within bloodstones; or when bodies are struck under water. But light is not at all visible in a solid, opaque body, which is close on all sides.

Light penetrates deeper than sound, as at the bottom of waters. Every sound is produced in the motion and manifest collision of bodies: not so light.

But hostilities of light, or privations, if any like the term better, occur not. However, as is exceedingly probable, the torpor of bodies, in their parts, is very inimical to light. For almost nothing gives light that is not in its own nature remarkably mobile, or excited by heat, or motion, or vital spirit.

Yet I always mean, that not only other instances remain to be investigated, (for these few we have adduced only by way of example,) but also that new topical articles, as the nature of things requires, may be added.

FRANCIS BACON'S APHORISMS

AND

ADVICES CONCERNING THE HELPS OF THE MIND AND THE KINDLING OF NATURAL LIGHT.

Man, the servant and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as he has actually or mentally observed of the order of nature: he neither knows nor can do more.

The naked hand of man, however strong and constant, suffices for but few operations, and those easy; the same, by help of instruments, performs many and obstinate operations: so is it also with the mind.

The instruments of the hand excite or direct motion: and the instruments of the mind prompt or caution the intellect.

On a given basis of matter to impose any nature, within the limits of possibility, is the intention of human power. In like manner, to know the causes of a given effect, in whatever subject, is the intention of human knowledge: which intentions coincide. For that which is in contemplation as a cause, is in operation as a medium.

The knowledge of him who knows the cause of any nature, as of whiteness or of heat, in certain subjects only, is imperfect. And the power of him, who can induce an effect upon certain substances only of such as are susceptible, is likewise imperfect.

He who knows the causes of any nature in some subjects only, knows the efficient or materiate cause, which causes are inconstant, and nothing else but vehicles and causes conveying form. But he who comprehends the unity of nature in the most dissimilar substances, knows the form of things.

He who knows the efficient and materiate causes, composes or divides things previously invented, or transfers and produces them; also in matter somewhat similar, he attaineth unto new inventions; the more deeply fixed limits of things he moveth not.

He who knows the forms, discloses and educes things which have not hitherto been done, such as neither the vicissitudes of nature, nor the diligence of experience might ever have brought into action, or as might not have entered into man's thoughts.

The same is the way and the perfection of truth and of power: this, namely, to discover the forms of things, from the knowledge of which followeth true contemplation and free operation.

The discovery of forms which proceeds by the exclusion or rejection of natures is simple and one. For all natures, which are absent in a given present nature, or present in a given absent nature, pertain not to form; and, after complete rejection or negation, the form and affirmation remains. If you inquire, for example, into the form of heat, and find water hot, yet not lucid, reject light: if you find air thin, yet not hot, reject tenuity. This is short to say, but it is reached by a long circuit.

The contemplative and the operative utterance of words differ not in reality. For when you say, light belongs not to the form of heat, it is the same as if you were to say, in producing heat it is not necessary to produce light also.

(The rest were not finished.)

Nor do these proceed under our authority. Thou, O Father, turning to the works which thy hands made, saw that all things were very good; but man, turning to the works which his hands made, saw that all was vanity and vexation of spirit. Therefore, if we have laboured amid thy works, thou wilt make us partakers of thy gratulation and of thy Sabbath. We humbly entreat that this disposition may abide in us; and that by our hands the human family may be endowed with new alms from thee. These we commend to thy eternal love, through our Jesus, thy Christ, God with us. J. A. C.

THE END OF VOL. I.

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